YOUR PRAISE IS SWEET

A MEMORIAL VOLUME FOR JEREMY BLACK FROM STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS

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PREFACE

za$_3$-mi$_2$-zu dug$_3$-ga-am$_3$
'Your praise is sweet'

This volume is intended as a tribute in memory of our teacher, colleague and friend, Jeremy Black. The scope of the contributions to it are a testament to Jeremy's own wide-ranging interests and to his ability to forge scholarly connections and friendships among all who shared his interest in Mesopotamia. His readiness to engage especially with younger scholars is reflected in the number of articles written by colleagues at an early stage in their careers.

Jeremy's own career followed a varied and interesting path. Prior to his appointment as University Lecturer in Akkadian at Oxford in 1988, he had spent a year (1981–2) as a Research Associate at the Oriental Institute in Chicago working on the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, followed by several years in Baghdad, first as the Assistant Director of the British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq (1982–5), and then as its Director (1986–8). His time in Iraq awakened in Jeremy a deep affection for the country and its people, and he was profoundly affected by the recent tragic events there.

In recent years Jeremy became best known for the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, a collaborative project which began with a pilot study in 1997 and went on to make editions and translations of numerous key Sumerian literary compositions available not only to scholars but also to the wider public. While the Sumerian language and literature were his main academic interests, his publications (listed on pp. vii–xi) embraced such diverse topics as Akkadian bird names, Parthian history, and amethysts. But to list these formidable academic achievements is not to do justice to the person Jeremy was: above all a kind, patient and inspiring teacher, as well as a stimulating colleague and firm friend.

We are grateful to all those colleagues who took the time to contribute to this volume, as well as to Jeremy's half-brother, Peter Mitchell, for kindly writing the Afterword. Tessa Rickards generously contributed her etching of a Sumerian cylinder seal for the title page. We especially thank the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, in particular Jon Taylor and the publications committee, for taking on the task of publishing it.

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RANK AT THE COURT OF EBLA

Alfonso Archi—Rome

ricordando Jeremy
che sapeva essere collega e amico

The administrative texts of the ancient Near East present a picture of the state organisation as a complex system of functions entrusted to numerous officials, over whom the king exercised his control. Whilst occasionally the hierarchical position occupied by such officials within the administration is known, only rarely do we learn of their rank at court.

The position of an official within the administration may generally be inferred by the quality and quantity of gifts he receives. At Ebla, the main occasions on which gifts were distributed were victory in war for the men, marriage for the women and death for both (Archi 2002a). These were special occasions relating to single individuals and, sometimes, members of their families. There is, however, one extraordinary case which involved the entire court: the marriage between a princess and the son of the king of Kiš, that is, the son of the most prestigious man of the time.

Ebla defeated Mari about three years before suffering defeat itself and being entirely destroyed by an unknown enemy. In all probability this was Mari which thus gained its revenge. Whilst preparing its campaign, Ebla sought to form alliances with the two most powerful states neighbouring Mari, that is to say Nagar, which controlled the Ḫabur triangle, and Kiš (Archi and Biga 2003). Immediately afterwards, Ebla reinforced these alliances through inter-dynastic marriages. Princess Tagriš-damu married Ultum-ḫuḫu, the crown prince of Nagar (Biga 1998), whilst Kešdut married the son of the king of Kiš. This latter princess was the only one of the 'daughters of the king', dumu-munus en, who is also defined as 'daughter of the queen', *Kéš-du-ut* dumu-munus *ma-lik-tum* (TM.75.G.2426 obv. xi 11–13).

Roughly a year or two separated these two events. The document recording gifts to the minister Ibbi-zikir for having led the victorious expedition against Mari mentions 'the son of the king of Nagar' and Nizi, an official who accompanied him, amongst those rewarded on the same occasion (TM.75.G.2426 rev. ii 5–13). Both were clearly in Ebla for the negotiations regarding the marriage of princess Tagriš-damu. Kešdut was still at court, since she is mentioned in this text as the 'daughter of the queen'. The death of Magaradu, one of the 'women of the king', is recorded in rev. vi 13–16: *Ma-ga-ra-du* dam en *si-in* É×PAP. TM.75.G.2327+4203, the document relating to the distribution of garments on the occasion of Kešdut's marriage, no longer mentions Magaradu.[1]

This last document belongs to the numerous series of monthly accounts recording the distribution of garments (the name of the month is missing). The text probably supplemented that recording ordinary deliveries, as all of the items registered relate to the marriage of Kešdut.

The usual delivery for the kings of friendly states and certain other notable persons was a set of clothes including a double mantle, a tunic and a multi-coloured kilt, *'à-da-um*-TÚG-II aktum-TÚG íb-III-TÚG-gùn. All of the males mentioned in Kešdut's document receive these garments. The most valuable piece of female clothing was a sort of cape, zara$_6$-TÚG.[2] Here, it is given to the women of the current minister, those of the sons of the previous minister and of the king's sons (section 9), and the adult female dancers (sections 25–6). The women and daughters of the previous minister, the daughters of the minister and those of the king instead receive a tunic, two kilts and a

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[1] Magaradu no longer appears in the lists of the dam en in ARET 3 525 (7) and 542 (23)–(25), and ARET 9 37–44. These documents belong to the last three years of Ebla.

[2] For a preliminary study concerning the garments, see Archi 1999.

bracelet (section 8). The women of the king, including the queen, receive only a tunic (section 19). The sixteen sets of clothing given to the queen by the minister (section 15) served to increase the amount she had at her disposal for personal gifts.

TM.75.G.2327 + 4203
(1) obv. i x+1–4′:
   [garments (?) *Ké*]*š-du-ut* [*i*]*n* ud ⌜níg⌝-[m]u-sá bur-kak
(2) i 5′–ii 1:
   1 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn [*Ìr-ʾà-ak-da-mu* (?)]
(3) ii 2ʔ–12ʔ:
   [9ʔ ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 9ʔ aktum-TÚG 9ʔ íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *Ik-su-ub-da-mu Zé-da-mu Ga-du-um*
   Zi-ib-da-mu Sag-da-mu Ib-te-damu Íl-zi-da-mu Ìr-kab-rí-zú Ne-ḫar-da-mu dumu-nita en] [(…)]
   x+1–5′: [l]ú [x-z]i(-)[x]-KU [x n]ídba *in* ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak
(4) ii 6′–10′:
   4 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb-III-TÚG-sal *I-bí-zi-kir Du-bù-ḫu-*ᵈ*À-da Ù-ti En-na-da-mu*
(5) iii 1–7:
   4 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *A-mur-da-mu Ig-na-da-ar I-rí-gú*
   *Ib-ʾà-ir-*ᵈ*À-da* dumu-nita-d[umu-nita *I-b*]*í-*[*zi*]*-kir*
(6) iii 8–iv 6:
   [19 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 19 aktum-TÚG 19 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *Nap*]*-ḫa-*[*ì Ir*]*-ti* [*G*]*i-rí A-ba-ga*
   Ba-du-LUM *In-ma-lik Ru₁₂-zi-lum I-rí-ig-da-mu I-ti-*ᵈ*A₅-da-"baľ"*(KUL) *Si-mi-ì-lum* dumu-nita-
   dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um Bu-ma-ì Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik En-na-ni-il Zi-mi-da-mu I-ru₁₂-ub-da-mu* [*Du-bí-a*]*b*
   Du-na-ù In-ma-lik A-mu-ti šeš-šeš *Ib-rí-um*
(7) iv 7–17:
   [3 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 3 aktum]-TÚG [3 í]b-III-TÚG-[s]a₆-gùn *Iš-maḫ-da-mu A-zú-g*[*ú-ra*]
   ⌜*A*⌝*-z*[*ú-g*]*ú-ra*-II [ábba]-ábba [*Da*]*-ra-um*ᵏⁱ [20ʔ ak]tum-TÚG [20ʔ] sal-TÚG […] ⌜x⌝ [10+]10
   [*gú-li-lum*] a-gar₅-⌜gar₅⌝ [kù-gi 10-I] ábba-á[bba] *Da-ra-um*ᵏⁱ
(8) iv 16–v 29:
   20 aktum-TÚG 20 sal-TÚG 40 íb-III-TÚG-gùn 20 *gú-li-lum* a-gar₅-gar₅ kù-gi 10-I [PN₁ PN₂ PN₃]
   [*Ḫa-sum Ḫa-lu-du Na-mu-ra-du Ar-ra*]-⌜NE⌝ dam-dam *Ib-rí-um* / *Za-a-šè Bù*-babbar:kù 2
   dumu-munus *I-bí-zi-kir* / ⌜*Da*⌝*-kùn-da-mu Ḫa-lu-ut* 2 dam *I-bí-zi-kir* / *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* dumu-munus
   en / *Ti-a-bar-zú Maš-za-du Da-ḫir-ma-lik Dar-am₆-ma-lik Da-na-šar Tal-du-ut* [*Du*]*-zi-*[*i*]*š-lu* [*A-n*]*u-*
   ut dumu-munus-dumu-munus *Ib-rí-um*
(9) v 30–vi 19:
   20 zara₆-TÚG *Da-mur-za-mi-ù Bir₅-ʾà-du* 2 dam [*I-bí-zi*]*-kir* [*wa* dam-d]am [x-(x-)*m*]*u* NP₄ NP₅ NP₆]
   *En-àr-Ar-mi*ᵏⁱ *Ù-ti Ir-ti A-ba-ga Gi-rí Ba-du*-LUM *In-ma-lik I-rí-ig-da-mu Ru₁₂-zi-lum*
   *I-ti-*ᵈ*A₅-da-"baľ" Maḫ-ra-da-mu Šu-ra-da-mu Ḫa-ba Ir*-NE
(10) vi 20–vii 11:
   wa 1 gu-dùl-TÚG-sa₆ 13 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 14 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sal 13 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn
   A-bu Bù-ma-ù Íl-zi-BAD *Na-mi Du-bí-ti In-gàr Zú-du U₉-ma-ì ʾà-za*-LUM ⌜*A*⌝*-*[*b*]*ù-gú-*[*r*]*a*
   En-na-gàr-du Wa-si-du Ìr-a Puzur₄-ra-ì
(11) vii 12–13:
   1 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-I 1-aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Na-wa-ru₁₂*
(12) vii 14–viii 2:
   7 aktum-TÚG 7 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Iš-la*-BAD *Ḫa*-NE *Lu-ma-ì Áš-da-ì A-bù-*ᵈ*Ku-ra Ar-šè-a-ḫu*
   Ḫa-NE-II lú é [*I-b*]*í-*[*z*]*i-kir in* ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak [*Ké*]*š-du-ut*
(13) viii 3–13:
   3 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn ʾ*à-da-ša* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* ʾ*à-da-ša* lú
   Ib-dur-i-šar ʾ*à-da-ša* lú *A-ti* šeš-II-ib *in* ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak
(14) viii 14–16:
   5 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 5 aktum-TÚG 5 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn lú-kar *Ma-rí*ᵏⁱ
(15) viii 17–ix 5:
   16 ʾ*à-da-um*-TÚG-II 17 dùl-TÚG *Ib-la*ᵏⁱ 32 aktum-TÚG 9 íb+III-TÚG-sag lú mu-DU *I-bí-zi-kir*
   ma-lik-tum šu-ba₄-ti

(16) ix 6–21:
    1 dùl-TÚG *Ib-la*^ki 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa$_6$-gùn *wa* 2 *gú-li-lum* GIŠ-PA gìn:za kù-gi lú níg-ba
    en lú *I-bí-zi-kir* ì-na-sum *in* ud níg-mu-sá bur-kak *Kéš-du-ut* en Kiš^ki *En-na-ni-il* lú *Ša-ù-um*
    šu-mu-tag$_4$

(17) ix 22–x 3:
    1 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-I *A-mu-ru*$_{12}$-*um* dumu-nita <en> *Ma-rí*^ki

(18) x 4–6:
    1 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-II 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa-gùn *Ig-bù-ul-ma-lik* ne-di

(19) x 7–xi 19:
    27 aktum-TÚG *ma-lik-tum A-ma-ga Ra-ù-tum Téš-má-da-mu En-na*-^dUtu *Dar-ib-da-mu*
    Ti-iš-te-da-mu I-šar-tum Da-ba-a-du Rí-ì-du I-du-NI-*na Si-na-ni-ma-du* / *Da-dub wa En-na*-^dUtu
    šeš:pa$_4$-munus ^d*Ku-ra A*-NI-*a-ù-du Da-dub A-ru*$_{12}$-*ga-du*^ki / *Ma-za-a-du Téš-má-zi-kir ʾà-za-an*^ki /
    Tal-du-du Aḫ-du-ut Lu-ub^ki / *Bù*-babbar:kù [*Ki*]*r-su-ut* ⌜*I*⌝-*bù*-[*d*]*u A-da-bí-ig*^ki / *Maš-gú-ut Nu-ru*$_{12}$-*ut*
    Mi-kùn-^d*Ku-ra Ma-rá*^í(URU)^ki / *Na-dab*$_6$-*du Da-na*-NE^ki / dam-dam en

(20) xi 20–1:
    1 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa$_6$-gùn *Ìr-am*$_6$-*ma*-[*lik*]

(21) v. i 1–5:
    1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Ab-rí-a-ḫu Du-ub*^ki GIŠ-dug-DU *za-ma-da-rí*

(22) i 6–ii 3:
    11 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-II 11 aktum-TÚG 11 íb+III-TÚG-sa$_6$-gùn (1 case uninscribed) *Na-an*-⌜*ḫa*⌝-[*l*]*u*
    Gú-ba-LUM ⌜*Íl-e-i*⌝-*šar I-bí-zi-kir Puzur*ʾ-*ra-ma-lik Su-na-im ʾà-da-ša Ru*$_{12}$-*zi-ma-lik* lú *Ra-i-zu*
    ʾ*à-da-ša Zi-ni A-bù-ma-lik* (written over erasure) šeš:pa$_4$ en

(23) ii 4–10:
    1 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn (1 case uninscribed) 1 sal-TÚG
    1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *ma-za-lum-sù I-bu*$_{11}$-*bu*^ki GIŠ-dug-DU *za-ma-da-rí sa-am*

(24) ii 11–15:
    1 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn 1 *gú-li-lum* a-gar$_5$-gar$_5$ kù-gi-I *Ni-gúm*
    GIŠ-dug-DU ^dBAD *Du-du-lu*^ki

(25) ii 16–iii 9:
    2 zara$_6$-TÚG *Ru*$_{12}$-*zu-mu Ra-ba*$_x$-*tum* ne-di *A-da-bí-ig*^ki 2 gu-dùl-TÚG 2 sal-TÚG 2 íb+III-TÚG-gùn
    ba-za$_!$^?(A) *Ni-gúm Ra*-NI-*zu wa* 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-gùn 3 dumu-nita-*sù* ne-di *A-da-bí-ig*^ki

(26) iii 10–21:
    5 zara$_6$-TÚG 5 gíd-TÚG *En-nu-ut Da-li-tum* NI-*la A-lu-ḫa-gu* ne-di dam-dam *I-bí-zi-kir wa Bù-ḫu-lu*
    dam *Rí-ì-ma-lik*

(27) iii 22–iv 2:
    wa 7 sal-TÚG 7 dumu-munus tur ne-di *Bù-zu-ga*^ki

(28) iv 3–7:
    5 aktum-TÚG 5 dumu-munus maḫ 9 sal-TÚG 9 dumu-munus tur ne-di *Da-na*-NE^ki

(29) iv 8–10:
    4 aktum TÚG 4 sal-TÚG ne-di *Ši-sal*^ki

(30) iv 11–12:
    1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sal A[N^?-x-x]

(31) iv 13–v 6:
    1 túg-gùn *Ar-mi*^ki lú é-ti-TÚG *Ni-zi* "ur$_4$" *Na-gàr*^ki *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum 1 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-II
    1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa$_6$-gùn *Ni-zi* "ur$_4$" *Na-gàr*^ki *ù-lum ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum

(32) v 7–13:
    2 ʾà-da-um-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb+III-TÚG-sa$_6$-gùn *Ù-ga-ra-nu* engar kinda *A-bù-zu Si-ma-a*
    A-šu^ki nídba ì-giš

List of the consignees[3]
(1)   Kešdut, daughter of the king and the queen, the bride.
(2)   [Irʾaq-damu, the crown prince.]

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[3] *B* is TM.75.G.2426, the document concerning the gifts distributed on the occasion of Ibbi-zikir's victory
over Mari. The column number refers to the reverse.

(3)   Nine sons of the king.
(4)   The minister Ibbi-zikir; his son Tubuḫu-Hadda (// *B* viii 6´), designated as his successor; Uti, brother of Ibbi-zikir; Enna-damu, son of Ibbi-zikir (// *B* ix 3–4).
(5)   Four sons of the minister Ibbi-zikir (// *B* ix 10–13).
(6)   Ten sons of the former minister Ibrium, father of Ibbi-zikir; nine brothers of Ibrium (// *B* ix 1´–x 4).
(7)   Three elders of the town of Daraum (// *B* x 9–13); twenty (women of) the elders of Daraum.
(8)   Twenty women: [three women;] four women of Ibrium (// *B* x 5´–9´); 2 daughters of Ibbi-zikir; two women of Ibbi-zikir; one daughter of the king; eight daughters of Ibrium (// *B* x 10´–x).
(9)   Twenty women: two women of Ibbi-zikir; the women of [five] unknown people (the sons of Ibbi-zikir?); the women of nine sons of Ibrium; the women of four sons of the king (// *B* xi 20–38).
(10)   Fourteen agents of Ibbi-zikir.
(11)   A certain Nawaru.
(12)   Seven people of the house of Ibbi-zikir.
(13)   Three members of a religious confraternity, šeš-II-ib.
(14)   Five traders of the city of Mari.
(15)   The queen (gifts from the minister Ibbi-zikir).
(16)   The king (gifts from the minister Ibbi-zikir).
(17)   A son of (the king) of the city of Mari.
(18)   A dancer.
(19)   Twenty-seven women of the king.
(20)   A certain Iram-malik.
(21)   A man from the town of Tuba.
(22)   Eleven valets of the king.
(23)   An unnamed man from the town of Ibubu and his messenger.
(24)   A man who arrived for the god Dagan of Tuttul.
(25)   Seven dancers of the town of Adabig.
(26)   Five female dancers, of whom four are those of the women of Ibbi-zikir.
(27)   Seven female dancers of the town of Buzuga.
(28)   Fourteen female dancers of the town of DanaNE.
(29)   Four (female) dancers of the town of Šisal.
(30)   […].
(31)   Nizi, an official of the city of Nagar (gifts from the queen) (// *B* ii 5–13).
(32)   Three people who brought the oil for the marriage ceremony.

COMMENTARY

Section 1, almost entirely destroyed, recorded the garments given to Kešdut as dowry, 'on the occasion of the marriage ceremony (of) the bur-kak cup'.[4]

The first among the other consignees was very probably the heir to the throne, Ir'aq-damu (*section 2*: the name is not preserved). There then follow the other sons of the king. *Section 3* has enough space for the names of all the nine dumu-nita en known for this late period, which are therefore restored.[5] A short gap precedes the notation: 'offering on the occasion of the marriage ceremony (of) the bur-kak cup'.

The criterion applied thus far is that of blood ties with the princess, taking into account, however, only the male line. After these members of the royal family, we have those of the former minister Ibrium, who had served the king Išar-damu in this role for the first eighteen years of his reign. On the death of Ibrium the position of minister passed to his son, Ibbi-zikir. *Section 4* has the minister Ibbi-zikir, together with his son Tubuḫu-Hadda, who often appears in the administrative documents in the last years of the archives. This means that he was destined to succeed his father to the post of minister. There follows Uti, a son of Ibrium and thus brother of Ibbi-zikir, then Enna-

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[4] On the vessel bur-kak(/NI) see Archi 1986: 200; Waetzoldt 2001: 404–6. The animals given as dowry are listed in TM.75.G.2283: 3290 bovines, 1680 sheep, 159 mules, 1 ass, 5 pigs, 19 bisons, 14 bears (Archi 1987a: 122).

[5] For the identification of the members of the royal family and those of the family of the two ministers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir, see Archi 1988a.

damu, a son of Ibbi-zikir. Uti appears in this section along with the minister, and not in that relating to the sons of Ibrium (*section 6*), because he performed some functions in the administration.[6]

Section 5 has a further four sons of the minister Ibbi-zikir. These receive the same garments (the only difference being that the kilts are multi-coloured, while those of the preceding section are 'fine', sal). They appear in a separate section because, if they had roles and tasks in the administration, they were inferior to those of the two brothers, Tubuḫu-Hadda and Enna-damu. The name *Ib-'à-ir-*^{d}*À-da* is written *Ib-'à-*^{d}*À-da* in TM.75.G.2426 rev. ix 13, and *Ib-ar/ḫar-*^{d}*À-da* in TM.75.G.1397 obv. v 5 and TM.75.G.10229 obv. viii 8 respectively. These four sons of Ibbi-zikir are listed also in TM.75.G.2426 rev. ix 10–13.

Another ten sons of Ibrium and nine of his brothers follow in *section 6* (the parallel section in TM.75.G.2426 rev. ix 1′–x 4 is fragmentary).

The list of male relatives of Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir concludes with the elders, ábba, of Dara'um, a location often associated with the family of these ministers from which, therefore, their family probably originally came.[7] Tamur-Hadda, one of the women, dam, of Ibbi-zikir lived there (see MEE 2 28), and was also buried there (ARET 8 532 xii 21–xiii 3: *Da₅-mur-*^{d}*À-da* dam *I-bí-zi-kir* [*Da-ra*]-*um*^{ki} *si-in* É×PAP). The three elders mentioned in *section 7* also recur in TM.75.G.2426 rev. x 9–13. The other garments and the ⌈20⌉ bracelets, *gú-li-lum*, in copper and [gold] '(for) the elders of Dara'um' must have been intended for their wives, although the term dam-dam 'women' does not appear in this passage.[8]

Section 8 includes both the daughters, dumu-munus, and the women of Ibrium and those of his son Ibbi-zikir. The number of garments and bracelets, *gú-li-lum* (each containing 10 shekels of copper and gold), suggests that there must have been twenty consignees. It is not possible, however, to determine the identities of the first three women. There follow four women of Ibrium (their names are restored according to TM.75.G.2426 rev. x 5′–9′); two daughters and two women of Ibbi-zikir; a daughter of the king and eight daughters of Ibrium (TM.75.G.2426 rev. x 10′–x). It is possible that Tište-damu, the daughter of the king, dumu-munus en, appears in this section as the wife of one of Ibbi-zikir's sons. She married in the ninth year of minister Ibbi-zikir (TM.75.G.2073 rev. vii 15–17 and ARET 1 3 (55)), but the name of her husband is not given. The name *Da-na-šar* is written *Da-na-*lugal in ARET 1 3 rev. vi 12.[9]

Section 9 adds a further twenty women. The first two are women of the minister Ibbi-zikir; their names would seem to appear in only one other, parallel passage TM.75.G.2426 rev. xi 20–38: *Da-mur-*⌈*za*⌉-[*mi-ù*] *Bi*[*r₅-'à-du*] 2 ⌈dam⌉ *I-bí-zi-kir wa* dam-dam *Ù-ti* etc. The two damaged passages can be used to restore each other. The two women of Ibbi-zikir are followed by eighteen women who are mentioned only by the names of their spouses. Of the first five names (not included in the parallel passage) only the last has been preserved: *En-àr-Ar-mi*^{ki}, a figure who cannot be identified. There is then a list of nine sons of Ibrium, beginning with Uti and concluding with Iti-'Adabal. The last four names are those of sons of the king.

The people mentioned in *section 10* cannot be identified. *Íl-zi-*BAD and *Na-mi* appear together in TM.75.G.1944 obv. ix 9–14 and TM.75.G.2339 obv. v 2–5 as agents or representatives, maškim, of the minister Ibbi-zikir. *Bù-ma-ù* and *Na-mi* are quoted in TM.75.G.2276 rev. iii 2–4 and TM.75.G.2250 rev. ix 27′–9′, a document written whilst preparations were being made for the marriage of Kešdut (two young girls of the city of Mari were in her service, obv. v 10–13: 2 dumu-

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[6] Uti was a son of Ibrium: see the list ARET 1 3 (50′′) and TM.75.G.2465 rev. xviii 1–11: *Ib-rí-um … I-bí-zi-kir wa Ù-ti* 2 dumu-nita-*sù*. He appears beside Ibbi-zikir in several texts: see the passages listed in ARES 1 pp. 234–5, and add TM.75.G.1918 rev. iv 13–18; TM.75.G.2426 rev. xii 23–6; TM.75.G.2622 rev. xiv 22–5.

[7] On this town, see Archi, Piacentini and Pomponio 1993: 191–3.

[8] On the occasion of the marriage of Za'aše, the daughter of Ibbi-zikir, to the crown prince Ir'aq-damu, the 'women in Dara'um', dam-dam *in Da-ra-um*^{ki}, probably the women of the elders, received 31+21 and 20+20 garments, according to ARET 7 117 and 132 respectively.

[9] According to the Ebla documents, *mal(i)kum* 'king' is written with the logogram en, while the logogram for *šarrum* 'lord' is lugal (Archi 1987b).

munus *Ma-rí* ᵏⁱ *šeš:pa₄ Kéš-du-ut*). Nawaru is unknown, *section 11*. According to *section 12*, seven individuals 'of the house of Ibbi-zikir' receive 7 tunics and 7 kilts 'on the occasion of the marriage of Kešdut'. It is, therefore, likely that also those people mentioned in the previous two sections were employed by the minister.

Section 13 mentions three šeš-II-ib, that is to say, members of a religious confraternity particularly devoted to the cult of the god ʾAdabal. Since these are homonyms, they are identified through the names of their fathers. Two of these, *ʾà-da-ša*(son) of *A-ti* and *ʾà-da-ša*(son) of *Du-bí-zi-kir*, also appear together in TM.75.G.2372.[10]

Section 14 registers 5 sets of garments for the traders, lú-kar, of the city of Mari.

The minister Ibbi-zikir in person delivers to the queen 16+17+32+9 garments, *section 15*. He also provides the king with a set of garments and 2 bracelets of lapis lazuli and gold brought, šu-mu-tag₄, by a certain Ennani-il, (the son) of Šaʾum, *section 16*.

A son of the king of the city of Mari, Amurum, receives only a mantle, *section 17*. Igbul-malik, one of the court dancers, ne-di, most frequently mentioned, receives a mantle as well as a kilt, *section 18*.[11]

The list of the 27 women of the king, dam-dam en, opened by the queen, *ma-lik-tum*, in *section 19*, is parallel to those of ARET 8 525 (7) and 542 (23)–(24), which belong to the latest period of the archive.[12] In all the latest lists, the servants, *pa₄-šeš*, of Kura, the god of the city of Ebla were also Dadub and Enna-ᵈUtu. The second part of the list concerns the women of the king in the secondary residences. In the town of **Arugadu**: *A*-NI-*a-ù-du* and *Da-dub*; in the town of **ʾAzan**: *Ma-za-a-du* and *Téš-má-zi-kir* (see also the lists M4, M5, M8, M9, M10). In the town of **Lub**: *Tal-du-du* and *Aḫ-du-ut* (lists M4, M5 and M9 have *Tal-du-ut* and *Ḫi-su-ut*). In the town of **Adabig**: *Bù*-kù-babbar, *Kir-su-ut* and *I-bù-du* (Ibudu appears only in this list; Kirsut and Bu-kubabbar were in Adabig also according to the lists M4 and M5; Bu-kubabbar used to reside also in Arugadu, see the lists M8 and M9). In the town of **Mara** (the anomalous writing *Ma-rí*ᵏⁱ, which usually refers to the city on the Euphrates, shows that *Ma*-DUᵏⁱ has to be read *Ma-rá*ᵏⁱ): *Máš-gú-ut*, *Nu-ru₁₂-ut* and *Mi-kùn-ᵈKu-ra* (list M9 has Mašgudu, Mikun-Kura and Kirsut, who usually lived in the town of Adabig). In the town of **DanaNE**: *Na-dab₆-du* (who used to reside also in the town of Mabardu).[13]

It is not possible to identify Iram-malik in *section 20*. A person from the town of Dub (Tuba) also had this quite common name (ARES 2 217). A tunic and a kilt is given to Abri-aḫu, an important official of the town of Dub, *section 21*. He had his own agent, maškim (ARET 1/1 10 (49), ARET 4 9 (22)–(23)), and a messenger, *ma-za-lum* (ARET 8 525 (5)).[14] Abri-aḫu arrived, GIŠ-dug-DU, at Ebla for *za-ma-da-rí*. An unknown persona from the city of Ibubu also arrived at Ebla together with his own agent for the same reason: *za-ma-da-rí sa-am*, *section 23*. This seems to be the same term attested also in Neo-Assyrian, meaning an oleaginous aromatic plant.[15]

The list of the 11 valets of the king, *pa₄-šeš* en, of *section 22* is very similar to those in ARET 1 5 (52), ARET 4 1 (1), 14 (28) and TM.75.G.2270 (Archi 1996c: 62–3).

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[10] On the šeš-II-ib, see Archi 2002b. The passage from TM.75.G.2372 is quoted on p. 52.

[11] For the passages concerning Igbul-malik, see Catagnoti 1989: 196; Archi 1992: 192. He also opens the list of the ne-di with a separate entry in ARET 1 1 (39) and ARET 4 1 (18).

[12] The last lists of the 'women of the king' are ordered chronologically by Tonietti 1989: 106–10. Amaga should be the priestess, dam-dingir, of the god ʾAdabal of the town of Luban; she was in fact a daughter (!) of the king, see Archi 1998a: 49–50. Kešdut, in list M9, could be the daughter of the king who married the son of the king of Kiš. These two daughters seem to have been included in these lists among the 'women of the king', dam-dam en, as a sign of distinction. The lists are quoted here according to the order given by Tonietti.

[13] For Nadabdu, see also ARES 1 254.

[14] The term *ma-za*-LUM has been interpreted as /maṣṣār-um/ 'guard, watchman'. The variant *ma-za-um* in two old documents suggests instead the interpretation /mazzāl-um/ 'messenger', from *mzl 'to run', see Archi 1998b: 390–1.

[15] AHw 1016b: *samādiru* (where this term is derived from Aramaic). For *sa-am*, cf. ARET 15 4 obv. xi 6–9: (1 garment) PN kin-ag *ša-mu*. This is an archaic text (minister Arrukum), which could explain the use of the sign ŠA.

A certain Nigum[16] received a set of garments and a bracelet in copper and gold, when he arrived for something related to the god Dagan of Tuttul, ᵈBAD *Du-du-lu*ᵏⁱ, *section 24*.

Section 25 lists Ruzu-mu and Rabatum, together with their three male children and two dwarfs (?), all dancers in the royal residence of the town of Adabig.[17] The term BA.A is obscure. Some dwarfs, ba-za, appear sometimes together with the ne-di, but the qualification ba-za should follow the personal names (Catagnoti 1989: 167–8). *Section 26* has 5 more women, 4 of whom were dancers of the women of the minister Ibbi-zikir. *Sections 27–9* list: *a*) 7 young girls, dancers of the royal residence in the town of Buzuga; *b*) 5 adult women and 9 young girls, dancers of the residence in the town of DanaNE; *c*) 4 dancers of the residence in the town of Sisal.

Section 30 does not preserve the name of the consignee. Nizi (*section 31*) was the official of the town of Nagar who negotiated the marriage of princess Tagriš-damu with the son of the king of the city of Nagar. The queen provided him with two gifts of garments (*ù-lum* /ullu/ 'later').

The people of *section 32* seem to have provided the oil for the unction of the bride, nídba ì-giš.

RANK AND FUNCTIONS
The marriage of princess Kešdut was an extraordinarily important event. The gifts distributed by the administration on this occasion were a means of involving the highest ranking individuals. Rank derived from the nature of the relationship which the individual enjoyed with the king and queen.

The list of recipients shows that they came from only two families: that of the king and that of the minister, or were in some way connected with these. There is no differentiation between the goods, except insofar as convention foresaw that the garments for women were different to those destined for the men. Far from indicating any hierarchical order, here they have an egalitarian worth.[18] The consignees are gathered into groups, the order of which reflects their respective ranks. It is merely by chance that the 'women of the king', including the queen, appear only in section 19. Above all else, it is blood relationship with the king himself that counts: first is the crown prince; the other nine sons of the king are separated from him and conclude the male line of the king. We then have the minister. His responsibilities put him in second place, immediately after the king, and it is for this reason that he is third in terms of rank. Together with him are his two sons and a brother, given the positions they held within the administration as relatives of the minister. As with the king's family, the mere fact of belonging to the minister's family endowed an individual with rank, even if he held no position within the administration. Therefore, we then have numerous men and women, divided into homogeneous groups, who can boast of being related to the minister (sections 8–9). The minister's position of privilege was such that even the local authorities of his place of origin were accorded consideration (section 7), as well as his agents and servants (sections 10–12).

It is possible that Ibbi-zikir himself devised the means by which Kešdut's marriage was arranged, and was consequently rewarded for his labours. It is notable that other families are entirely excluded. The presence of the dancers, ne-di (a category in the service of both the royal family and the minister's own, sections 18, 25–8) may be explained by the fact that the females were in the service of the 'women of the king' and thus Kešdut was on familiar terms with them.[19] Among the other people receiving garments, some could have been invited for the occasion, such

[16] Note the following writings: NE-LUM, ARET 2 110, ARET 3 293; NI-*gú-um*: TM.75.G.10272 obv. vi 4, cf. Archi 1992: 193.
[17] TM.75.G.10191 preserves the name of two of these boys who were ne-di in the town of Adabig: *Ì-lum-ba-šu* and *I-bù-du*: see Archi 1992: 192.
[18] The brothers of the king received a double mantle, a tunic and a multi-coloured kilt, exactly the same garments given to the valets of the king. Women got a special mantle, zara₆-TÚG, while the younger ones, and the 'women of the king,' received a tunic.
[19] In some lists, such as ARET 8 525 (7)–(8); 527 (7); 542 (23)–(25), the female ne-di directly follow the 'women of the king'. Usually, the ne-di are listed together with the ḫúb-KI 'acrobats' and the nar 'singer' e.g., ARET 1 5 (78)–(80).

as the prince and the traders of Mari, or Nizi as representative of the royal house of Nagar; other perhaps played a role in the ceremony (sections 21, 23, 24, 32).

It is noteworthy that none of the numerous administration officials appear (lugal, ugula, ábba), not even those who, having organisational responsibilities at the palace, were in continuous contact with the royal family.[20] The valets of the king, on the contrary, were included among the recipients (section 22).

What emerges from this document is a markedly aristocratic order which excludes even the most faithful and essential officials of the administration as they do not belong to either of the two main families.

THE MINISTER

The remarkable pre-eminence of the minister and his family in Eblaite society would seem to have been a local phenomenon, determined by specific, contingent factors and cannot be seen in other reigns of the 3rd millennium BCE. The figure of a minister who concentrates control of the administration and also command of the army around himself would appear to have developed gradually during the reigns of Igriš-Ḫalab and Irkab-damu. The documents relating to the first twenty years enable us to trace this development. The fact that the minister is always mentioned by name, and not once indicated by a title, could suggest that his position was of local origin and not derived from a Mesopotamian model. According to forty or so documents relating to the final years of Igriš-Ḫalab and the first six years of Irkab-damu, two individuals, Darmilu (/Darmia) and Tir, enjoyed a degree of pre-eminence within the group of roughly thirty most important officials of the administration, known as 'lords', lugal-lugal. This can be determined from the quantity of 'deliveries', mu-túm, they make to the central administration. During the last four years of Irkab-damu, a certain Arrukum (*Ar*-EN-LUM) assumed clear eminence, although Tir continued in service. Arrukum reformed the administration, creating two new categories of document: the monthly accounts of the distribution of garments and the annual accounts of the distribution of objects in precious metals. Arrukum is often mentioned in these documents (Archi 2000).[21]

Arrukum died a few months before the king, Irkab-damu.[22] The gifts from the administration for his funeral were fitting for his station: some garments, a gold plaque, a belt and dagger weighing about 1 kg in gold (ARET 9, 47 obv. ix 13–x 3): 1 túg-gùn 1 *gu-zi*-TÚG 2 zara$_6$-TÚG 2 íb-III-sa$_6$-gùn 1 dib GÁ×LÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 íb-lá GÁ×LÁ 1 ma-na kù-gi 1 gír mar-tu [kù-gi] *Ar-ru$_{12}$-gúm* É×PAP.[23]

Ibrium already appears in some texts dating to the time of Darmia and Tir when, however, he did not hold a position of note. Irkab-damu chose him to succeed Arrukum. The two ministers were not related in any way. When Irkab-damu died a few months later, Ibrium effectively found himself governing Ebla. Alongside him was Dusigu, the favourite of Irkab-damu and mother of Išar-damu, who succeeded his father at a young age (this can be deduced from the fact that he only married fourteen years later, although he would appear to have already fathered children by secondary partners). The wife of Irkab-damu, the 'queen', *ma-lik-tum*, had died shortly after her wedding (presumably in childbirth) without leaving a male heir. Thus it was Dusigu who set her son on the

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[20] See ARET 9 334–5. For the numerous 'elders who were seated by the throne' and 'the elders (who went) on military expeditions', ábba-ábba al$_6$-tuš GIŠ-uštil, ábba-ábba níg-kas', see the passages quoted by Archi 1988b: 136.

[21] The mu-túm documents will be published by A. Archi in ARET 14. The monthly accounts of distributions of garments of Arrukum's period are published by F. Pomponio in ARET 15. Tir is the only official mentioned in the political treaty with the city of Abarsal, ARET 8 5 (33)–(34). For a first study on the annual accounts of distributions of metal objects, see Archi 1996b. A final list of these documents is given by Archi and Biga 2003: 7.

[22] For the synchronism between the kings and the ministers of Ebla, see Archi 1996a.

[23] The funerary gifts for the minister Ibrium are listed in TM.75.G.1923(+); the relevant section is not entirely preserved.

throne, and numerous documents show how she dominated the court up to her death, taking precedence in rank even over the wife of Išar-damu, that is to say, the queen.[24]

It was, therefore, the tender age of Išar-damu, and Dusigu's approval that enabled Ibrium to consolidate his position. The administrative texts record his name numerous times. It is the minister who leads the army into battle, year after year, a prerogative that would be inherited by his son, Ibbi-zikir, when he succeeded his father as minister (Archi in press). In the royal inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad, the fact that the kings ascribe all military undertakings to themselves has resulted in a warped historical perspective which can only be corrected if administrative documents such as those found at Ebla are to hand. The list of gifts distributed on the occasion of Išar-damu's marriage to Tabur-damu, his *maliktum* (an event which occurs in the fourteenth year of Ibrium's mandate), shows that the members of the minister's family held an altogether particular rank, since his women are listed together with those of the royal family. This situation is even more marked eighteen years later, on the occasion of Kešdut's marriage to the son of the king of Kiš. The annual account of distribution of metal objects for the year of the king's marriage, TM.75.G.1730(+) (MEE 7 34), lists first some jewels for the king and queen, and then gifts for: Ibbi-zikir son of Ibrium; Ibrium; 5 sons of the (previous) king and a brother of Išar-damu's mother; a person from Arugadu and, lastly, a group which includes the women of the king and of Ibrium: 8 women of the king, 2 daughters of the king, the mother of Ibrium, 4 women of Ibrium, a sister of the king's mother and Kisadu, the king's wet-nurse (rev. xii 8–xiv 26).

As Ibrium with his prestige had succeeded in naming his son, Ibbi-zikir, as his successor, so too did the latter in turn manage to name his son, Tubuḫu-Hadda, who would have taken his father's place had Ebla not fallen.

At Ebla, therefore, another dynasty developed alongside that of the royal family: that of the minister. All that was lacking was a marriage for the blood of Ibrium's family to flow in the veins of Ebla's king. In the twelfth year of Ibbi-zikir, shortly before the campaign against Mari, his daughter Za'aše married the heir to the throne Ir'aq-damu. ARET 8 534 (11) records 'a gold and silver bracelet (for) the agreement of Za'aše', *zu-lu-mu* (/sullumu/) *Za-a-šè*.[25] Now Za'aše together with her husband occupied the third place in the hierarchy, overtaking Kešdut (still present at court), TM.75.G.2270 obv. vii 6–viii 5: en … *ma-lik-tum Za-ʾà-šè Ìr-ʾà-ag-da-mu … Kéš-du-ut Dar-kab-da-mu* 2 dumu-munus en; ARET 4 1 (33)–(34): … *ma-lik-tum Ìl-ʾà-ag-da-mu Za-a-šè … Kéš-du-ut Dar-kab-da-mu* …. As wife of the future king, Za'aše had the privilege of participating in the official cults of the city, limited to the king, queen and the princes. Sacrality was the prerogative of the royal family alone. The hierarchical order in the lists concerning the monthly offerings to the gods at Ebla is identical to that in the aforementioned lists: the king; the prince Ir'aq-damu; the queen; Za'aše; Kešdut.[26]

The fall of Ebla put a dramatic end to the ambitions of Ibrium's family which had played such an important part in the fortunes of the city.

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[24] Dusigu opens the lists of the women of the king, followed by the *maliktum*.

[25] The texts ARET 7 117 and 132 concerns gifts delivered on the occasion of the marriage of Za'aše, *in* níg-mu-sá 1 bur-kak; see already note 8 above.

[26] See TM.75.G.1764 obv. i 1–viii 13; TM.75.G.2075 obv. i 1–v 19; TM.75.G.2238 obv. i 1–ix 12; TM.75.G.11010(+) obv. i 1–viii 27, published by Pettinato 1979.

DISENCHANTED WITH THE GODS?
THE ADVENT OF ACCURATE PREDICTION AND ITS INFLUENCE
ON SCHOLARLY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE SUPERNATURAL
IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA AND ANCIENT GREECE

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Was the advent of accurate astronomical prediction an important force for *disenchantment* or *Entzauberung*? Entzauberung was a term first coined by Max Weber (1918–19) to describe the gradual elimination through history of magic as a salvation technique, but has been recently reused by Marcel Gauchet to describe the 'impoverishment of the reign of the invisible', or the 'separation of the supernatural and human abodes' over the past 5000 years, particularly under the influence of state formation.[1]

I am concerned here, however, with disenchantment brought about through the spread of the ideas of intellectuals. I would argue that an ancient Mesopotamian scholar was very much the intellectual equal of one today, but that his or her community was differently structured, which would account for many of the differences between him or her and 'us'. I would also argue, however, that his or her overall religiosity was on average far greater than that of the average, modern, western university scholar. Processes took place between ancient Near Eastern times and now, which account for this change in religiosity amongst intellectuals, and I am hardly the first to argue that science had a role to play in that. I propose that the advent of accurate astronomical prediction around 700 BCE inspired some intellectuals to think very differently about the role and location of the supernatural, and that this had an effect upon individuals in related disciplines, and, in due course, in the wider world. The means by which this effect interacted with other forces for religious change, perhaps working on other strata of society, is far beyond the scope of this essay to consider, but I believe that it should be addressed in any discussion of those historical processes by which religiosity has changed over time. Gauchet's work, for example, does not address the advent of astronomical prediction, despite availing himself of Mesopotamian and Greek evidence.

We begin with an intellectual problem. If a sign, an ominous phenomenon, that was previously considered to have existed in one form or another as a function of the whim of a god or gods, becomes accurately predictable long in advance, does this encourage the thinking scholar to reconsider the role the god plays in the creation of that sign, when next he predicts and sees its recurrence?

For example, if the length of the month, which can last either 29 or 30 days, boding respectively ill or well (Brown 2000: 146–7), becomes accurately predictable long in advance, can the person who makes this calculation still consider the length of the next month to be an arbitrary decision of the gods made shortly before? Is he not forced to conclude that the gods made the decision long, long ago? For any model that predicts month lengths decades into the future necessarily implies that the lengths of the current months were predictable many decades before.

In Mesopotamia, at least from the start of the second millennium BCE, all the phenomena of the universe were considered to have been caused by something supernatural, namely the gods.[2] Both

[1] Gauchet 1985/1997: 3, 12–13: 'we can construct a system of societies prior to the State where religion does indeed play the central role …. The power of some humans over others now removed religion's exclusive rule … the action of the State, whose emergence can be regarded as the first religious revolution in history.' Note the use of 'disenchantment' by Bottéro 2001: 21.

[2] Oppenheim 1978: 641: 'In a way that is never explicitly stated or even hinted at, Mesopotamian man assumed the existence of an unknown, unnamed, and unapproachable power or will that intentionally

the irregular and the regular were ominous. In general the ordinary, expected, or regularly repeating phenomena were understood to be manifestations of harmony between earthly behaviour and the ideal master plan of a god or gods in question, while the apparently irregular, or extraordinary occurrences were manifestations of direct divine intervention in nature, in order to comment (positively or negatively, but mostly the latter) on human affairs.[3] All ominous signs, whether in entrails, smoke, dreams, faces, on the earth, or in the sky, were considered to have been meaningfully altered by one or more gods directly prior to their investigation by the diviner. This is seen, for example, in the *ikribu,* the prayer to the gods of the night offered as part of the ritual of extispicy, or sacrificial divination, attested as early as the Old Babylonian period (c. 1700 BCE).[4] The 'princely ones of the gods of the night' are summoned to stand by while the extispicy takes place, since Šamaš (the sun god) and Adad (the storm god) are asleep. Diurnal prayers address Adad and Šamaš directly: 'Oh Šamaš, lord of judgement. O Adad, lord of divination: In the ritual I perform, in the extispicy I perform, place the truth' (Cryer 1994: 171–2). A prayer to Sin and Šamaš has the line: 'You stand by [in order to rel]ease the signs of heaven and earth'.[5] The hundreds of extispicy queries from the seventh-century Assyrian court begin with: 'Šamaš, great lord, give me a firm positive answer to what I am asking you' (Starr 1990). In many cases astral bodies are referred to directly as gods. For instance, Venus, often termed ^{mul}*dele-bat* in celestial omens, with no divine designation, is frequently referred to as the goddess ^{d}Ištar in the context of extispicy (e.g., Reiner 1998: 181).

Accurate predictions of certain ominous celestial phenomena appear for the first time around 750 BCE. By accurate, I mean only that which is sufficient to avoid having to observe the event— namely, as accurate as required by divination. What is commonly called 'early astronomy', dating to at least the Old Babylonian period and characterised by such texts as Mul.Apin (Hunger and Pingree 1989), *Enūma Anu Ellil* Tablet 14 (George and Al-Rawi 1991/92), i.NAM.giš.hur.an.ki.a (Livingstone 1986: 17–18), is in fact not astronomy at all according to this definition, since the models in question would not have been capable of making predictions of celestial phenomena to an accuracy which meant they no longer needed to be observed. This assertion stands in opposition to a hundred years of belief in the gradual development of astronomy in Mesopotamia from Sumerian to Hellenistic times (Brown 2000). The belief in the gradual development of astronomical prediction has meant that its significance for theological thinking has been hard to assess, except in so far as it represented the beginning of 'science', and that particular challenge to religious dogma. With this new interpretation we may then ask, did the relatively sudden advent of prediction around 750 BCE have an impact *then and there* on religious belief? Given that in the following centuries, a whole range of important ominous phenomena—of course only those in the heavens, never on earth—became predictable, was the gods' presence at the production of those signs being re-evaluated in some circles?

It could always be postulated that the divinities were still there, in the signs. But the thinking diviner may, I suggest, have considered the possibility that it had been decided long ago to have phenomenon X occur at this particular time—in other words that the heavens were set in motion long ago according to certain rules. The heavens might, therefore, have been seen as a mechanism, and for something—a creator god or a force—to have been the architect of that mechanism would be a logical, though not necessary, corollary. Because many Mesopotamian deities had an astral manifestation, the making of that aspect redundant would again (logically) threaten to make all manifestations of the same deities redundant.

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provided him with signs.' Clearly, sometimes these powers were named.

[3] *Contra* Oppenheim 1978: 642. For details on signs drawn from the regular and not the irregular see Brown 2000: 146–7. The term *ittātu ahâtu* is usually translated 'unusual/ill-portending abnormal signs (e.g., CAD A/I 212c) but Guinan 2002: n. 1 suggests that there may have been an explicit recognition of the difference between signs drawn from coherence with the ideal order with those that confounded it.

[4] See Brown 2000: 250 §11 for references to its publication.

[5] [*ana šup*]*ur ittāti ša šamê u erṣeti attunuma tazzizā*, PBS 1/2: 106 r. 15, quoted by Rochberg 1996: 476.

For example, lunar eclipses boded ill to kings at least as far back as the Old Babylonian period around 1700 BCE and, as later Mesopotamian tradition had it, perhaps as long ago as the Old Akkadian period around 2300 BCE. Not just the eclipse itself was ominous, but the so-called 'watch' (of which there were three at night and three during the day), date, and month in which it occurred, the part of the lunar disk obscured, the entrance angle, and so forth, as well as still unpredictable meteorological factors such as the winds, the associated colour, and so forth.[6] The moon god Sin was commonly described as being 'in the eclipse', and it was believed he was perfectly capable of creating eclipses on days 17–21 of the month if he so chose (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 38–9),[7] something that to our minds is patently impossible. According to the great celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Ellil*, the great gods 'An, Enlil and Enki … ensured that the crescent Moon god should grow and give birth to the month and establish the signs (GIŠKIM) in heaven and earth'.[8] Every aspect of the eclipse was considered to have been the arbitrary decision of the god—the date, the time, the amount by which it was obscured, etc. It was believed that based on current political circumstances, or behaviour of the king, the gods provided a raft of signs which had to be interpreted as their opinion on current matters. In other words, the *present* determined the configuration of the heavens.

From c. 750 BCE, it is clear from a series of extraordinary documents from Babylon, known today as the Astronomical Diaries and the related Eclipse Records (Hunger and Sachs 1988–96; Hunger 2001), that not only the month of an eclipse, but also its day and approximate time, were predictable (Brown 2000: 189–90). The Diaries began by recording data in a simplistic manner but soon used a more exact terminology. Within a century or so, values were included for unobserved parameters, which show that the length of the month, for example, was being calculated with virtually one hundred percent accuracy. Within about two hundred years, virtually all of the relevant, non-meteorological ominous aspects of an eclipse were accurately predictable. The same applies to a whole range of other ominous heavenly phenomena: the day of lunar opposition, the heliacal phenomena of the planets, and so forth (Brown 2000: ch. 4).

In the Neo-Assyrian letters and reports from Nineveh from the 8th and 7th centuries BCE (Hunger 1992; Parpola 1993) the scholars write that they are still unsure of the accuracy of their predictions (see Brown 2000: 197–207). The discipline was, therefore, in its infancy at this time. As I argue (Brown 2000: 240–1), the reasons for its inception can be placed at the foot of the mighty Assyrian empire, which employed a number of scholars to interpret the heavens, putting them in competition with each other. It was a by-product, if you will, of changed political circumstances.

Imagine then, on a clay tablet in his or her (most likely his) hand,[9] a cuneiform scholar had the times, sizes, angles, etc. for eclipses for the past or next decade—most, but not all of the phenomena considered for at least a thousand years to have been specific messages from the gods. He would, ordinarily, have wished to react to these ominous phenomena in order to undo the evil they predicted, with an apotropaic *namburbû* ritual, thereby cutting the *qê lumni* 'the thread of evil' implied (Maul 1999). Even if the expert believed that at the next eclipse the moon god Sin would be present, affecting the winds or other unpredictable phenomena that form part of the overall sign, it remains possible to maintain that the heavens were arranged so that they could run on their own.

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[6] For details see Rochberg-Halton 1988.

[7] 'Impossible protases', i.e., events which cannot occur in nature, are a commonplace in cuneiform divination, and suggest strongly that the gods' powers were thought to be very great indeed when it came to their ability to cause nature to deviate from the norm.

[8] This is from the Sumerian version of the opening to tablet 1 of *EAE* (Brown 2000: 234–5, 254–5; Verderame 2002: 13).

[9] E.g., BM 35115+ (Hunger 2001 no. 3) arranges lunar eclipses and eclipse possibilities in 18-year groups and preserves data from −730 to −316. While the arranging of eclipse data, some retrocalculated, into so-called 'saroi' may have been a late phenomenon, BM 41985 (Hunger 2001 no. 1) shows that predicted eclipse data were included in tables of eclipses as early as −744 (Hunger 2001: 395).

Sin, the moon god, may be in the next eclipse, but he certainly could not be said, by the intellectual, to have determined the day, size, form or location of the eclipse as a response to current happenings on the earthly plane—not without denying human free will. One might imagine that the intellectual would believe that all the predictable aspects of the eclipse could no longer be thought of as omens.

Indeed, this is precisely how eclipses predicted by the Chinese Astronomical Bureau around the time of Christ were treated (Sivin 1965: 5). If they occurred when calculated, then the eclipses were no longer seen to be a threat to the emperor. This is because they were no longer something unexpected, and thus symptomatic of a disruption of the natural order. What had always been something extra-ordinary was now recognised to be part of a greater, more complex, order. Not so in Mesopotamia. The very predictable eclipses observed in Mesopotamia as late as the Hellenistic period still inspired elaborate rituals in defence of the temple, the people and the king: 'May hardship, murder, rebellion and the evil predicted by the eclipse not reach Uruk, Reš, Baramah, Eanna and the other temples of Tiranna', lamented the *kalû* chanters. The ritual text, which has no pre-Hellenistic precursors, continues:[10]

They (the seven evil gods) kept going round fiercely in front of the divine crescent. [Yo]ung Šamaš (the sun god) (and) heroic Adad (the storm god) [they brought] towa[rds them]. They caused the eclipse of the moon in the sky... [...] He caused the eclipse—Anu (the sky god), the king, the father of the gods, (for whom) the passing of judgement was within his power …

Clearly, despite the fact that the very same people who composed this new text composed mathematical-astronomical texts predicting the details of eclipses to a high level of accuracy, many (perhaps not the intellectual elite) believed that the gods were present in the eclipse. For even if the allusions here to gods are metaphorical, the very existence of the complex ritual demonstrates its continued relevance to the cult. That is, people employed in 'religious' positions, which included those whose job it was to calculate celestial configurations long in advance, still (officially, at least) saw the eclipse as a manifestation of immediate, multiple divine presence.

Where, then, is any evidence for belief in a force, principle, god, or fate, older and higher than the moon god, that arranged the heavens in such a way that this eclipse, and most other significant events in the sky, unfold there mechanically? Even if we were to suggest that the Urukean author is alluding here to the supremacy of Anu,[11] it is clear that an eclipse was also thought to be caused by other deities. Surely, one might think, the astronomer with the eclipse tablet in his hand, despite being brought up with the idea that 'everything is full of gods',[12] would be encouraged to believe no longer in the power of those other gods, but only in that of the first mover. 'Idle divinities soon become irrelevant' (Gerson 1990: 240 n. 11), do they not? If, by chance he already believed that there is only one significant god in the universe—and monotheistic or henotheistic[13] beliefs to a greater or lesser extent predate 700 BCE amongst certain intellectuals in the Near East[14]—the

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[10] BRM 4 6 and BM 134701 (Linssen 2004: 313–14).

[11] Anu, the sky god, unsurprisingly plays a central role in forming the heavens throughout Mesopotamian history. Although Marduk actually undertakes the construction according to *Enūma Eliš*, he does it with the power of An—*anūtu* (Dalley 1997: 170).

[12] Thales is the supposed source of this quote according to Aristotle (Kirk et al. 1987: §91).

[13] 'The privileged devotion to one god, who is regarded as uniquely superior, while other gods are neither depreciated nor rejected and continue receiving due cultic observance whenever this is ritually required' (Versnel 2000: 87).

[14] E.g., perhaps the name Gabbu-ilani-Assur 'Assur is all the gods', borne by a treasurer of the queen's household in Kalhu during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (747–727 BCE). Parpola 2000: 165, 172 cites this as evidence of an 'essentially monotheistic' tendency in Assyria vis à vis Aššur. In fact NA names such as Gabbu-Adad 'Adad is all' and Gabbu-Aia 'Ea is all' (Hunger *apud* Radner 1999: 412) suggest that henotheistic tendencies may not have been restricted to a particular devotion to Aššur. Porter 2000: 241 also demonstrates a widespread particular devotion to Ninurta in Neo-Assyrian times, for instance.

discovery that the heavens run as a mechanism would surely have encouraged him in that belief and might therefore have found written expression.[15] If he had always believed that the gods decided *šīmtu*, 'fate', at a point in time, during an omen ceremony, for example, or at birth, would he not, surely, have considered the idea that this fate was established long before? In Mesopotamia, not only had the gods always produced particular signs, altering the shape and colouration of entrails, or the shape of an oil spill, when asked of them, they had always provided 'fate' at birth, which manifested itself in the way someone looked, or determined the date upon which he was born. Surely, their role in this would diminish in the face of an obviously unfolding universe, whose ominous celestial configurations were predictable?

Rather extraordinarily, given the prevailing belief in the continued direct presence of deities at ominous occasions, sometime after 700 BCE, some experts did indeed calculate the fates at birth of locals and foreigners alike using as signs only predictable phenomena.[16] In other words, they drew up horoscopes. Horoscopes are attested from the 5th century BCE in Babylonia. The use of predictable signs as the source material for an interpretation implies, of course, that the child's destiny was determined in large part by an older, higher force:

Year 48, month Addaru, night of the [23rd?] the child was born. At that time, the sun was in 13;30° Aries, moon was in 10° Aquarius, Jupiter was at the beginning of Leo … He will be lacking property … The 36th year he will have property. His days will be long. His wife, whom people will seduce in his presence …

These are extracts from a Babylonian horoscope dating to 263 BCE (Rochberg 1998: Text 5). Not only are the chosen phenomena predictable ones, it is also clear that they have been calculated. This is shown most clearly by the accuracy with which the Sun is located at 13;30° of Aries, an abstract 30° arc which, even if located on the basis of certain bright stars, would be invisible at a time when the Sun is visible. This is characteristic of all known horoscopes, Babylonian, Greek, Roman, and modern: the vast bulk of the data used to compile the initial reading is unobserved. Theoretically, all one needs to observe in order to make a prediction is the time and location of birth and the sex of the child, although any contemporary horoscopic 'reading' involves a complex synthesis of the clients' personality traits, background and so forth, designed to ensure that the interpretation remains 'unfalsifiable'—a necessary prerequisite of any long-lasting divinatory technique. The fact that divination based on the calculated locations of heavenly bodies required no great apparatus, except a few 'handy tables'—no sheep, no extensive tablet series, etc.—must have been a major factor in its phenomenal success in the Hellenistic period. It spread from the temples of Babylonia to dominate the world, no more so than today, where horoscopes apparently remain amongst the most widely read texts on the planet.

From their inception horoscopes deliberately tapped into, for want of a better term, the (unexpressed) basic motive force of the universe. They were not tied to a particular set of gods,[17] although the character of those gods as determined by the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and surrounding regions centuries, if not millennia earlier, did decide the general values attached to the

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[15] One would perhaps think that the implications of accurate astronomical prediction would have fallen on fertile ground in Judah, especially in Jahweh's conflict with the worship of astral deities, though this is not recorded in the Old Testament. It was apparently not until the Jewish rationalist flowering in Muslim Spain with Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1167), Maimonides (1138–1204), and Gersonides (1288–1344), that Aristotelian philosophy and astronomy was used in arguments accounting for the prophets' abilities to predict the future based on their perfect knowledge of causal relations in the world, governed by astral forces (Tirosh-Samuelson 2003: 1958).

[16] The two oldest attested horoscopes include a mixture of observed and predicted data (Rochberg 1998: nos. 1–2). Thereafter, most of the astronomical data in the horoscopes were drawn directly or interpolated from what must have been readily available tables of predicted planetary dates and locations.

[17] The invocation of the gods Bel and Beltiya for Babylon and An and Antum for Uruk are merely formulaic, indicative of where the horoscopes were composed, not that those gods designed the universe, necessarily. Horoscopes 10 and 12 (see below) do not contain this invocation.

heavenly bodies. Jupiter and Venus are today still beneficent planets, due to their association in Mesopotamia with Marduk and Ištar. Mars' presence still bodes ill, for the same historical reasons, but no one believes (even those who believe in horoscopes) that Nergal is actually in Mars when the planet's role is being evaluated.

Horoscopes, I suggest, made virtually exclusive use of predictable phenomena in order to avoid the client having to believe that particular gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon determined his or her fate, arbitrarily, at birth. One needed only to believe that a child's destiny was linked to the deep force which set the mechanism of the sky in motion—a belief that was already widespread amongst (at least philosophically oriented) Greeks by the time they came to dominate Mesopotamia. It meant that foreigners could also have their horoscopes drawn up without having to buy into the local religion of the conquered peoples (and who, by definition had weaker gods). The existence of two Greek names in the small attested corpus of cuneiform horoscopes[18] indicates that the technique was, indeed, attractive to these foreigners.[19] This, perhaps even more than their ease of use, explains their extraordinary attraction to the rest of the world, as well as helping to explain Seleucid support for Babylonian temples, and the survival of cuneiform astronomy well into the Christian era (Brown 2008).

Mesopotamian horoscopes did not appear out of the blue (Rochberg 1998: 13–16). They drew on long-established traditions of birth omens: 'if a child is born on date X, then he will experience Y', with an overlay of values and techniques adopted from equally ancient celestial divination. Nativity omens of the form 'if the child is born in the middle of Aries' (i.e., zodiacal), and of the form 'If the child is born and Jupiter comes forth' (i.e., non-zodiacal) are also attested (e.g., TCL 6 14; Rochberg 1998: 14). Surviving examples are probably contemporary with the horoscopes, but they do suggest that an evolution may have occurred from birth omens (where the date of birth is ominous), via non-zodiacal nativity omens (where celestial phenomena occurring at the time of birth are ominous), to zodiacal nativity omens, and finally to horoscopes. Although this development is by no means secure, it shows that the use of calculated data in order to determine which planets, say, appeared at birth could have fulfilled the requirements of a divinatory technique that did not require the use of the zodiac. That is, they could have pre-dated the invention of the zodiac in the mid-5th century BCE. What is sure is that horoscopes were not imported under Achaemenid or Greek influence, for enough detailed connections with the older divinatory methods exist for us to be sure that they were developed indigenously in Mesopotamia. They are, therefore, good examples of how prediction either served to alter, or fed into an already altered, perception in Mesopotamia and elsewhere of the nature of the divine. A select but very important group of phenomena, that had been understood to be messages created then and there by locally present divinities in response to new happenings in the world, were now regarded instead as manifestations of the basic unfolding of an ordered universe. The irony is that the distancing of the gods from arbitrary influence over the destiny or nature of a new birth ensured the survival of aspects of Mesopotamian religious belief to this day.[20]

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[18] Out of seven horoscopes where names of children are recorded, the Greek names Aristokrates and Nikanor are found, dating to 235 and 230 BCE respectively (Rochberg 1998 nos. 10, 12).

[19] There is no specific evidence that the 'Greeks' named in the corpus were not locals who had taken Greek names. Either way, the appearance of Greek horoscopes in the centuries thereafter suggests that this Babylonian form of divination was not spurned by the invaders.

[20] Interestingly, the birth omen corpus contains rituals designed to avert the 'fate' predicted, an activity which continues into the late period. See Oppenheim 1978: 644 n. 127 for details. The averting of the *šīmtu* provided at birth by the gods was never very problematic in Mesopotamia, since the gods could alter fate at any future point. In a mechanistic universe, this might seem *prima facie* more difficult, for cheating fate would seem to disrupt the whole idea of the inevitable unfolding according to a master plan. Without delving too deeply into determinism and free will, suffice it to say that cheating fate did occur under these circumstances too. Denyer 1985, for example, argues that no causal link inevitably exists between sign and effect in Stoic thought, despite *sympatheia* between heaven and earth being central to that thought. That fate

Neugebauer (1975: 613), however, disagrees:

Before the 5th century BCE celestial omina probably did not include predictions for individuals, based on planetary positions in the signs of the zodiac and their mutual configurations (i.e., horoscopes). In this latest and most significant modification astrology became known to the Greeks in the Hellenistic period. But with the exception of some typical Mesopotamian relics the doctrine was changed in Greek hands to a universal system in which form alone it could spread all over the world. Hence astrology in the modern sense of the term, with its vastly expanded set of 'methods' is a truly Greek creation, in many respects parallel to the development of Christian theology a few centuries later.

He implies that Mesopotamian horoscopes were a mere (chance?) modification of native celestial divination, which only the Greeks recognised could be internationalised as a form of future prediction. This seems highly unlikely. I would prefer to suggest (and I recognise that I am over-playing the evidence here) that the horoscopes were not a simple by-product of celestial divination. They were an entirely new divinatory form made possible through astronomical prediction, and conceivable precisely because accurate astronomical prediction had shown the Mesopotamian scholars that many of the universe's configurations were the consequence of forces or a force greater than their own astral deities, and yet one whose effects were knowable long in advance. I further suggest that it was this idea which attracted some Greeks to cuneiform horoscopy in the first place but, as with transmission more generally, they quickly made horoscopes their own.

Other forms of divination continued to be used alongside horoscopic divination, probably by the same individuals,[21] whether in Mesopotamia or elsewhere. If amongst intellectuals the awareness of a deeper cosmic order had disenchanted the universe in some profound way, it did not suddenly manifest itself in the abandonment of all forms of divination save horoscopy.[22] That awareness (never attested directly—only implied) was, however, part of the process whereby over the following centuries some diviners ceased conjuring up supernatural entities and bribing deities to leave signs and replaced those activities with schemes that presupposed a dominant cosmic architect.

Aristotle and the later Stoics[23] adhered to the most potent means by which the cosmic, god-free, unfolding of the heavens could continue to imbue happenings on the earthly plane with meaning, namely through a belief in the direct contact between the heavenly and earthly spheres. This move of genius at one stroke preserved the intellectual credibility of a meaningful universe full of signs, and internationalised those forms of divination that survived from the ancient Near East into the Classical world and beyond.[24] The idea of cosmic *sympatheia*, of the clockwork heavens radiating down influence depending on their configuration, preserved its standing in the highest intellectual echelons at least until the time of Kepler, who famously paid his way by writing horoscopes, for instance for his patron General Wallenstein. Thereafter, one could argue, it became, if anything, no more than the hobby of the greater minds and only the main concern of pseudo-intellectuals, ceding ever more and more ground to the mechanistic, purposeless accounts of the unfolding of the universe that characterise modern exact science.

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predicted through predictable phenomena could also be circumvented in Babylonia should come as no surprise.

[21] 'It would seem that the astrologer did not form an independent professional class, but rather that this was the additional activity of other professions' (McEwan 1981: 16).

[22] Interestingly, it may account for the demise of the extispicer in later Babylonia, for the only mentions of *bārû* in the Hellenistic period probably come in texts which are copies of earlier materials (Linssen 2004: 17; Brown 2003: 10 n. 34). Extispicy does continue, however, but was perhaps undertaken by experts who were no longer referred to as extispicers.

[23] E.g., Cicero, *On Divination* 2.89 (Sambursky 1959). On cosmic *sympatheia*, see further Lehoux 2007: 53 n. 70.

[24] It was hardly universally accepted. For ancient criticisms see Barton 1994: 52–3.

Given that astronomy can make multiple deities seem redundant in astral context, it is legitimate to ask whether or not we see any evidence for a parallel intellectual tradition in Mesopotamia which imbues terrestrial signs with cosmic influence by tying them *directly* to a designed and unfolding universe. It has been a commonplace in Assyriological studies to answer this in the negative, to argue that there was no notion in Mesopotamia of *dynamis*, or means by which the heavenly spheres irrevocably affect the sub-lunar world directly. Rochberg-Halton (1988: 12) writes:

The Aristotelian cosmic scheme sets eight celestial spheres belonging to the seven planets and the fixed stars (made of ether) above and around the immobile earth … the motion of the ether, as explained by Ptolemy (ca. 150 AD), was held to directly affect the sublunar elements … Astrology's claim that the motions of celestial bodies were not only indications but actual physical causes of change on earth cannot be supported by Babylonian celestial omens.

Oppenheim (1978: 644) goes further, referring to those Mesopotamian scholars who made astronomical predictions:

When … the order in planetary movements was discovered, this knowledge failed to suggest in Mesopotamia the concept of an orderly functioning cosmos (with all its moral consequences), as it did later in Greek thought.

There are a few hints, however, that this may not have been the case. It is well known that Mesopotamian diviners recognised that signs in heaven and earth might well correspond with each other. In *Enūma Eliš* IV 141–2 it is written that 'heaven was created to match the Apsu'. In the Diviner's Manual (Oppenheim 1974) signs in heaven and earth are said to correspond.[25] It is also known that the asterisms were thought capable of influencing the terrestrial plane.[26] But even combined, this evidence is still a long way from the concept of *sympatheia*. It has also been noted that those late texts that combine the zodiac with temples, cities, trees, plants, stones, parts of the body, and parts of the exta,[27] as Oppenheim (1978: 659 n. 119) notes 'may indicate a possible application of *dynamis*'. But Koch-Westenholz (1995: 178) retorts, in the particular case of linking zodiacal signs with parts of the body, that 'since correlating all possible things was a pastime in which Babylonian scholars excelled, the relationship with the Hellenistic concept of melothesia is at most incidental'.

However, Heeßel (2005) has seen in a related group of texts concerned with stones, plants and trees, and their medicinal effects when exposed to the stars, a definite precursor to the idea of cosmic sympathy. These texts do not merely exhibit the familiar 'Analogiedenken', but a 'Vorstellung einer 'belebten Natur' und zu der damit verbundenen Idee, dass alles mit allem verbunden ist und sich gegenseitig beeinflusst'. He dates this new view of nature to the time before 485 BCE, and notes that there are no texts of this sort dating to the 6th and 7th centuries BCE.

Geminus of Rhodes in his *Introduction to the 'Phaenomena'* dating to the first century BCE, appears to cite sympathy as a 'Chaldaean' doctrine (Barton 1994: 36), though perhaps was merely imposing on them native Greek attitudes.[28]

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[25] In L4 (Streck 1916: II 252–3, ll. 13–18) Assurbanipal declares that he argues about (the work) '(if) the liver is a correspondence of the sky' with expert diviners. It would be nice to imagine that he is debating how stellar configurations may influence the appearance of entrails through direct interaction, though this perhaps stretches an interpretation too far.

[26] 'Stellar deities … may cause affliction … and herald ill fortune' (Reiner 1995: 8).

[27] See the useful summary by Koch-Westenholz 1995: ch. 8.

[28] Similarly, Berossus (3rd century BCE): so far as it is possible to believe that anything assigned to him was actually written by him, Berossus describes the idea of the Great Year, and the total age of the universe being 12 times 12 *sar*, where a *sar* equals 3600 years (Burstein 1978: 33). The implication of this, of course, is that the universe had a starting point which was known to be 144 *sar* ago, and by extension, that it was

One vital clue, which appears to have been overlooked in this context, is to be found in the Astronomical Diaries. Whatever the origin of these extraordinary texts,[29] they rapidly became records of those phenomena that were recognised to be predictable, with the aim of providing a database that made those phenomena still more accurately predictable. They are, however, from the earliest attested example, dating to 652 BCE, accompanied by terrestrial data: historical comments, ominous events, the levels of the river, and so forth. What are these data doing in texts that are otherwise records of phenomena known to be accurately predictable, if it was not because it was thought that they too were potentially predictable? From 652 BCE, then, the record in a Diary of Babylonian and Assyrian troops fighting was considered perhaps to be a phenomenon that might repeat itself predictably.[30] Were, for some, the elite, the predictable heavens sympathetically making the earthly plane predictable, paralleling Greek notions of *sympatheia* already in the 7th century BCE?

Further to this, from the 7th century BCE, in Assurbanipal's *Hymn to Aššur*, we find that Aššur is:

[1–2] The exceedingly great one, king of the gods, omniscient; venerable, surpassing the Ellil of the gods, he who decrees the fates (*šīmtu*) … [15–16] creator of those of heaven and earth … creator of those gods …
[19–21] whose command is wide-reaching … [whose …] like the writing on the heavens does not miss its appointed time! … [25] your wo[rd] … spoken from the beginning (*ultu ulla*) … the meaning of your *ma*[*jestic designs*][31] is not understood. (K. 3258; after Livingstone 1989 no. 1)

While not 'monotheistic' in message, as the epithet 'king of the gods' and 'creator of the gods' implies, it is typically (for these hymns) redolent with henotheistic feeling. A legitimate, though not the only, interpretation is that issues akin to pre-Socratic natural theology (see below) were being addressed by intellectuals in this text under the influence of predictive astronomy. The references to celestial omens, the 'writing on the heavens', appearing according to their 'appointed time', in particular, may imply that by Assurbanipal's time (668–c. 630 BCE) the heavens were thought by some to be merely unfolding according to Aššur's master plan. The translation 'decrees the fates' for *šīmtu* makes Aššur sound more regal than cosmic, but could equally be translated as 'decrees the nature of things'. The allusion to a word being spoken at the beginning resonates with the opening of Genesis, of course, and is also suggestive of an idea of first mover. That the designs were thought to be unknown parallels what one finds in Egypt, and also some pre-Socratic notions of the unknowable nature of the *archē*. It must be noted, however, that many of these expressions could be interpreted in less philosophical ways. The 'writing on the heavens', appearing according to their 'appointed time', could imply little more than that Aššur ensures that the omens bode well, for things that appear according to their ideal periods bode well. The presentation together in one text of so many ideas akin to natural theology is remarkable, however.

Finally, there is one last hint that the late Neo-Assyrian period saw a change in the view of some as to the nature of the divine under the influence of astronomy. As Oppenheim (1978: 659 n. 118) notes, in the first millennium BCE it first became possible for celestial bodies to give signs

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understood to be unfolding according to a plan.

[29] I argue elsewhere that the Diaries provide a record of mostly ominous phenomena and that this gathering of similar data led to the noticing of periodicities in the database, which was utilised both to ensure that the record was complete (i.e., phenomena that could not be observed due to bad weather conditions were calculated) and to make future predictions of celestial configurations (Brown 2000: 93–4, 215–16). It rapidly evolved to record mainly, but not exclusively, those data that were known to exhibit periodicities in some or other form.

[30] The next datable Diary is from 568 BCE. In obv. 7 it states: 'a fox entered the city', which is, presumably, a terrestrial omen apodosis.

[31] GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ 'designs' is reconstructed by Livingstone here. It certainly must be something plural.

independently of their worship as gods.[32] Was this a sign that, for some, the gods were no longer necessary to the phenomena of the heavenly bodies?

To conclude, it appears that the norm in Mesopotamian literate circles was to continue to believe in the direct presence of many gods. Almost without exception what survives in cuneiform after c. 750 BCE demonstrates the prevailing enchanted-polytheistic outlook, where the gods were believed to be present in all things, including signs. The presence of Marduk in his statue during the Hellenistic New Year ritual, for example, shows this most clearly in the latest phase (Sallaberger 2000: 255–6).[33] Nevertheless, hints of another world-view, one where an older, cosmic force, perhaps to be identified with the top god, can be discerned, beginning in the late Neo-Assyrian period and most strikingly with the horoscopes and related zodiacal texts of the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Horoscopic divination travelled to Greece, where it fell on fertile ground—one where the Aristotelian view that the heavens were underpinned by a few indemonstrables, set in motion by a first (unmoved) mover[34] and which causally affected the earthly plane, and Platonic ideas of the Demiurge who endows the world with intelligible order by applying independently existing 'forms' to a pre-existing inert 'matter' (*Timaeus* 28c),[35] were hotly debated. Recent studies have agreed that during Hellenistic times belief in various forms of monotheism was the norm, rather than the exception amongst educated elites (Athanassiadi and Frede 1999). Had these ideas emerged in Greece on their own? Is it merely coincidence that discussions of the nature of god in these terms began with the pre-Socratics just after accurate prediction had been shown to be possible in nearby Mesopotamia? After all, as Gerson (1990: 2) writes, 'In fact, since natural theology does not assume the subject matter of Greek myth or religion, it is a very good question why it should have arisen at all'. His solution is:

The one fundamental principle operating in Milesian cosmology is surely that the world is a *kosmos*, that is, it has an order that is at least partially transparent to the intellect. This may be understood as an hypothesis without which any scientific enterprise (including natural theology) cannot hope to begin. It is, however, a remarkable advance on common sense to intuit that there are reasons for the regularity and that different sorts of regularity or patterns in nature are linked by common underlying principles.

In other words, the periodicity of phenomena in the visible universe was observed in ancient Anatolia and was a prerequisite for the series of questions posed in Miletus, from Thales to Xenophanes, about the nature of what caused this regularity. I will address the problem with this view in a moment.

What, though, of other possible developments internal to Greek thinking, which could account for the appearance of considerations as to the nature of the universe, its starting point and unfolding? Many scholars have stressed the importance of the systematisation of the gods by Hesiod, or the role of Zeus in the Pantheon as described in Homer or in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. For Kirk et al. (1987: 7–8, 75), 'the assumption of a single primary material was clearly a development of the genetic or geneaological approach to nature exemplified by the Hesiodic *Theogony*'. While the issue of a single primary material is indeed bound up with pre-Socratic

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[32] See for example *The prayer to Ninurta as Sirius* in K.128, or *The prayer to Marduk as Mercury* (Lambert 1957–8).

[33] Omens are derived from the appearance of Marduk's statue, particularly his face, which in the ritual texts is explained as being the result of the god's presence then and there. Even if nothing unusual appears in the look of the statue, this is still ominous, because the god is still *in* the statue.

[34] *Physics*, VII, 242a 54: ' … there must be some first mover'. Discussion in Gerson 1990: 96.

[35] In *Phaedo* 97d–98a Plato criticises Anaxagoras's materialism, arguing that the 'mind' produces order, and arranges all things in the way that is best, and has little time for 'absurdities' such as air, ether and water as the prime causes.

musings about natural theology, my concern here is with the idea of a prime mover, or initial architect of the universe, whose plan accounts for all subsequent behaviour, and which makes the existence of other gods irrelevant. The former does not lead obviously to the latter.

Similarly, Homer may illustrate that divine conflict was resolved under the guidance of Zeus, and that he was the essential decision maker, perhaps, but this mirror of the earthly king in council parallels the situation in Mesopotamia, and does not lead logically to the notion of a de-anthropomorphised 'one cause'—the divine *apeiron* of Anaximander (619–540 BCE), for example. In cultures neighbouring Greece, even the idea of a creator god who sets the universe in motion in such a way that phenomena recur was, by the time of Anaximander, already centuries old. We would have to argue then, that there was something in the Near East that prevented what to the Greeks was apparently a logical development from this kind of systematic ordering to natural theology, or we would have to argue that there was something special about the Greeks.

Some do still argue that the pre-Socratics represent the start of 'rational thought', as if this in itself explains their attempts to apprehend natural laws by deduction, their emphasis on observation and so forth. It may be immediately discounted as an explanation for the start of discussions on natural theology, as long advocated by Lloyd (1990, for example).[36] We turn, then, to the different socio-political circumstances of the Milesian scholars and their followers, as a reason for their particular approach to nature. These range from Aristotle's suggestion that it was due to scientific curiosity brought on by the leisure offered by the prosperity of Miletus (Asher-Greve and Asher, 1998: 30 n. 8; Kirk et al. 1987: 75) to the notion of the open society and increased literacy.[37] Lloyd (1996: 21–2) stresses that the open society produced *agonistic* scholars competing with each other, challenging orthodoxy, including religious belief. Socratic and pre-Socratic scorn at Hesiodic genealogies is exemplary of this,[38] and is not found in Mesopotamian texts, to my knowledge. Nevertheless, I suggest astronomy brings something special with it, when it comes to understanding the universe, something that the mere noticing of 'periodicities' does not necessarily bring. This new awareness was a potent, if not necessarily fundamental, spur to the new ways of thinking about the unfolding universe. Essentially, there is a flaw in the idea that a cosmic order emerges directly from the careful observation of nature.

For example, in *Enūma Eliš,* Marduk arranges for cosmic order (for details, see Horowitz 1998: 108–29). He designs a year that lasts 360 days, with twelve 30-day months, and with full moons on the 15th of each month. However, the scheme of *Enūma Eliš*, although it expresses the idea of the periodicity of the universe, is not in any way a description of reality based on observation. After two months the scheme would have been seen to have failed to correspond with what was actually happening in the sky. The scheme is something other than reality, an ideal. Awareness of periodicity in the universe does not mean that recurring phenomena are thereby predictable. That many think it does is a mistake made again and again in discussions of what has become known as 'early astronomy'. For example, knowing that the moon will appear again with the next month does not tell you whether that month will last 29 or 30 days. We know from countless omen sources that month length was an important celestial sign, and that a 30-day month boded well and a 29-day

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[36] Recently Asher-Greve and Asher 1998: 31: 'the most logical point of departure'. Rational thinking is hardly absent in ancient Near Eastern thinking, nor in earlier Greek writing. See Kirk et al. 1987: 73, for example. Also, it is not as if the pre-Socratics did not preserve many so-called pre-rational elements in their thinking, as Asher-Greve and Asher 1998: 30–1 themselves admit (cf. Kirk et al. 1987: 72). Such views repeat those of Frankfort *apud* Frankfort et al. 1946: 376, for example: 'this change of viewpoint (to thinking of *archē*) is breath-taking. It transfers the problems of man in nature from the realm of faith and poetic intuition to the intellectual sphere'.

[37] Kirk et al. 1987: 72 argue that the symbolic and anthropomorphic world-view was at once valuable and retarding because it was institutionalizing, and stresses the importance of the 'open society' in the move from *muthos* to *logos*.

[38] E.g., Xenophanes (Kirk et al. 1987: §§166–9).

month boded ill. Each new month represented an arbitrary decision of the gods, and did not indicate that the heavens followed an underlying plan.

Coherence with the ideal, as expressed in *Enūma Eliš,* boded well. Non-coherence boded ill, and as I have shown before, this is a general rule of celestial divination (Brown 2000: 146–7). For our purposes, however, it is sufficient to remark that the observation that the cosmos exhibits periodicity in no way implies, without much deeper insight, that many of its phenomena are consequent on the unfolding of a master plan, and that the presence of the gods, who through their own volition determine the details of these events, is redundant. That is, a 29-day month was a sign created then and there as an indication of one god's disapproval, not as a consequence of the working out of the architect's masterplan.

'The gods have opened the ears of the king', writes a scholar to the Neo-Assyrian monarch (Hunger 1992 no. 63, r. 2), when describing the length of the month. The gods could alter the ideal to produce any reality they chose. Omens describing even shorter months, which are impossible, indicate this. Cosmological texts in Mesopotamia therefore perpetuated the idea of the essential arbitrary nature of *all* ominous phenomena.[39] Gods like Marduk were creator gods, but not in the sense of a first mover, or principle, for his creation did not limit the free will of the other gods, who remained powerful and ever-present. Virtually all celestial phenomena that are periodic are not easily predictable. The days and seasons repeat, but their lengths change rather dramatically depending on weather conditions. Eclipses recur frequently but are not actually visible every six months, and their forms vary tremendously. In Mesopotamia, all of the so-called early astronomical texts, predating c. 750 BCE, are merely numerical elaborations of the ideal cosmological models. They provide no information which would have permitted the accurate prediction of a phenomenon to take place, that which would have made the actual observation of the phenomenon unnecessary. The periods assigned to Venus in the famous tablet of Ammisaduqa did not permit the diviner to calculate with any certainty even in which month Venus might rise. None of the lunar schemes in Tablet 14 of the divination series *Enūma Anu Ellil* could have predicted the length of the month without substantial additional information.[40] They did, however, provide the scribes with a further useful divinatory tool.

It is not, therefore, sufficient to notice periodicities in nature in order to provide the idea automatically that the universe was a mechanism simply running according to rules laid out at its inception. The idea of a mere cosmic creator god who fashions the universe at its inception, when this does not exclude the apparent arbitrariness in significant phenomena, does not, I would argue, lead automatically to a first mover deity whose plan for the universe unfolds without arbitrariness. This part of the explanation as to the origins of Greek thinking about the universe needs to be modified.

Predictive astronomy provided a particular impetus for the philosophers of Miletus, I suggest, by indicating that a deeper order in the universe (as evidenced in the periodicity in the database of carefully recorded celestial observations) did indeed exist. This, in summary, is one of the new intellectual positions of the Ionian thinkers. They intellectually ridicule the dominant belief in

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[39] The ideal universe they described allowed for a situation which gives room for the arbitrary creation of the NAM(.TAR) or *šīmtu*, and this feeds into my translation of the title I.NAM.GIŠ.ḪUR.AN.KI.A as 'designs of heaven and earth (for) giving/praising nam', where I take the I to be Akkadian *nâdu* 'to praise', and I.NAM to be in opposition to GIŠ.ḪUR.AN.KI.A. The discussion of the reading of title is to be found in Livingstone 1986: 34–5. One proposal he makes, but does not use in his translation, is to take *tab-ba-a-ti*, which in K.2164+ corresponds to I.NAM.GIŠ.ḪUR, from *tanbâtu* 'naming'. Given that 'naming' can mean 'creating' or even 'assigning the fate of', this seems to fit well the sense of the title proposed here.

[40] Brack-Bernsen and Hunger 2002 attempt to provide this additional information on the basis of the early Hellenistic text TCL 6 11 (also known as TU 11), though there is absolutely no evidence that such methods were used before the 8th century BCE. It seems much more likely that TCL 6 11 represents a late attempt to breathe new life into the old schemes by showing how, with additional data, they could be used to make accurate predictions.

many gods, which were formerly wholly consistent with a mere initial creator deity (or indeed substance), and seek a description of the deeper principle which stands at the start of the universe and which makes it run.

For Lloyd (1996: 181) it was Plato's *Timaeus* (38de, 40cd) that first explicitly stated that the irregular phenomena of the heavens can be reproduced geometrically, that is through the application of combinations of circular motions. Via Aristotle, this aim formed the central motivation of much subsequent Greek astronomy (Lloyd 1987: 312–13; 1991: ch. 11). He notes that *Laws* 821e imply the relatively recent discovery that the planets do not wander, but are borne on one path, that is, that their motions can be demonstrated geometrically and are not merely random (Lloyd 1996: 181). However, there appear to be important 6th-century precursors to this awareness, which indicate that the universe was understood to be unfolding, even if it was not yet 'clear' that that unfolding could be rendered with a combination of circular motions—*more geometrico*.

Thales' famous eclipse prediction, however apocryphal, demonstrates that the new skill was known by 585 BCE. Anaximander, his contemporary, coined the *apeiron* as the principle which 'enfolds and steers all', a hypothetical entity whose role is that of explanation, an idea that came to be expressed in the term *archē* (Versnel 2000: 89; Gerson 1990: 15). According to Plutarch (Kirk et al. 1987: §101C), Anaximander said that:

the *apeiron* (infinite)[41] contained the whole cause of the coming-to-be and the destruction of the world, from which he says that the heavens are separated off, and in general all the worlds being apeirous (innumerable). He declared that destruction, and much earlier coming-to-be, happen from infinite ages, since they are all occurring in cycles,

which reads (to me) like a statement of a first mover concept, and an unfolding universe. For Gerson (1990: 16), it presupposed a *kosmos*, the order of which is at least in part transparent to the intellect and (according to Aristotle) was for Anaximander divine.

Xenophanes (c. 560–470 BCE) postulates one supreme *archē*-Deity, whose great mind *nous*, moves the universe, and sets the tone for all subsequent Greek descriptions of the first, unmoved mover (Gerson 1990: 20):

it stays always in the same place, not moving, nor is it fitting for it to pass to different places at different times: rather, exempt from toil, it shakes all things with the thought of its mind (*nous*). (Kirk et al. 1987: §171)

This is a description of an unfolding universe, designed by a Mind, who is present in one place and at one time (which is the starting point or *archē*) and not present at later times and in other places— one cause, not multiple. And yet, Xenophanes also describes this one god as merely 'the greatest among gods and men, in no way similar to mortals either in body or in thought' (Kirk et al. 1987: §170). As Versnel discusses, this perhaps rather indicates the continued prevalence of polytheistic belief amongst his audience,[42] for Xenophanes was a strong critic of naive and implausible anthropomorphising, and otherwise a philosophical monotheist (Gerson 1990: 19).

The suddenly non-arbitrary nature of many celestial phenomena could have put a lot of gods out of work (or at least reduced their workload). I suggest that this realisation, concomitant with the

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[41] Gerson 1990: 17 favours Freudenthal's idea that the *apeiron* itself emerges from the consideration of opposites in medicine.

[42] Versnel 2000: 101 sees Xenophanes as living with polytheism, but experimenting with monotheism. That the pre-Socratics suffered the risk of being accused of impiety for promulgating monotheistic or materialistic ideas suggests again that what they were doing was not a natural development of Greek religious thought. The prosecutions of Anaxagoras (c. 432), Protagoras (c. 422), and Socrates (c. 399) are amongst the more famous examples, and indicate the climate in Athens in the late 5th and 4th centuries BCE when it came to intellectual challenges to standard belief.

first astronomy, as defined here, was one further factor lying behind the monotheistic issues that concerned Anaximander, and Xenophanes, through to Plato and Aristotle and indeed onward through Plotinus into Christianity (as argued by Gerson 1990). This first astronomy began in the temples of Babylonia and courts of Assyria. The issues that concerned the Greek scholars mentioned might also have been considered by intellectuals in Mesopotamia as a direct result of the advent of accurate prediction. Little attests to this, however. Though just as the pre-Socratics worked with the fear of being accused of impiety, cuneiform scholars undoubtedly also worked within certain normative guidelines. This must go some small way to account for the dearth of sources, as must selective survival. Thrown back on what little we do have, I pointed to horoscopes, to the possible indications in zodiac-derived texts that an idea of *sympatheia* was present, and to the Diaries for a pre-5th century BCE suggestion of this, to *Assurbanipal's Hymn to Aššur*, to the prayers to celestial bodies without the gods, and lastly to Berossus and the Great Year (note the clear resonance with Anaximander), and to Geminus of Rhodes. These many hints (and they are no more than that) at a new world-view amongst some cuneiform scholars dates back, I suggest, to the 7th and 8th centuries BCE, and should be placed at the feet of predictive astronomy, that spin-off of celestial divination. If I am right, and I am hesitant to say more than that I consider this to be a legitimate new interpretation of this material, then the possibility arises that this new understanding of the divine *may* have inspired pre-Socratic thinking on natural theology.

Various processes of religious change have been argued to occur during the course of Mesopotamian history, which might at first glance be though to have disenchanted the universe. Employing a model influenced by Gauchet (1985/1997), but with its own good Assyriological pedigree from Jeremias (1904), via Gadd (1948), Lambert (1975), and Jacobsen (1976), to Bottéro (2001) and beyond, it could be argued that the first pressure exerted on an 'enchanted' universe, full of supernatural beings, was that brought about by state religion. In broad terms, this was religion promulgated by the hegemony, which tended to produce fully-formed gods, distanced from humans and with claims to absolute respect and power. It mirrored the form of interaction enjoyed by ordinary people vis-à-vis their rulers.

Given that our sources only really begin long after this stage had occurred,[43] it is itself largely a leap of faith to argue that state religion grew out of older, more holistic practices. For Jacobsen (1976) gods were perceived as intransitive, non-anthropomorphic entities, and for van Binsbergen and Wiggermann (1999: 27–8) the perceived relations between man, woman and nature were governed by two-way communication at the same level. The evidence for this, it must be said, is fairly weak. First, modern societies without developed state structures apparently conduct relations with the supernatural in this way; and second, the intransitive, non-human deities apparently survived alongside the transitive ones in later times.[44] For van Binsbergen and Wiggermann (1999: 29–30) non-hierarchical human-supernatural communication in Mesopotamia is also a survival from pre-state times. They argue that it survived alongside and often in opposition to state religion and divination.

Clearly, based on the data available, other viewpoints are possible. Jacobsen (1976: 14) argues that the earliest representations of the gods are in non-human forms. Yet it is well known that anthropomorphic figurines from southern Germany, often considered to be deities, pre-date the Mesopotamian evidence by millennia. Equally, wealthy burials, suggesting the concentration of power in the hands of a few, are not restricted to cultures with cities. Much as it is pleasing to believe that there was a time before state formation when human beings interacted more or less

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[43] Jacobsen 1976: 20 argues that the 'ruler metaphor' appears to be later than that of the 'élan vital, spiritual cores in phenomena, indwelling wills … natural phenomena of primary economic importance', but that our earliest evidence for the 'ruler'-type divinity dates to the Jemdet Nasr period.

[44] 'These are the ruler gods, who though they too may be the power in a specific phenomenon, have interests, activity, and will beyond it' (Jacobsen 1976: 10).

equally with supernatural forces, one has to build into that model an explanation of why large cult centres pre-date large-scale state formation.[45] These centres appear to have been dwelling places for mighty deities. Indeed, perhaps large-scale state formation *encouraged* the populating of the universe with supernatural entities by bringing differing peoples with their differing beliefs together? Why it is that so many believe (including Gauchet 1985/1997) that the earliest societies dwelt in an enchanted, largely non-hierarchical universe is an interesting question, related to how we interpret archaeological finds, and to our conceptions of ourselves as human beings, but it cannot be supported in my opinion by evidence from Mesopotamia.

The first gods in Mesopotamia that we know about in any detail were mostly distant, largely inaccessible, humanoid gods, with large houses, retinues, intrigues, and viziers (Jacobsen 1976: 20). Like kings, these gods had power over wide areas. As their worshippers took control over larger and larger areas perhaps they did usurp the roles of other supernatural forces. They were able, perhaps, to make bigger plans than those previous deities attested only iconographically. But they were still far from being prime movers, and no one deity made all others redundant. There was little or no disenchantment at this stage, I would say, irrespective of the influence of state formation on religious thinking. It would be hard to argue, however, that the formation of states did not, in general, have a disenchanting effect. As human beings collectively achieved that which an individual could never have managed alone, they began to encroach upon areas that were seen to be the monopoly of the supernatural (altering the landscape, rapid long-distant communication, longevity, and so forth). However, this 'man is the measure' humanist claim probably did not have a significant disenchanting effect until the Enlightenment, by which time the universe had long since been disenchanted through many other processes.

The vast bulk of the divination preserved from Mesopotamia exactly reflects the kind of communication ordinary people would receive from benign authorities. Communication came not directly, but through signs. The gods could be prayed to for assistance, which they could arbitrarily choose to give or to withhold. They could be encouraged to leave signs in materials it was believed were attractive to them—flesh, oil and smoke, but little else. The signs when they did appear were often described as *purussû* or 'decisions', and this applied particularly to queries—that is, divination designed to determine a 'yes' or 'no' in some particular circumstance.[46] The making of decisions was tied, in Sumerian mythical theology, to the great gods and to the need to maintain the cult. In the *Keš Temple Hymn* 'the house which determines the destinies of the land' is the one 'without which no decisions are made' (ETCSL 4.80.2, lines 58M, 58J). Here indeed, the case could be made that state religion had usurped the ancient source of communication offered by the supernatural. In effect, if the cult is not maintained, if there is no religion, there will also be no

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[45] Matthews 2003: 99–100 discusses the various models used to account for state formation in Mesopotamia.

[46] Divinatory 'decisions' were never binding. The consequences of ill-boding signs could be avoided by soothing the gods through chanting or praying, or by using magical techniques. Both techniques are exemplified by the apotropaic rituals or *namburbû*. These were techniques that perhaps drew on the supposedly older, holistic 'magical viewpoint', but had been adapted so that the major gods of the cult were never forced to do what the client wanted. Take, for example, the *namburbû* to counteract the evil portended by an eclipse (Maul 1994: 458–9). The victim provides a meal for Sin and finally throws himself to the ground and praises the moon god. Here, as was usual, appeasement was the preferred method, for unless the major god was persuaded to show mercy, no number of magical techniques could save the day. All the various additional magical, devious means of deflecting the evil portended, cleansing the patient, and so forth employed in the *namburbûs*, always simultaneously tried to avoid angering the major god in question. Only minor supernatural creatures could be forced through magic to do something, as outlined by Heeßel 2000: 81–7 in resepect of the Assyro-Babylonian Diagnostic Handbook. See also Scurlock 2002 on *eṭemmu* 'soul/ghost' and *zaqīqu* 'dream soul', where it is clear in funerary rites that these lower supernatural entities were expected to reside in the various types of apparatus provided. Unsurprisingly, then, the great gods were sometimes believed to send down minor supernatural agents to do their dirty work: 'Die Dämonen wiederum handelten einerseit im Auftrag von höheren Gottheiten, sie konnten andererseits aber auch aus eigenem Antrieb zuschlagen' (Heeßel 2000: 80).

divination. Divination certainly preceded the *Keš Temple Hymn* in my view, and perhaps van Binsbergen and Wiggerman (1999) are right in arguing that Mesopotamian state divination was the alleged communication between supernatural forces and humankind that had been legitimised by religion. Nevertheless, it remained at all times something that, in principle at least, was available to all. Diviners worked within the framework of god-human communication established by state religion, though they did not in themselves sustain the cult. Nor did they alter the nature of the religion, but rather had their profession altered by it under the influence of state and empire formation, until divination threw up around 700 BCE one rather astonishing by-product, accurate astronomical prediction.

Historians of Mesopotamian religion point to a second stage in its evolution, which may, in the long run, be seen to have had a disenchanting effect. This change occurred, according to Jacobsen (1976: 20, 156, 163), in the Old Babylonian period, though he sees precursors in the third millennium. He assigns to this stage the rise of the personal god (*il rēši*), who acts in a parental capacity. The connection with the ancestor as god is no doubt relevant here.[47] At the same time the great gods are 'kicked upstairs', into the position of creators of the universe (Jacobsen 1976: ch. 6; Bottéro 2001: 81–90). Why? One idea is that people felt secure enough to call upon their local gods instead of the great gods. Equally, one can invert the logic and argue that the major gods were now concerned with matters on an imperial scale and had little time for the ordinary person, much as the king had no time now for the average citizen, who had to resort to an intermediary in order to attempt to receive some audience. Similarly, Porter (2000: 255–6) suggests that a personal god provided a necessary sense of security in a world populated by so many easily offended gods, by linking each believer with someone who could represent their requests to the pantheon. The cosmic-creator aspect of the top gods no doubt mirrored the royal rule of a wide and complex empire, and developments can be suggested that reflect changes in the socio-political landscape.

'Monotheistic' or henotheistic moves characterised the end of the Bronze Age, most markedly with the new solar theology of Akhenaten in Egypt, but parallels abound elsewhere, particularly with the increased emphasis on Marduk and Aššur. These were political decisions, however, not new conclusions derived from knowledge of the divine as deduced from sense data by the application of reason (as Aristotle would have it). It produced a religion of the sort 'first god amongst many', which mirrored the empire as the first state amongst many. The new theology still meant that the gods were ever-present in the universe, from eclipses to extispicy rituals. Some of the very ancient creator gods (Anshar, Enlil, An) were kicked so high that they ceased to have any power at all, and survived mainly in myth and hollow ritual, while a new generation of vigorous gods ran the empire. Jacobsen (1976: 230–1) even sees a growing brutalization of the gods through the course of the late second and first millennium BCE as a consequence of their 'growing politization (*sic*)' as they increasingly embodied the political interests of their cities and countries.

But while notions of an order or plan circulated, this was far from the idea of a 'first mover'. So far as disenchantment goes, these cosmic creator gods designed universes full of supernatural entities, and there is virtually no evidence from Mesopotamia of some deities being eliminated through having their roles usurped. However, the act of personal contact with a minor deity prefigured, perhaps, the supposed personal communication with a supreme creator deity of Christianity, and it could be argued that this was the more significant legacy of the Late Bronze Age changes in religion in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the ancient Near East.

Unpredictable occurrences needed causes; in an enchanted world-view, cause was usually a supernatural entity nearby. Where arbitrariness was dispensed with, then the many causes could be reduced to one, and that one pushed right back in time. Accurate prediction puts pressure on the gods, forcing redundancy, and perhaps there is a hint of this pressure in the few cuneiform texts considered here. Enchantment can be to a large extent preserved, however, by positing cosmic sympathy. Thereafter, the whole process of universal unfolding could be evaluated as either

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[47] A suggestion from A. George.

meaningful, as implied by horoscopes and stated explicitly by Plato, who also sees it as good,[48] or alternatively meaningless. The latter is the current intellectual, non-religious, scientific position, and (despite Gauchet 1985/1997) is the final stage of disenchantment. But before this last stage was reached a human conception of a principle or god who created a non-arbitrary universe in the first place had to appear. This was again an important (though again perhaps not necessary) stage in the evolution of religious or atheistic thinking. Accurate prediction, occurring regularly, institutionally supported, and in a way that could spread to the world, appeared first in Mesopotamia, and was perhaps, therefore one of the factors, so far ignored, leading to the 'disenchantment of the world'. I see accurate astronomical prediction, therefore, as the third possible pressure for disenchantment to emerge from Mesopotamia, and ultimately the most powerful.

I have tried to situate the advent of accurate prediction within the context of other changes in the history of Mesopotamian religion, suggesting that it too had potential to disenchant the universe, though it did not do so within that 'culture' itself. I have also sought elements of western European culture. I acknowledge the Eurocentrism of this paper, but also argue that even if the pre-Socratics were not influenced by the Mesopotamian skill of accurate prediction, my search has helped me better to understand the evolution of one part of natural theology, making me ask different questions of both cuneiform and pre-Socratic Greek material. Elite knowledge, brought by astronomy, of the fact that the universe unfolds predictably altered Mesopotamian religious thought, at most, in only a small way. The consequences of those changes survive today in the form of horoscopes, but also perhaps survive in Christianity through the influence of Greek natural theology. Perhaps the seeds of that which most clearly distinguishes modern intellectual Christianity, or indeed atheism, from ancient Mesopotamian religion were sown first in Mesopotamia itself.

It is my greatest pleasure, tinged with sadness, to dedicate this piece to the memory of Jeremy Black. I was working on it when the first news of his untimely death filtered through. I had seen Jeremy only a matter of weeks beforehand at a conference in Oxford. Only days before he died, he sent me an email with an obscure reference relevant to the paper I had delivered there. We had in previous years often spoken about Greco-Mesopotamian resonances, and I had anticipated sending him this article and discussing it with him thereafter. The loss is mine. It would, perhaps, have appealed to him that one source of the belief in a godless universe can be traced back to his beloved Mesopotamia. Did the sense of utter waste associated with his death partly inspire this search for the roots of atheism?

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[48] The 'Form of the Good' as outlined in the *Republic* 508e– (Gerson 1990: 57–8).

RARA AVIS: A STUDY OF THE ḪU SECTION OF THE Sᴬ VOCABULARY

Yᴏʀᴀᴍ Cᴏʜᴇɴ—Tᴇʟ Aᴠɪᴠ

The Sᵃ Vocabulary is a lexical list of over two hundred signs arranged in a relatively fixed order.* Every sign is given a single entry or more, sometimes over fifteen, and supplied with an Akkadian translation or gloss in a separate column. Occasionally, the signs are given the reading of their value and their names.[1] The vocabulary is known from various incomplete manuscripts found in the sites of Assur, Emar, Ḫattuša, and Ugarit. At Ḫattuša, in addition to the sign and Akkadian columns, a Hittite column is provided, whereas at Ugarit vocabularies with Hurrian, and with Hurrian and Ugaritic, columns are found.[2] At Emar, all the sources of the list are bilingual, with the occasional pronunciation gloss of the sign. There is no column in the local language, 'Emarite', as in Ugarit and Ḫattuša. However, occasionally, some West Semitic or non-normative Akkadian forms are found dispersed throughout the list.[3]

The first part of this contribution is concerned with the ḪU section of the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary. The Akkadian entries of this section seemingly defy a straightforward explanation, because they cannot be paralleled with what is known from other sources of the list. They will be explained one by one and shown to form, apart from the last entry, a semantically related group. The second part will study the ḪU section of the partly preserved Boǧazköy Sᵃ Vocabulary, KBo 26.34 obverse. This section caused much controversy amongst Hittitologists and Indo-Europeanists because of the reconstructed equation between [ḪU], [*iṣṣūru*], and Hittite šu-wa-iš and the subsequent translation of the Hittite entry as 'bird'.[4] This translation can now be shown, at best, as doubtful. Following the discussion, an edition of KBo 26.34 obv. will be presented. It is hoped that the commonplace assertion that the lexical lists from the Western Periphery (like those from Emar and Ḫattuša) are full of mistakes and/or are laden with West Semitic entries (like those from Emar) will be subjected to some reconsideration, when the various lexical traditions interlaced in the Sᵃ Vocabulary recensions become more apparent.

[1] See Cavigneaux 1983: 622–3; Civil 1995: 2309. See Gong 2000 for the pronunciation and names of the signs.
[2] The Ugarit vocabularies were edited by Nougayrol in *Ugaritica* 5 nos. 130–8 (re-edited by Huehnergard 1987: 21–102; see also van Soldt 1990); add also RS 94.2939, a Sᵃ Vocabulary of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hurrian columns, edited by Salvini and Salvini 1998; 1999a; 1999b. The Assur and Boǧazaköy (CTH 299) recensions were edited in MSL 3 49ff.; to the latter add KBo 26.34, whose obverse is edited here.
[3] D. Arnaud edited the Emar remains of the list in a conflated edition (*Emar* 537). See the studies of Sjöberg 1998; Pentiuc 2001; see also Borger 2004: 231–4; Cohen 2002; 2006; forthcoming.
[4] See the review of the literature in Rößle 2004: 546 n. 8.

THE H̬U SECTION OF THE EMAR S^A VOCABULARY

There are three main copies of the S^a Vocabulary at Emar, with some additional fragmentary manuscripts.[5] The H̬U section, however, is preserved only in one copy, Copy 2.[6] The section consists of five entries (Figure 1):[7]

(82)	i 19′	H̬U	*ḫu-uZ-Zu[8]-ru*
(83)	i 20′	H̬U	*ḫu-bu-šu*
(84)	i 21′	H̬U	*ḫu-uZ-Zu-Zu*
(85)	i 22′	H̬U	*ḫu-ri-Zu-tu₄*
(86)	i 23′	H̬U	*na-pár-šu-Zu*

The five equivalents for H̬U given in the right hand column are difficult to explain on the basis of what is apparent in the lexical tradition. Basically, the equation of H̬U with *ḫu-uZ-Zu-ru*, *ḫu-bu-šu*, and *ḫu-uZ-Zu-Zu* is unknown from other lexical lists, be it the S^a Vocabulary or others, while *ḫu-ri-Zu-tu₄* is altogether a form that is not recognizable in the Akkadian dictionaries. The last form, *na-pár-šu-Zu*, likewise defies an easy equation with H̬U, at least without some emendation. However, the problem can be resolved by recourse to the TAR section of the lexical list Aa III/5 (MSL 14 345–6). Observe the following:

56	ku-ud	TAR	**ḫe-se-rù** *šá šin-ni*	'to blunt, trim a tooth'
103	ḫa-áš	TAR	*še-bé-rù*	'to break'
104			*ḫa-ṣa-bu*	'to cut or break'
105			*ḫa-aṣ-bu*	'broken off'
106			**ḫa-ṣa-ṣu**	'to break' (?)
107			**ḫa-ba-šu**	'to break into pieces'
108			*ḫa-ma-šu*	'to break or snap off' (?)[9]
109			*ḫa-ka-rù*	'to break or smash' (?)[10]
110			*ga-da-du*	'to chop'
111			*ḫa-šá-lu*	'to crush'
112			*ka-pa-rù*	'to strip, trim down'

As expected, all the Akkadian verbal forms equated with TAR, or rather with the verbs kud and ḫaš, have to do with cutting and chopping. Note in particular the highlighted entries 56, 106 and 107. When these three are compared to the entries of the H̬U section, the following paradigm emerges:

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[5] The manuscripts are reconstructed on the basis of Civil 1989: 9. Copy 1 (= A [Msk 74171b] + E [Msk 74158a] + G/G′ [Msk 7523a+b] + H [Msk 74199d] + I [Msk 7521]) is the most complete and the longest, preserving nine columns. Although the copy contains a colophon, the name of the scribe or copyist is broken, therefore he cannot be identified (cf. *Emar* 604.9, which is Arnaud's restoration of the colophon). Copy 2 (= C [Msk 731064 + 74249a] + D [Msk 74249b]), at three columns per side, is a shorter version than Copy 1. The upper part of the tablet is partly broken off, but the colophon is fully preserved, supplying the name of the copyist, Ribi-Dagan. Copy 3 (= F [Msk 74231a]) is the shortest of the main manuscripts, preserving some three incomplete columns on each side. Of the remaining incomplete manuscripts, manuscript B (= Msk 74204a [not Msk 75204a!]) is the longest. It contains a colophon identifying Šaggar-abu of the renowned Zu-Ba'la family as its copyist. See Cohen 2009: 166–70.

[6] Copy 2 is the work of Ribi-Dagan, a novice scribe at the Emar school, who also copied Hh Tablet III-Va (= *Emar* 543A, 544A, and 545A [= Msk 731030]); see Civil 1989 for the reconstruction of the Emar Hh list. For the scribe Ribi-Dagan, see Cohen 2009: 126–31.

[7] The parenthesised numbers follow Arnaud; the second column gives numbers according to the tablet.

[8] The sign throughout is ZU; for a SU sign, see Copy 2 (D [= Msk 74249b]) rev. 9′, and Copy 1 (A [= Msk 74171b]), i 29, and (E [= Msk 74158]), i 12′.

[9] AHw 315: *ḫamāšu* 'abknicken'.

[10] AHw 309: *ḫakāru* 'zerschlagen'.
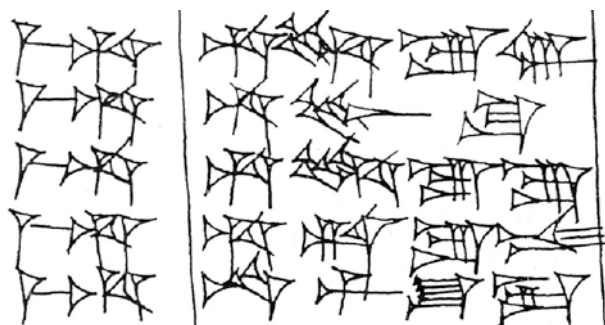
Figure 1: Msk 731064 + 74249a

Aa III/5: TAR (kud or ḫaš)		Emar Sᵃ: ḪU			
56	ḫesēru	i 19′	ḫu-us-sú-ru	→ ḫussuru	'to trim'
107	ḫabāšu	i 20′	ḫu-bu-šu	→ ḫubbušu	'to chop up'
106	ḫaṣāṣu	i 21′	ḫu-uṣ-ṣú-ṣú	→ ḫuṣṣuṣu	'to cut, break'

In the Emar ḪU section, therefore, are three perfectly normal Akkadian verbs. When equated with TAR in the Aa lexical list they are found in the G Stem; when equated with ḪU in the Emar list, they are given in the D Stem. It seems that the latter gives forms one would expect as Akkadian translations of reduplicated Sumerian verbs, which are occasionally presented as D Stem verbal forms.[11] As Yoshikawa (1979: 108) observes, verbs of the D Stem, or the *piel* reduplication, translating Sumerian reduplicated verbs 'center around the semantic field of "breaking", "cutting", "destroying", "injuring" and the like'. As such they fit the category of forms found here.

It remains unclear why forms beginning with /ḫu/ are given D Stem entries in the Emar list, although some phonological association between the pronunciation of the sign and the entries can be imagined. The origins of this tradition likewise remain opaque,[12] but it can also be traced in one of the Boğazköy Sᵃ Vocabulary recensions. G Stem forms of the D Stem verbs in the ḪU section are not found in the TAR section of the Emar Sa Vocabulary (or elsewhere in that list). The Akkadian forms equated with TAR are, as expected, verbs like *nakāsu* 'to chop', and *parāsu* 'to divide, slice' (*Emar* 537, 24, 589′–98′). As will become apparent, however, some of the Emar ḪU

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[11] See Yoshikawa 1979; Steinkeller 1979; Thomsen 1984: 123–7. The Akkadian translation of reduplicated Sumerian verbs in the Grammatical Texts is also instructive (Black 1984/1991: 40–1).

[12] It might be that the sign ḪU was analyzed as a double (vertical) TAR sign, hence understood as TAR-TAR, or kud-kud/ḫaš-ḫaš (as suggested by N. Veldhuis, personal communication). Note the possible relationship of ḪU to ḪUM (the sign LUM). ḪUM is equated in the lexical tradition to verbs of a similar semantic field, a few also beginning with /ḫ/; some of the verbs are also equated with TAR. Cf.:

Sᵇ Vocabulary (MSL 3 114):
213	ḫu-um	ḪUM	ḫa-ma-šu		'to strip'

Ea V (MSL 14 397):
2	[ḫu-uz]	[ḪU]M	ḫa-˹ṣa-bu˺	'to break off'
3	[gu-u]z?	ḪUM	ga-ṣa-ṣu	'to trim'
9	[gu]-uz	ḪUM	ḫu-ur-ru-ru	'to dig'
10	[gu]-uz	ḪUM	ḫu-ur-ru-mu	'to separate'

Emar Sag-Tablet (MSL SS 1 32):
135	kirì-ḪUM	ḫu-um-mu-ṣu	'snapped off (nose)'
136	kirì-ḪUM	ḫa-am-šu	'malformed (nose)'

Hh 24 (MSL 11 8; cf. AHw 315, 355):
165	še-ḫum-ḫum	ḫum-mu-šu	'crushed (barley)' (vel sim.)

section D Stem forms do appear in other lexical lists as equivalents of reduplicated haš and kud (see Yoshikawa 1979: 103).

What follows is an entry-by-entry elucidation of the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary H̬U section.

Entry i 19´
H̬U   *ḫu-us-sú-ru*[13]   → *ḫussuru*
The Akkadian entry is a D Stem verbal form derived from *ḫesēru* 'to trim' (see above, Aa III/5, 56; cf. CAD H̬ 176, 257–8). Note that *ḫesēru* and *ḫaṣāṣu* (see entry i 21´) are near synonyms.[14] Sjöberg (1998: 247 no. 82) translates the entry as 'blunted'. It is difficult to know whether this form, and indeed, the other verbal forms in the H̬U section, are D Stem infinitives or verbal adjectives, because the forms are morphologically identical. It is usually understood that in lexical lists the Akkadian translations of the reduplicated forms of TAR (i.e., ḫaš-ḫaš, or kud-kud), and any other reduplicated Sumerian verbs, are given in the Akkadian *piel* or D Stem infinitive (Yoshikawa 1979: 115 and *passim*).

Entry i 20´
H̬U   *ḫu-bu-šu*   → *ḫubbušu*
The entry is a D Stem verbal form (→ *habāšu* 'to break into pieces'; see above Aa III/5, 107).[15] Sjöberg (1998: 248 no. 83) translates it as 'either "describing a characteristic bodily trait" or "defective" (said of objects).' Note these (partly restored) entries in Diri I (MSL 15 108–9):[16]

| 64 | [ḫa-aš-ḫa-aš] | [TAR.TAR] | [šu-u]b-bu-ru | 'to break' |
| 65 | [ḫa-aš-ḫa-aš] | [TAR.TAR] | ḫu-bu-šu | 'to break into pieces' |

Entry 65 in Diri I is identical to the form found in the Emar H̬U section, with the same non-doubling of the consonants.

Entry i 21´
H̬U   *ḫu-uṣ-ṣú-ṣú* [17]   → *ḫuṣṣuṣu*
The entry is a D Stem verbal form (→ *ḫaṣāṣu* 'to break', 'to chop'; see above Aa III/5, 106), which is attested not only in the lexical tradition, but in other genres as well (cf. CAD H̬ 131).[18] Note the following equations of Akkadian *kuṣṣuṣu* with reduplicated TAR or kud:

OB Lu, Frag. 1 (MSL 12 201):
7   lú-šu-kud-kud-rá   *ku-uṣ-ṣú-ṣú-um*   'chopped(-hand-person)'

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[13] Note that the sign ZU is used to write /su/. Ribi-Dagan, the scribe of Copy 2, shows great flexibility in the writing of sibilants, allowing almost any sibilant sign to be assigned in order to write /s/, /ṣ/, /š/, or /z/. E.g., zV signs for /sV/, Copy 2, iii 5: [n]*i-sí-iq-tù*; and *Emar* 545, Hh III (Msk 731030), 401´: *ḫa-sí-sà*.

[14] Cf. Leichty 1970: 93´: BE UDU.NITÁ KIMIN (SI.MEŠ) IGI-*šú ḫas-ra* // (var.) *ḫaṣ-ṣa*… 'If a ram's horns are blunted // (var.) broken in front…'.

[15] Pentiuc 2001: 73 assumed that *ḫu-bu-šu* is a type of bird, but this suggestion is not likely. H̬U as mušen is indeed equated with *iṣṣūru*; see the Sᵃ Vocabularies of Assur, Frag. D (MSL 3 54) 1´, 10´ and 13´; Ugarit, RS 94.2939 (Salvini and Salvini 1998: 5) obv. i 11 (the H̬U section is not preserved in other Ugarit manuscripts). However, H̬U, or mušen, is only equated with the general nomenclature *iṣṣūru* 'bird'; the H̬U section does not list specific types of birds. Specific types are always listed in lexical lists as items followed by the post-determinative mušen. To suggest otherwise would be to assume a break with a guiding principle in the lexical tradition. See Hh XVIII, the 'Bird-Tablet' (MSL 8/2; cf. http://cdl.upenn.edu/dcclt/ sub UR₅-ra 18); cf. also the OB 'bird-list' edited by Black and Al-Rawi 1987 (re-edited by Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: 105–7); see also Veldhuis 2004: 209–305; Salonen 1973.

[16] Cf. haš = *šebēru* in Aa III/5, 103, above, and see Yoshikawa 1979: 103 for additional lexical sources, which provide the basis for the reconstruction of these entries.

[17] For zV signs used to write /ṣV/, see Copy 2, iv 23´: *ṣí-rù* and v 18: *ṣé-eḫ-rù*.

[18] Sjöberg 1998: 248 no. 84 provides Arabic etymologies for the entry, saying that '*ḫuṣṣuṣu* in the Emar lex(ical) text might then be a "(person) with little/no hair".' He regards the entry as a non-Akkadian or a West Semitic word (1998: 240).

SIG₇.ALAN XVII (MSL 16 164):

| 329 | šu-kud-kud-rá | *ku-uṣ-ṣu-ṣu* | 'chopped(-hand)' |

There is no doubt that Akkadian *kuṣṣuṣu* (sub *gaṣāṣu* 'to trim, cut', equated with kud; see CAD G 53) is akin to *ḫuṣṣuṣu*, with the well-documented alteration in Akkadian between /k/ and /ḫ/ (see GAG §25d).

Entry i 22´

| ḪU | *ḫu-ri-ṣú-tu₄* | → *ḫurṣūtu* |

On the basis of the previous entries of the section, the root of the entry *ḫu-ri-ZU-tu₄* is probably Akkadian Ḫ-R-Ṣ.[19] The G Stem infinitive derived from this root is *ḫarāṣu* 'to cut down, cut off'. The entry is to be read *ḫu-ri-ṣú-tu₄* and possibly vocalized as */ḫurṣūtu/* with the sequence /ri-ṣu/ containing an anaptyctic vowel /i/ that breaks up the consonantal cluster.[20] The entry can be compared with Akkadian *ḫerṣētu* 'deductions' (→ *ḫarāṣu*; cf. CAD Ḫ 199 and AHw 347; the word appears in the lexical list *Ana Ittišu* [MSL 1 63]).[21] We would then have a *purs* noun with an adjectival ending –*ūtu*.[22] The variability of the vowel quality between *ḫurṣ-* and *ḫerṣ-* should not be a reason for concern. In the Western Periphery lexical lists, and in other genres as well, such an alteration is a prominent phenomenon (see Durand and Marti 2004: 4). In the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary the following alternations between /u/ and /i/ ≈ /e/ can be found (see also Seminara 1998: 138):

/u/ → /i/ ≈ /e/:

| (718´) | Copy 2, iv 26´ | NIM | *ši-ib-bu* [23] | ← *zubbu* | 'fly' |
| (625´) | Copy 2, v 34 | KAR | *na-bi-tu₄* | ← *nābutu*[24] | 'to flee' |

/i/ ≈ /e/ → /u/:

| (253) | Copy 1, iii 45 | EL | *te-lu-ul-tu₄* | ← *tēliltu*[25] | 'purification' |

They can also be seen in the Emar Hh lexical list:

/e/ ≈ /i/ → /u/:

| 542, 95´ | še-še-bal | *šu-pu-ul-ti* | | ← *šupêltu* | '(barley) exchange' |
| 545, 64´ | íl-síg | *ḫa-am-bu-rù* | ← **ḫabburu* | ← *ḫabbiru*[26] | 'loom-part' |

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[19] Pentiuc 2001: 76 suggested that the entry be understood as perhaps a kind of bird, possibly to be read as a whole as ᵐᵘˢ̌ᵉⁿ*ri-ZU-tu₄*, with the first sign—ḪU—understood as a determinative. But ḪU cannot be a determinative here because mušen is always used as a post-determinative (see above, footnote 15). Neither does taking *ḫu-ri-ZU-tu₄* as a 'bird-type'—Pentiuc's alternative suggestion—seem likely. As stated in n. 15, the ḪU section does not include the listing of various bird species. Sjöberg 1998: 248 no. 85 suggested as follows: 'ḫ/*ḫurīṣūtu* perhaps "desire", "eagerness".' He then provided the entry, which he regarded as a non-Akkadian or a West Semitic word (1998 241), with putative Arabic and Hebrew cognates.

[20] Seminara 1998: 153–4. This is also a common feature of the Ugarit lexical lists; see Huehnergard 1989: 115–8.

[21] Another possibility worth considering is a metathesis of /r/ and the sibilant: *ḫu-ri-ZU-tu₄* → *ḫu-Zu-ri-tu₄* → **ḫusurtu*; cf. *ḫusirtu* 'cut off part of a reed' (CAD Ḫ 257). The noun would then be derived from *ḫesēru*, a form which, as already seen, appears in Entry i 19´.

[22] The adjectival ending -*ūtu* is found at Emar as the feminine ending (although it is not obvious that this is the present ending before us); see Seminara 1998: 291. This is part of a wide-spread phenomenon in Western Peripheral Akkadian. Morphological markers are reduced to allomorphs, whereby the feminine and masculine markers merge to produce one morphological marker for both genders. See Huehnergard 1989: 147–8, 273–4.

[23] IGI = ši for /zi/ or /si/. Compare:
(716´)   Copy 1, viii 24´   NIM   *zu-ub-bu*   'fly'

[24] Sjöberg 1998: 273 no. 626´.

[25] Reading with the copy and Arnaud here; see AHw 1344 and Seminara 1998: 138 citing *Emar* 554, 21´: [*te*]-*li-il-tu₄*; Sjöberg 1998: 258 no. 253 reads differently.

[26] Pentiuc 2001: 55.

546, 9	(gi)-izi-lá	*gi-zi-lu-u : šab-bu-ṭu*	← *šabbiṭu*	'staff', 'torch'
551, 5	[muš-ú-nu]-mú-a	muš *ku-su-ba-ni*	← *kusipānī* or	'snake-species'
			kassibānī	
555, 30′	BAD ku₆	*nu-un tu-um¹-ri*	← *timri*[27]	'baked fish'

Entry i 23′

ḪU   *na-pár-šu-Zu*   → *naparšudu*¹

By correcting the last sign ZU to DU¹, the entry can be read as *naparšudu*¹ 'to escape, flee'.[28] This word is not otherwise known to be equated with ḪU, but rather with ŠUB.[29] But the semantically close *naprušu* 'to fly' is equated with ḪU elsewhere in the lexical tradition.[30]

THE ḪU SECTION OF THE BOĞAZKÖY Sᵃ VOCABULARY

The reconstruction of the Emar ḪU section offered above enables us to reconsider the ḪU section of the Boğazköy Sᵃ Vocabulary recensions.

The ḪU section is found in two fragments from Boğazköy. The first is HT 42, which was edited in MSL 3. The second, which will be at the center of the discussion, is KBo 26.34 obv. (Figure 2). It was first published as 902/z by Otten and von Soden (1968: plate iii), who also presented a short discussion (1968: 39–41). It is rather poorly preserved. The Hittite column survived, but the Sumerian is entirely missing, and the Akkadian mainly lost.[31] In spite of its poor state, Otten and von Soden were able to reconstruct the sequence of the Sumerian signs and identify the ḪU section, which has four fully intact Hittite entries. The entries will now be elucidated one by one.

Entry 12′

[ḪU]   [*ḫu-ṣú-ṣ*]*ú*   kar-ša-u-wa-ar   'cutting'

The Hittite word kar-ša-u-wa-ar is the verbal noun of the verb karš-, karšiya-, 'to cut', and hence translated as 'cutting'.[32] What karš(a)uwar has to do with ḪU puzzled Otten and von Soden;[33] their puzzlement can now be resolved.

In Hittite texts, the verb karš-, karšiya-, can be written logographically with the Sumerian sign TAR 'to cut'.[34] As was seen above in the reconstruction of the Emar ḪU section, in the lexical tradition verbal forms in the G Stem equated with TAR (as ḫaš or kud) can be equated with ḪU when in the D Stem. Therefore, if Hittite karš(a)uwar 'cutting' is written logographically with TAR, it can also be equated with ḪU. The missing Akkadian equivalent is probably one of the first three entries of the Emar ḪU section, but any other Akkadian verb semantically related to cutting will do just as well. The verb [*ḫu-ṣú-ṣ*]*ú* (Emar Sᵃ, entry i 21′) was restored here because the partly preserved sign in the Akkadian column, consisting of two horizontals, looks like [Z]U or [ṣ]*ú*.

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[27] Cf. Hh XVIII (MSL 8/2 101), 18.

[28] Following the suggestion made by Sjöberg 1998: 249 no. 86, and Arnaud (*Emar* 537, p. 12).

[29] An-ta-gál III (MSL 17 155), 151: RUᵐⁱⁿ-ᵐⁱⁿRU = *na-par-šú-du*.

[30] The Assur Sᵃ Vocabulary (MSL 3 55), 11′ and Ea II (MSL 14 259), 285 equate ḪU with *naprušu*. Note also RS 94.2939 (Salvini and Salvini 1998: 5), i 10: [ḪU] = *nap-ri-šu* (as pointed out by N. Veldhuis, personal communication). See also below, KBo 26.34, entry 13′.

[31] Because the left hand side of the tablet is broken it is difficult to estimate exactly the width of the Akkadian column. The endings of entries which are preserved cannot serve as sure indications of its width, since sometimes signs are intentionally spaced out to the right, or justified, in order to 'fill in' the column.

[32] The writing kar-ša-u-wa-ar may represent *karšuwar, with ša for /š/. Cf. KUB 24.7 i 55: kar¹-šu-wa-ar (as pointed out by C. Melchert, personal communication), and the genitive form karšuwaš (cited in HED K 104).

[33] Otten and von Soden 1968: 40: 'Z. 12 kar-ša-u-wa-ar "schneiden" paßt nicht gut dazu…'.

[34] See HED K 100; Hoffner 2003: 622. This equation was already suggested by H. Ehelolf in 1936, as mentioned by Archi in the content-pages of KUB 52. Note KUB 52.101 ii 5′: *A-NA PA-NI* ŠEŠ LUGAL ᵈUTU-*ŠI* TAR-an versus iii 5: [*A-NA P*]*A-NI* ŠEŠ LUGAL ᵈUTU-*ŠI* kar-ša-an 'removed/cut in front of the brother of the king, My Majesty.'

Entry 13′

[ḪU]   [*nap-ru-š*]*u*   wa-at-ku-wa-ar   'flying', 'fleeing', 'hiding'

Hittite wa-at-ku-wa-ar, from the verb watku-, 'to jump' was equated by Otten and von Soden with Akkadian [*nap-ru-š*]*u* 'to fly'. The Akkadian entry is equated with ḪU elsewhere in the lexical tradition.[35] In Boğazköy Diri Hittite watkuwar is equated with *šaḫāṭu*, which can mean 'to jump' but also 'to flee'.[36] Hence the semantics of watkuwar, *šaḫāṭu*, *naprušu*, and *naparšudu*ʲ (in the Emar section) overlap.[37] Hittite watkuwar is the only entry of the ḪU section to be found in the other Boğazköy fragment of this section, HT 42 obv. 3′.

Entry 14′

[ḪU]   [*ka-pa-d*]*u* or   kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar   'planning', 'reckoning','(the) taking care of'
          [*ku-pu-d*]*u*

The verbal noun kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar 'counting', 'reckoning' is derived from the verb kappuwe-, kappuwai-, 'to count, reckon'. How is one to equate ḪU with the entry kappuwauar?[38] Here we should consider the reading of ḪU as pag. While ḪU as pag does not appear in the Emar Sᵃ list, it does feature in the Assur Sᵃ Vocabulary, as well as in other lexical lists. In SIG₇.ALAN IV-IVₐ (MSL 16 81) the following are found: [39]

| 112 | ir-ᵖᵃ⁻ᵃᵍpag | *ka-pa-du* | 'to take care of (something)', 'to plan' |
| 113 | ir-pag-ak-ak | *kup-pu-du* | |

Hittite kappuwe- can often mean, apart from 'to count, to reckon', also 'to take care of someone, something', as the multiple examples in *HED* K 66 show. Therefore, it is suggested here that when ḪU is read as pag it can be equated with Akkadian *kapādu* or *kuppudu* and, subsequently, to Hittite kappuwauar '(the) taking care of'.

Entry 15′

[ḪU]   [*ezēbu*]   šu-wa-iš   '*abandonment*', '*rejection*'

The last entry was considered the Hittite word for 'bird' by Otten and von Soden (1968: 40 n. 2) because of its equation with ḪU. Their suggestion has been a point of controversy among Indo-Europeanists and Hittitologists, and so far no clear-cut consensus has been reached.[40] Ostensibly, the entry can be compared to the ḪU section of HT 42 obv. (MSL 3 55), 2′ and 4′: [41]

1′	[ḪU]	[…]	x-aš	?
2′	[ḪU]	[*iṣṣūru*]	ḪU-eš	'bird'
3′	[ḪU]	[*naparšu*]	wa-at-ku-ar	'flying', 'fleeing'
4′	[ḪU]	[*iṣṣūru*]	ḪU-eš	'bird'
5′	[ḪU+?]	[*ritkub* mušen(.meš)]	ḪU-ŠÚ ḪU ti-ia-u-ar	'the mating (lit., approaching) of birds'[42]

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[35] See above: Emar Sᵃ, entry i 23′.

[36] See Boğazköy Diri 6.2 (MSL 15 93–4), 10; cf. CAD Š/I 88. Cf. Beckman 1983: 110, where MUL wa-at-ku-zi is considered a calque on the Akkadian idiom *kakkabu išḫiṭ* (→ *šaḫāṭu*) 'a star has risen' (but not 'shimmered'; see CAD Š/I 91).

[37] It is probable that both *šaḫāṭu* and *naparšudu* are equated with Sumerian è 'to go out'; see Aa III/3 (MSL 14 337), 159: [e UD.DU] = [*šá*]-ˈ*ḫa*ˈ-*ṭu* and 179: [e UD.DU] = [*na-par-š*]*u-du* (?).

[38] Otten and von Soden 1968: 40 remarked that '(w)as kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar "rechnen" in Z. 14 mit ḪU zu tun haben soll, ist auch unklar.'

[39] On the basis of these entries, perhaps restore the Assur Sᵃ Vocabulary (MSL 3 54), 6a as follows: pa-agıḪUıˈ*ka*ˈ-[*pa-du*]. The restored ˈ*ka*ˈ[*lī*] 'to confine' in MSL 3 is otherwise not equated with pag in the lexical tradition.

[40] This suggestion has found recent advocacy in Rieken 1999: 24–5; Rößle 2004.

[41] Collated in the British Museum, 8 September, 2004.

[42] Some compound sign of ḪU (like ᵤ₅ = *rakābu* 'to ride') is expected in the Sumerian column. Consider,

However, it is clear that HT 42 and KBo 26.34 are not identical and in fact represent two divergent traditions of the ḪU section.[43] Hence the equation of šu-wa-iš with Akkadian *iṣṣūru* is not to be taken for granted, and other options are to be sought.

It is suggested that the form šu-wa-iš is an action noun in –ai,[44] derived from the verb šuwe-, šuwai- 'to push (away)', 'to reject', 'to abandon'.[45] The meaning of the word would then be 'abandonment', 'rejection'. If ḪU is to be read as pag, as suggested for the preceding entry, this suggestion becomes valid. Compare the Assur Sᵃ Vocabulary (MSL 3 54):[46]

7a   pa-ag   ḪU   *e-z*[*i-bu*]

The verb *ezēbu* can mean 'to abandon', 'desert', and 'leave behind'. Hence it is semantically close to šuwai- and its suggested action noun, šuwaiš. The following example is illustrative of what is argued here. Compare the use of šuwai- and *ezēbu* in the meaning of 'to leave', 'to abandon', 'to divorce':[47]

The Hittite Laws (Hoffner 1997: 35), §26b+c:
ták-ku LÚ-ša MUNUS-an šu-wa-a-[iz-zi …]   'If a man divorce[s] a woman…'

The Middle Assyrian Laws (Roth 1995: 166-7), §37:
šumma a'īlu aššassu ezzib…   'If a man divorces his wife…'

Hence, šuwai- = *ezēbu* 'to abandon', 'to divorce' and šuwaiš = *ezēbu* 'an abandonment', 'a divorce'.

The reconstruction offered here and the suggested meaning of šu-wa-iš are very tentative and might prove to be incorrect. However, they have the advantage of proposing a valid Hittite base for the word while taking the structure of the section more carefully into consideration, demonstrating that ḪU can take other meanings than just 'bird'. Should the Akkadian equivalent *ezēbu* not be accepted as the correct reconstruction, šuwaiš can still be understood to derive from šuwe-, šuwai-, and another Akkadian equivalent can be sought.[48]

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alternatively, perhaps KÍD, (which resembles a re-duplicated ḪU sign), that is equated to *ritkub iṣṣūrī* 'the mating of (two) birds' (CAD R 83). The Akkadian probably led to the Hittite translation of 'the mating (lit., approaching) of birds'. The Gt Stem is occasionally employed to translate reduplicated Sumerian verbs; see Yoshikawa 1979: 114.

[43] Therefore, the one-to-one comparison between HT 42 and KBo 26.34 proposed by Rößle 2004 offers no real solution to the problem. The ḪAR section of KBo 26.34 (see below) and that of another Boğazköy Sᵃ Fragment, KBo 1.45 (MSL 3 53), also reveal considerable differences.

[44] Such as Hittite ḫu(wa)rt- 'to curse' → ḫurtaiš 'a curse', link- 'to swear' → linkaiš 'an oath', wašta- 'to sin' → waštaiš 'a sin', and so on (cf. HE 39). This may have been a productive pattern which enabled the formation of –ai resultative nouns. There is no problem equating an action noun to an Akkadian infinitive, as this telling example shows (Boğazköy Erim-ḫuš [MSL 17 107]):
22´   KA-x-BAL   *da-bá-bu*   me-m[i-a]š   'word', 'speech'

[45] The Hittite Laws (Hoffner 1997: 51–2, 93–4, 35) §§43, 95, and 26, make it clear that the semantics of the verb šuwe-, šuwai-, move beyond 'to push away', and can include meanings such as 'to give up (a slave)' and 'to divorce'. The Hittite Laws OS manuscripts show the spelling šu-ú-iz-zi, with the later manuscripts having šu-(ú)-wa-(a)-iz-zi (see Hoffner 1997: 244; Oettinger 1979: 293–8). The latter spelling is also found in the discussed entry šu-wa-iš, and it fits with the NH dating of KBo 26.34 (see Rößle 2004: 545 n. 1).

[46] The restoration of the Akkadian is virtually certain; see CAD E 416, lexical section.

[47] The meaning of *ezēbu* 'to divorce' is well documented in OB, MB, MA, Nuzi, and Alalakh sources; see CAD E 422; AHw 267.

[48] Consider šu-wa-iš 'abandonment', 'rejection', 'loss' and the Assur Sᵃ Vocabulary (MSL 3 54), which has ḪU as pag equated wih *šutānuḫu* 'to be dejected', 'to suffer', *pa*[*šku*] and *pušku* (→ *pašāku*), 'pain', 'trouble', *eṭēru* 'to take out, to take something from somebody (also 'to save'), and *ekēmu* 'to take away (by force)' → 'a taking'.

Now that the ḪU section of the Boğazköy Sᵃ Vocabulary has been elucidated, the entire col. i of KBo 26.34 can be presented.[49]
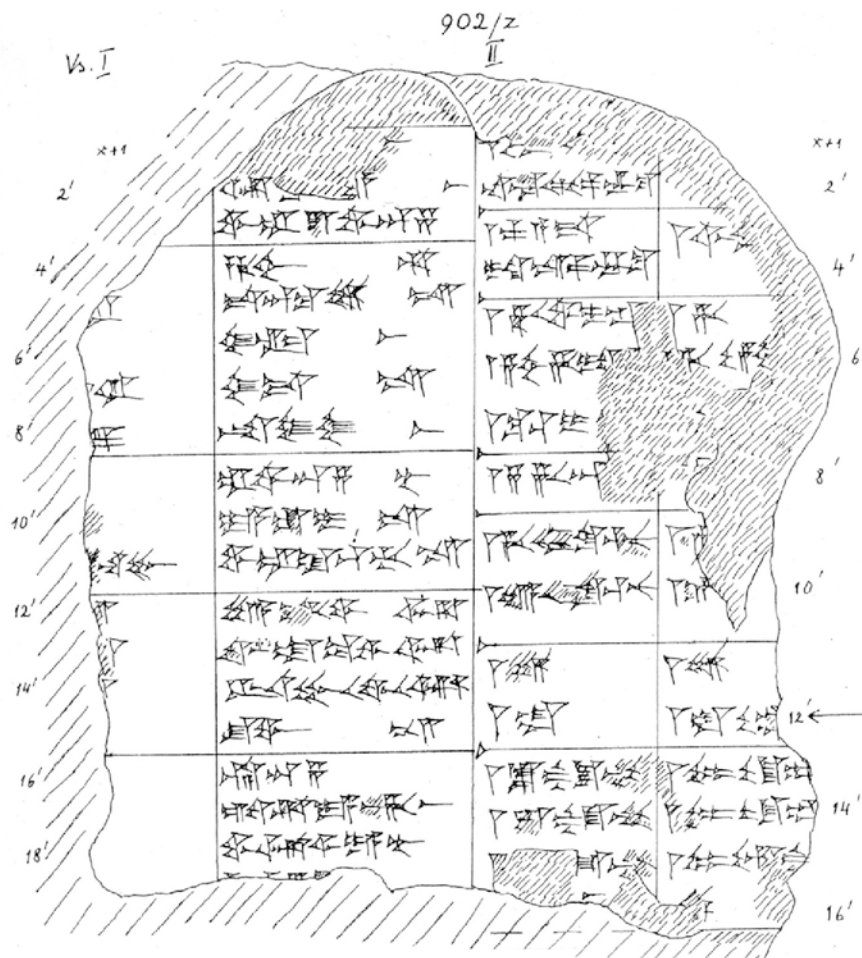
Figure 2: KBo 26.34 obv.

KBo 26.34, obv. i[50]

1′	[ŠIR]	[…]	[x-x-x]-aš	?
2′	[ŠIR]	[*išku*]	ar-k[i-i]a-aš	'testicles'
3′	[ŠIR]	[…]	wa-al-lu-wa-an-za	?
4′	[ḪAR]	[*ḫašū*]	ḫa-aḫ-ri¹	'lung'
5′	[ḪAR]	[*še-mi-r*]*u*	da-an-ku-li-iš	*'bracelet'*
6′	[ḪAR]	[*ḫarru*]	ḪUR.SAG-aš	'mountain'
7′	[ḪAR]	[*ar-r*]*a-ru*	ḫur-da-iš	'curse'
8′	[ḪAR]	[*e-ru*]-˹*ú*˺	ᴺᴬ⁴ KÍN.KÍN-aš	'grindstone'
9′	[UḪ]	[*kišpū*]	al-wa-an-za-tar	'witchcraft'
10′	[UḪ]	[*ru'tu*]	ia-ú-i-iš	*'bodily fluid'*
11′	[UḪ]	[…](-)*na*ʔ-*bu*	wa-al-la-an¹-ti-iš	?
12′	[ḪU]	[*ḫu-ṣú-ṣ*]*ú*	kar-ša-u-wa-ar	'cutting'
13′	[ḪU]	[*nap-ru-š*]*u*	wa-at-ku-wa-ar	'flying', 'fleeing'

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[49] Column ii of the tablet contains only the sign names and their pronunciation and is not given here.

[50] Collated from the photograph of the tablet in the Mainz Academie Boğazköy Archiv, 17 October, 2005.

14′	[ḪU]	[*ka-pa-d*]*u* / [*ku-pu-d*]*u*	kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar	'taking care of', 'reckoning', 'planning'
15′	[ḪU]	[*ezēbu*]	šu-wa-iš	*'abandonment', 'rejection'*
16′	[MÙŠ×A]	[*kuṣṣu*]	MÙŠ×A-an-za	'winter'
17′	[MÙŠ×A]	[*nâḫu*]	ta-ri-ia-aš-ḫa-aš	'tiredness'
18′	[MÙŠ×A]	[*pašāḫu*]	wa-ar-ši-ia-tar	'respite'
19′	[MÙŠ×A]	[…]	x-x-x-x	?

Break

2′: The restoration of the Hittite, in spite of the gap, is almost certain. The Sumerian and Akkadian are restored on the basis of the fact that the ŠIR sign preceeds ḪAR, as the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary now shows. See Emar Sᵃ, Copy 1 (*Emar* 537 12):

i 35   ŠIR+AŠ   *iš-ku*   'testicle'

See Sjöberg (1998: 245 nos. 49–50). The verification of the meaning of arki- 'testicle(s)', formerly derived on the basis of comparative Indo-European and context (see *HED* A 142) can now be based on lexical data. Note ar-ki-i-e-eš 'testicles' (nom. pl.) cited in HW² 307; in this entry the word displays a plural ending in -iyaš, which is typical of NH, alongside the ending in -ieš; see Melchert (1995). The sign ŠIR is employed in Hittite texts to denote the male gender of animals; see Kümmel (1967: 130–1). Compare Aa VIII/4 (MSL 14 511):

89   ŠIR   *zi-k*[*a-ru* (?)]   'male'

Whether such an entry is to be restored in the broken lines of this section is not known.

5′: The equation of dankuli- with 'tin' by Laroche (1966: 180) was accepted by Otten and von Soden (1968: 17 40) and since, throughout the scholarly literature. However, it is open to doubt. The equation was made on the basis of the trilingual RS 25.421 (= *Ug.* 5.169, *Signalement Lyrique*, 313, 773), 21: [ḫar-an-na] | *ši-me-er an-na-ak-ki* | da-an-ku-li-iš ar-ši-x[…] 'bracelet of tin' (see also Civil 1964: 2–3 l. 27). The Emar and Ugarit Sᵃ Vocabularies show, however, that ḪAR = *š/semiru* 'bracelet' (CAD S 219; see also Cohen 2002).

Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary, Copy 1 (*Emar* 537 12):
i 41   ḪAR   *se-e-mi-rù*

Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary, Copy 2 (*Emar* 537 12):
i 8   ḪAR   *še*⌜-*e*⌝-*mi-rù*   (not *gu-ra-mi-rù* !)

RS 94.2939 Sᵃ Vocabulary (Salvini and Salvini 1998: 5):
i 7   [ḪAR]   *še-me-ru*   ḫa-ap-te (Hurr.)

Therefore, if dankuliš is equated to [ḪAR] in KBo 26.34, the Akkadian is probably to be restored as [*še-mi-r*]*u*, which indicates that the Hittite word means 'bracelet'. (The last preserved Akkadian sign can be taken as the end of the sign RU). The Hittite word for 'tin' possibly lies then in the obscure ar-ši-x[…] found in the trilingual RS 25.421. The same conclusion was reached independently by Soysal (2006), who also showed on the basis of additional evidence that the Hittite word for 'tin' is arzili-.

6′: The Hittite translation is a result of a mistaken equation which arose because of the confusion between two homophones. Notice the following entry from the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary, Copy 1 (*Emar* 537 12):

i 40   ḫa-ar   ḪAR   ḫa-ar-ru

The word *ḫarru* means 'flour ground in a special way' (see CAD Ḫ 114); cf. Aa V/2 (MSL 14 419), 188: ḪAR = *ḫa-ra-[ru]*, and CAD Ḫ 92: *ḫarāru* C 'to grind'. The entry is obviously connected to the well-known equation of ḪAR with *ararrum* 'miller' and the other grinding terms found in the ḪAR section. However, in KBo 26.34, this entry may have been confused with *ḫarru* 'a topographical feature', 'a watercourse', or even with West Semitic *ḫarru* 'mountain' (see CAD Ḫ 114–5), which resulted in the Hittite column having ḪUR.SAG-aš. (This confusion might have already risen before the list reached Ḫattuša; see CAD Ḫ 92.) The lexical tradition does not equate ḪAR with ḪUR.SAG or *šadī* 'mountain'. (Correct Cohen 2002: 825 40: *ḫa-ar-ru* 'watercourse' to 'ground flour'; the former translation was based on Sjöberg 1998: 246 no. 64.)

7´: The equation was made on the basis of the mistaken understanding of the entry *ararrum* 'miller' as the near homophone *arārum* 'to curse'. The same mistaken equation is found in KBo 1.42 (MSL 3 53), 2´, 6´ (see also CHD P 1–2).

9´: See the Boğazköy Sᵃ Vocabulary, KBo 1.45 obv.ᴵ (MSL 3 Frag. b, 53):

8´   [UḪ]   [*kišpū*]   al-wa-an-za-tar   'sorcery'

Compare Emar Sᵃ, Copy 1:

 i 46   UḪ   *ki-iš-pu*

10´: If this entry is connected to the *Glossenkeil* (Luwian) word i-ia-u-wa-an appearing in KUB 30.33 obv. 9´ and KUB 8.38+ (= Bürde 1974: 30), as cautiously suggested by Melchert (1993: 273), it might be translated as spit or some other kind of bodily fluid. The word i-ia-u-wa-an is mentioned in both of these attestations with, and seems to be semantically related to, *išḫaḫru* 'tears' (see CHD L–N 202). Cf. Boğazköy Sᵃ Vocabulary KBo 1.45 obv.ᴵ (MSL 3 Frag. b, 53):

9´   [UḪ]   [*ru'tu*]   iš-ša-al-li   'spittle'

11´: Melchert (1993: 250) translates this word as (Luwian) 'fit', 'capable', following Starke (1990: 452). At present, no better suggestion can be offered, although what this has to do with the UḪ sign is not clear. The little that survives in the Akkadian entry ([…](-)*na-bu*) does not seem to follow any known Akkadian entry for UḪ from other lexical sources.

16´: MÙŠ×A-an-za is read thus by Otten and von Soden (1968: 40), according to which HT 42 (MSL 3 55), 8´–13´ is also to be read. Cf. entries 16´–17´ of Diri III (MSL 15 141–2), 113–19. The reason why the sign MÙŠ×A is written here and not the sign RI, as is the case in the other Sᵃ Vocabularies, may depend on the visual resemblance of MÙŠ and RI, at least in the OB period (see Borger 2004: 282 no. 142, 284 no. 152). This could mean that the Boğazköy Sᵃ Vocabulary follows a tradition which retained the sign MÙŠ, while the Emar, Ugarit, and the Assur versions gave only the entry RI. It is not known which was the original entry, or whether both were included in the lexical tradition side by side until only RI was kept. The sign MÙŠ×A, at any rate, should now be included in the MSL 3 reconstruction of the Sᵃ sign-sequence. For the sign MÙŠ and its original meaning, see Steinkeller (1998).

17´–18´: The similar antonym pair, tariant- 'tired', 'exhausted' and waršiant- 'rested', appear in Hittite rituals and prayers; see Torri (2003: 220–1). The Hittite scribes elsewhere used the sign MÙŠ×A to write the verb waršiya- 'to be at peace, satisfied'; see HZL 103 no. 27; HW 294.

CONCLUSION

The Ugarit, Assur, and one of the Boğazköy Sᵃ Vocabularies (HT 42), all equate ḪU, or mušen, with Akkadian *iṣṣūru* 'bird'. This equation is missing, however, from the ḪU section of the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary and, very likely, from KBo 26.34. What the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary and KBo 26.34 do have in common is the association of ḪU with verbs of cutting. We found four semantically related Akkadian entries for 'cutting' in the Emar list, and one in the KBo 26.34. The fact that the entries in the Emar list are proper Akkadian verbal forms makes it unlikely that this section was a local innovation, but rather part of the transmitted Mesopotamian lexical tradition, which can also be traced in the Boğazköy recension.

The association between ḪU and verbs of cutting seems to have vanished in the Assur recension of the vocabulary, at least on the basis of the extant evidence. However, the entry *naparšudu*ⁱ in the Emar list, *naprišu* in RS 94.2939, and watkuwar in both Hittite versions find an echo in the Assur recension, which has the entry *naprušu*. And the restored equations of Hittite kappuwar with [*kapādu*] or [*kuppudu*] and šu-wa-iš with [*ezēbu*] suggest that the reading of ḪU as pag is attested in the Boğazköy recension. Such a reading of ḪU is also known in the Assur recension, in which eleven Akkadian entries are equated with pag.

The discovery and study of the Emar Sᵃ Vocabulary challenged the reconstruction of the sequence and number of signs of the vocabulary as given in MSL 3, and supplied us with both signs and Akkadian entries that were hitherto unknown. We can now talk of different strands of lexical tradition in the Sᵃ Vocabulary, not of one unified and consistent version present in all contemporary manuscripts from the various Western Periphery sites. In this light, it is appropriate to reassess two claims ever present in the discussion of the Western Periphery lexical lists: namely, that the Emar lexical lists abound with West Semitic terms, and that the Western Periphery lists, especially the ones from Boğazköy, display a poor understanding of the Sumerian and Akkadian entries. Not every unrecognized entry should automatically be assigned a West Semitic origin and, equally, not every seemingly 'wrong' equation should always be dismissed as a misunderstanding on the part of the local scribes (Cohen forthcoming). Our state of knowledge of the lexical tradition with its branches and offshoots, especially during the Middle Babylonian period, is simply too wanting to state such claims without proper caution.

SUMERIAN WORD CLASSES RECONSIDERED

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Identifying what constitutes a word remains a challenge in linguistics, although there is a more general consensus about the classes, such as nouns and verbs, into which words can be categorised. This article provides a brief overview of the word classes that are commonly used within linguistics, before applying those classes to an analysis of Sumerian.[1] However, as is pointed out in the conclusion, languages are often more complex and fluid than the abstract categories, such as word classes, which we use to describe them.

LINGUISTIC TRADITION
Analysing words into classes has a long history. Hellenistic scholars, for example, proposed a set of eight classes: noun, verb, participle, adverb, pronoun, article, preposition and conjunction; Latin scholars added a class of interjections, previously grouped within the adverb class. To a large degree these categories have stood the test of time and provide the basis for modern discussion of word classes within the Western tradition (for a recent cross-linguistic overview see Evans 2000). A less helpful, but still prospering, survival is the somewhat inappropriate term 'part of speech' (from the Latin *pars orationis* which in this context is better understood as 'part of language').

The principal modification to these categories has been the recognition of a separate class of adjectives. Classical scholars grouped adjectives within the noun class, morphologically because both nouns and adjectives can have the same inflection and syntactically because both can function as predicative complements to copular verbs. The modern analysis is instead that adjectives can agree with nouns (gender being an inherent quality of a noun but acquired by agreement in an adjective), and that the predicative functions differ (adjectives being ascriptive while nouns specify membership of a class or are identificational).

The term 'participle' has also undergone some revisions for similar reasons. It was applied by classical scholars to words that share the properties of nouns and finite verbs (the former again being in modern terms nouns and adjectives). Modern scholars tend to refer instead to non-finite verbs, distinguishing between verbal nouns (now sometimes called gerunds) and verbal adjectives

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[1] Recent discussions of Sumerian word classes include Attinger 1993 (esp. 147–50, 155–78); Black 2002a; Edzard 2003a (esp. 23–7); Michalowski 2004a (esp. 30–8); Schretter 1996. Each contains further references and it is primarily additional ones which are cited in this article. Sumerian grammar is obviously a subject of continuing debate within the discipline and several relevant studies were published too late for incorporation within this article, in particular Zólyomi 2005b and Black and Zólyomi 2000 [2005].
Abbreviations and conventions used in the paper:

<	comes from
-	precedes affix in gloss
=	precedes clitic in gloss
[]	delimit phrase
{}	delimit morpheme
ABL	ablative case marker
CL	clause
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature
GEN	genitive case marker
LOC	locative case marker
NP	noun phrase
PREP	preposition
SUB	subordinating postfix
TERM	terminative case marker

(now sometimes called participles). However, the dual nature of these words, behaving to some degree like a noun or an adjective but retaining such characteristics of the finite verb as, for example, having an argument structure and inflecting for tense and/or aspect, continues to pose a challenge for linguists (see, for example, Haspelmath 2002: 230–5). Whether non-finite and finite verbs should be regarded as two distinct classes remains uncertain. What is clearer is that the former derive from the latter and that there are consequently no bases specific to a class of non-finite verbs.

Further revisions relate to the classes 'preposition' and 'article'. Not all languages have prepositions which precede the noun phrase, some having instead postpositions which follow the phrase or circumpositions which surround it, the more general term 'adposition' now being used to refer to the three types. And many linguists incorporate the article within a broader class of determiners which specify the reference of the noun they accompany, a class which also includes demonstratives and possessives (see, for example, Schwarz 2000: 791–3, who, however, uses the term 'article' in a broad sense rather than 'determiner'). A particular characteristic of determiners is that many have an equivalent pronoun form. (For example, in these terms, ne(-en) 'this' is a determiner when used attributively but a pronoun when used independently.)

Finally, given the cross-linguistic problems in analysing numbers they are now sometimes treated as a separate word class. And a class 'particle' is often used to accommodate words which cannot otherwise easily be classified.

It is to Hellenistic scholars that we also owe the distinction between open and closed word classes, the latter being classes with a limited membership to which new entrants are only rarely admitted while the former are more welcoming. A modern, to some degree overlapping, distinction is between content words and function words, that is between words which have a highly identifiable meaning (nouns, verbs, adjectives and some adverbs) and those which have a more grammatical function (the other classes). Or to put this in different terms, it is content words which tend to dominate dictionaries while function words tend to dominate grammars.

Unsurprisingly the role performed by a function word in one language can be performed in another by a different type of morpheme, either an affix (prefix or suffix) or a clitic (proclitic or enclitic). The term 'clitic' refers to a phonologically dependent morpheme thought to be intermediate between an affix and a word. Not all linguists accept this threefold distinction, some favouring instead one between words, some of which behave atypically, and affixes, some of which can again behave atypically (see, for example, Joseph 2002: 244). The criteria used for identifying clitics are complex and some require phonological information that is unavailable for Sumerian (Aikhenvald 2002: 43–57). In relation to distinguishing a clitic from an affix the criterion perhaps most relevant to Sumerian is that a clitic is typically indifferent to the class of the word to which it is phonologically bound, whereas an affix attaches to the base of a particular class of word.

Words, clitics and affixes are thought to be on a continuum or 'cline', such that in theory every affix can be analysed as once having been a word. The process by which a content word (or sequence of words) is semantically bleached and acquires a more grammatical role as a function word, sometimes being further reanalysed within a language as a different type of morpheme, is referred to as grammaticalisation (see, for example, Hopper and Traugott 2003). The theoretical sequence is thus from content word to function word to clitic to affix. In some cases grammaticalisation involves the loss of the content word; in others the grammaticalised counterpart simply diverges from the content word.

Given that language is characterised by this type of fluidity it remains somewhat resistant to the categories—including word classes—which linguists apply to it. This limitation admitted, the following presents an analysis of the Sumerian word classes and their subcategories. It begins with such noun phrase elements as nouns, adjectives, determiners, pronouns, numbers and case markers, progresses to the more minor word classes (conjunctions, adverbs, interjections and particles), and concludes with verbs.

The earliest evidence we have of grammatical analysis comes from Mesopotamia, in the lexical lists and in the paradigms that were constructed of Sumerian and Akkadian verbs. The first modern scholar to do full justice to those paradigms was Jeremy (Black 1991). The following remarks are intended as a contribution to what he regarded as our inevitably ongoing attempts to describe Sumerian grammar, in memory of his own contribution toward these efforts.

WORD CLASSES IN SUMERIAN
Nouns
Words can be assigned to the class of nouns on the basis of their meaning, in that typically they denote an entity; their morphology, for example whether they distinguish case, gender or number; their distribution, for example where they occur in the noun phrase; and their syntactic role, for example whether they head a noun phrase functioning as the subject of a verb.

Using such criteria the identification of simple nouns is fairly straightforward for Sumerian. The most productive means of expanding this word class is by forming compound nouns. However, distinguishing between a compound noun and a phrase consisting of two or more content words is a much less straightforward issue which requires an article of its own (see Cunningham 2008).

In Sumerian number and case are not marked on the head noun in a phrase but at the end of the phrase. Morphological change in the noun is consequently restricted to reduplication, which possibly expresses totality (diĝir-diĝir 'all the deities').

Sumerian nouns can be subcategorised into two grammatical gender classes, the distinction being between human nouns (denoting people and deities) and non-human nouns (denoting animals and inanimates). This is a semantically based opposition to which there are some socially conditioned exceptions, saĝ with the meaning 'slave', for example, sometimes being construed as a non-human noun. In reverse, animals and inanimates can be personified in literary compositions and thus construed as human nouns.

The gender distinction is only morphologically apparent in most parts of the language's third person pronominal system (first and second person reference necessarily being human). It is also syntactically apparent in restrictions on how the case markers and the plural marker are used. Only a noun phrase whose head is a human noun can contain a plural marker, non-human nouns consequently being indeterminate in terms of number. However, this plural marker appears to have an individualising force and if reference is to a group of people or deities, and the determinateness of their number is therefore unimportant, the plural marker is omitted, the noun thus being construed as if it were non-human. This is particularly the case for nouns with a group meaning such as erin$_2$ 'troop'. A human noun can be construed as a group/neuter noun in the phrase but be indexed in the plural in a finite verbal form, and the reverse.

A further traditional subcategorisation of the noun class into common and proper nouns is more problematic. While common and proper nouns share morphosyntactic properties, both heading case-marked phrases in Sumerian and both performing the same syntactic roles, they differ markedly in terms of reference, proper nouns always denoting a unique entity. This raises the question of whether a proper noun should be viewed as a special case of a noun with one particular referent, or whether this uniqueness is sufficient to make proper nouns a different word class. To a large degree the answer depends on whichever criteria are privileged. Syntactic role favours a classification as nouns; unique reference an independent classification as a proper name. A further difference between nouns and names is that many of the latter, transliteration conventions set aside, are multiword expressions (for examples see Edzard 1998–2001).

Adjectives
In principle adjectives can be identified according to the same type of criteria as are applied to nouns, on the basis of their meaning, in that typically they denote the properties of an entity; on their distribution, that is where they occur in the noun phrase (typically after the noun in Sumerian) and whether they can be used as a predicative complement to a copular verb (as is the case in

Sumerian); and on their morphology, in some languages agreeing with nouns or having different comparative and superlative forms.

Both Sumerian adjectives and verbal adjectives meet these semantic and distributional criteria, while the morphological one is less relevant. The principal distinction between adjectives and one type of verbal adjective is that the former can be analysed as having no suffix (gal 'big') and the latter as intransitive stative verbs in completive aspect which do have a suffix (sag$_9$-ga 'beautiful'). Not all Sumerologists would express this distinction in the same way and it remains somewhat fragile, particularly after the third millennium (for a more comprehensive discussion see Schretter 1996: 403–8, and for the aspect labels used in this section see the later discussion of verbs).

On this basis Sumerian has only a few adjectives, other property-denoting concepts being expressed by further types of verbal adjective: dynamic verbs, also in completive aspect but denoting a state that is the result of a completed action (gul-la 'destroyed'), and transitive stative verbs in habitual aspect (niĝ$_2$ tuku 'rich', literally 'having things'). In addition a possessor noun phrase can be used with adjectival force (a mun$_4$-na 'salty water', literally 'water of salt').

Cross-linguistic studies indicate that in languages with only a small adjective class the number of members is typically 10 to 12 and that they are most likely to express four particular types of quality (Dixon 2004): dimension (such as the antonyms gal 'big' and tur 'small'), age (gibil 'new' and sumun 'old'), value (zid 'just' and ḫul 'evil'), and colour (babbar 'white' and gig$_2$ 'black'). A more peripheral type also attested in Sumerian is physical properties (such as dugud 'heavy'). More peripheral still are expressions of position (for which see Balke 2002).

One physical properties adjective, kug 'shining', is likely to be denominal, from the noun kug 'precious metal', although establishing definitively which came first—the noun or the adjective—remains difficult. Other instances in which the reference to a substance is for its qualities rather than its material can also be analysed as denominal adjectives, such as za-gin$_3$ 'lustrous' from the noun 'lapis lazuli' (compare *silver mine*, in which silver is a noun, and *silver hair*, in which it is an adjective).

In addition Sumerian has a few complex words that cannot occur as the base of a finite verb and may therefore be best regarded as adjectives. For instance gal-an-zu 'wise' relates to the stative expression gal zu 'to be knowledgeable', whose verb is attested in both non-finite and finite forms.

Occasionally an adjective can precede a noun: kug, primarily before a proper name, and gal, in early-attested professional designations on the assumption that, at least in some stage of the language, the spoken sequence matched the written sequence. Adjectives can have reduplicated forms but their function is not always clear. In the case of gal and tur reduplication may express the totality that is otherwise indicated by noun reduplication (diĝir gal-gal 'all the great deities'). In the case of babbar (< *barbar*) the reduplicated form appears to have displaced any non-reduplicated form; the same may also be true for its antonym, as various phonographic writings and glosses favour a reading such as giggig rather than gig$_2$ (Krecher 1967: 98 n. 14; 1969: 190; 1983: 183 to ll. 3–4; Civil 1987b: 155 n. 32).

Determiners

Like adjectives determiners qualify a noun; however, they are function rather than content morphemes. English has various subcategories of determiners, including possessives (*my* etc.), demonstratives (*this* etc.), indefinites (words such as *any*), universal quantifiers (words such as *all*), interrogatives (*which?* etc.) and what some linguists term nominal relatives (*what(ever)* etc.).

The different forms that the Sumerian possessives have indicate that they are phonologically weak and thus that they are clitics rather than words. Identifying where on the continuum between words and clitics the Sumerian demonstratives stand is more difficult, although their monosyllabic form may suggest that they are clitics. The remaining determiners are all bisyllabic: indefinite na-me 'any', as in še na-me 'any grain', interrogative a-ba 'which?', as in diĝir a-ba 'which deity?', and nominal relative a-na 'what(ever)', as in ud a-na 'whatever days' (as well as en-na which can have a similar meaning to a-na; see also n. 3). Most Sumerian determiners have an equivalent

pronoun form and are discussed in more detail under that heading (for the relations between the two see Table 1). Sumerian has no distinct morpheme equivalent to the determiner *all*, this concept perhaps being expressed instead by noun (or sometimes adjective) reduplication.

Table 1: Determiners and pronouns

	Determiner (used attributively)	*Pronoun (used independently)*
Possessive	ĝu$_{10}$ 'my' etc.	
Demonstrative	bi, e(-en), ne(-en), re(-en$_3$), še	ne(-en) 'this', ur$_5$ 'that'
Interrogative	a-ba 'which?'	a-ba 'who?', a-na 'what?', nam-ĝu$_{10}$ 'what is it to me?'
Nominal relative	a-na 'what(ever)', en-na 'as many … as'	a-na 'what(ever)'
Indefinite	na-me 'any'	na-me 'any'
Indefinite/universal		niĝ$_2$-nam 'anything/everything'
Personal		ĝe$_{26}$ 'I' etc.
Reflexive		ni$_2$-ĝu$_{10}$ 'myself' etc.

One of the demonstratives, bi 'this', has the same written form as the third person non-human possessive, bi 'its, their'. On the evidence of other languages the latter may be a grammaticalisation of the former (compare the path followed by Latin *ille* 'that' to French third person *il* 'he'; see also Woods 2000 [2005]: 311).

The nominal relative apart, these determiners can be analysed as occurring in the same position within the noun phrase on the basis that a phrase can contain only one determiner. However, this analysis is complicated somewhat by the dual nature of the possessives, functioning partly as determiners indicating the person, number and gender of a possessor and consequently partly also as pro-forms for a possessor noun phrase. In addition some of the determiners occur only when a noun has no modifiers.

The relative sequence of morphemes at the end of a Sumerian noun phrase is determiner, plural marker and case marker. The plural marker may be another instance of grammaticalisation from a demonstrative; in so far as it further specifies the reference of the head noun, it can be regarded as functioning as a type of post-determiner. In both English and Sumerian the determiners occur towards the outermost edge of the noun phrase, albeit in the former towards the beginning of the phrase and in the latter towards the end.

Pronouns
The identification of pronouns, words that substitute for noun phrases, is again fairly straightforward for Sumerian. Much like the determiner class the pronoun class includes demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites and a nominal relative. In addition Sumerian has personal and reflexive pronouns, but no independent possessive or relative pronouns.

There is considerable overlap between the interrogatives, indefinites and nominal relatives because the interrogative pronoun a-na 'what?' is the source of several other words. The nominal relative a-na 'what(ever)' is formed simply by conversion, while other words contain further morphemes, in particular grammaticalisations of the copular verb: the indefinite determiner and pronoun na-me 'any' (< a-na + me) and the indefinite pronoun niĝ$_2$-nam 'anything' (< niĝ$_2$ + a-na + me), as well as the somewhat idiosyncratic nam-ĝu$_{10}$ 'what is it to me?' (< a-na + me + ĝu$_{10}$) and such interrogative adverbs as a-na-aš 'why?' (< a-na + TERM).

The same sequence of grammaticalised interrogative pronoun and copular verb that occurs in the Sumerian indefinites also occurs in the French expression *quoi que ce soit* 'anything', or more literally 'whatever that might be'. Many other languages also have interrogative-based indefinites,

the second type of derivation being from generic nouns meaning 'person', as in *anybody*, or 'thing', as in *anything* and niĝ₂-nam (Haspelmath 2000: 26–9). While lu₂ 'person' seems to be used in Sumerian to express the concept *anybody*, identifying whether this constitutes a change in word class is difficult. More precisely niĝ₂-nam lies on the semantic continuum between indefiniteness and universality and can therefore also be translated 'everything'.

The nominal relative pronoun introduces relative clauses which function like noun phrases, serving, for example, as the direct object of a verb: a-na ib₂-ak-na-bi nu-zu 'I do not know what I shall do about it' (literally 'I do not know its what that I shall do' [VAS 10 193 8]; a syntactically equivalent noun phrase would be *its cure* in *I do not know its cure*). When the nominal relative is a determiner rather than a pronoun it typically follows the noun it qualifies: ud a-na i₃-til₃-la-ni-a 'as long as she lives' (literally 'in her whatever days that she lives' [NG 7 4]). Occasionally the multifunctional word en-na, which encodes various concepts relating to quantity, time and space, is also used as a determiner: gud du₇ maš₂ du₇ udu niga en-na ab-laḫ₄-a 'as many perfect bulls, perfect kids and fattened sheep as could be brought' (Ur-Namma A [ETCSL 2.4.1.1] 87; see also n. 3).

Relative clauses with a nominal relative are sometimes termed 'free' to distinguish them from the more frequent type of relative clause which is dependent upon a noun: lu₂ ib₂-ze-re-a '(any) person who destroys it' (Gudea St B 10). As this example shows, Sumerian has no relative pronoun equivalent to the declinable English *who*. It does, however, have a clause and thus verb final morpheme {'a} which is functionally equivalent to the indeclinable general subordinator *that*. Because this suffix is not part of the verb's inflectional morphology it can be referred to more specifically as a postfix (see Haspelmath 2000: 22). It may have a similar origin to *that* and be a grammaticalisation of a demonstrative whose earlier existence is implied by the adverb a-gin₇ 'like that', or less literally 'thus' (see also Huber 2000 [2005]: 107 n. 20; for similar grammaticalisations in other languages see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 106–16).

Sumerian also has no independent possessive pronouns (*mine* etc.) but instead uses a noun phrase construction in which a personal pronoun is followed by the genitive case marker.

Opinions vary on whether Sumerian has reflexive pronouns or simply noun phrases which serve this function, that is on whether ni₂ 'self' is the head of a noun phrase followed by a possessive determiner or whether the two elements have combined as a single word (see Edzard 2003a: 58). The phonologically conditioned variation in the form of ni₂ (ni₂ before a consonant but ni₂-te before a vowel) and the frequency with which the two elements collocate rather than being separated may count against a phrasal analysis and favour an identification as a single word.

However, it is also debatable whether 'reflexive pronoun' is the most appropriate term for these words. In some languages reflexive pronouns function mainly as the direct object of a verb whose subject acts upon itself, but in Sumerian such an object is simply ni₂, as in ni₂ te-en 'to rest the self'. The Sumerian pronouns are often used instead with an oblique case marker to express concepts for which English employs other strategies: in an emphatic possessor function for which English uses an emphasised possessive determiner (e₂-gal ni₂-te-na-ka palace himself=GEN=LOC, that is 'in his own palace'), to describe reciprocal relationships that are expressed in English with a reciprocal pronoun (ni₂-bi-a themselves=LOC, that is 'with each other'), and to describe reciprocal actions that are expressed in English with an adverb (ni₂-bi-a themselves=LOC, that is 'together').

Numbers

Sumerian numbers (cardinals, ordinals and fractions) can be viewed as functioning like determiners when they are used attributively within a noun phrase and like pronouns when they occur as the head of a noun phrase. In principle numbers are an open word class; however, their restricted internal structure is more typical of function words.

Case markers and adpositions

Each Sumerian noun phrase ends with a case marker, the language's clearest examples of clitics (or atypical affixes, depending on the terminology preferred), bound morphemes forever excluded

from becoming full case affixes because the structure of the noun phrase allows them to be separated from the head noun. Or to express this in more typological terms, Sumerian is one of the many languages in which case is marked on the last morpheme in the noun phrase rather than on the head noun. The cross-linguistic evidence suggests that these case markers are grammaticalisations of postpositions. The ergative case marker can be analysed as a further grammaticalisation, the directive (also referred to as locative-terminative) being lexically bleached from a meaning such as 'in(to) contact with' to performing the more abstract function of marking the subject of a transitive verb.

A Sumerian noun phrase can end with only one case marker. Consequently double-marking sequences like English *as onto* are excluded from Sumerian, being restricted simply to the similative case marker (also referred to as equative). However, two case markers can occur in sequence in Sumerian when a modifying noun phrase (typically a possessor noun phrase case-marked with the genitive) is embedded within another phrase (for other languages with a similar structure see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 23).

Complex adpositions can be formed in English through a reanalysis of a possessor noun phrase, *by cause* [*of the rain*], for example, being reanalysed as *because of* [*the rain*] in which *because of* is a complex preposition; or to express this in more abstract terms the sequence PREP NOUN GEN NP has been reanalysed as PREP NP. Sumerian has a similar construction in which a lexically bleached head noun (typically one that in other contexts denotes a body part) occurs with the genitive and an oblique case marker. Examples are bar NP=GEN=LOC 'because of', literally 'on the outside of', and eĝer NP=GEN=ABL 'after', literally 'from the back of' (for further examples in Sumerian see Attinger 1993: 261 and Michalowski 2004a: 35, and in other languages Heine and Kuteva 2002: 47–8; one of the long-distant ancestors of *after* had the meaning *back*).

The primarily logographic nature of the cuneiform writing system obscures whether the Sumerian construction has undergone the type of phonological reduction that characterises *because of*. However, other types of change are more transparent in the heads of this construction: their meaning has been altered, no longer having any anatomical reference, and the new abstract meaning is specific to this construction; their morphology has been limited, never occurring in reduplicated forms; and their syntax has been restricted, no longer being modifiable. Whether these changes are sufficient to indicate a change in word class, the discontinuous sequence body-part noun, genitive and oblique case marker then being a complex adposition, or more specifically circumposition, depends on how generously that term is used. On a less generous analysis, in the same way as the structure of the Sumerian noun phrase prevents case clitics from becoming full case affixes, so too it restricts this sequence from becoming a full circumposition.

Conjunctions

A distinction is traditionally made between co-ordinating conjunctions, which can link both phrases and clauses, and subordinating conjunctions, which can link only clauses. Sumerian has very few of either subcategory, using various other strategies to connect both phrases and clauses. One of the other strategies used to express subordinate relations involves the same body-part sequences discussed above in relation to complex adpositions.

Co-ordinating conjunctions are rarely used in Sumerian to link two noun phrases; instead they are simply juxtaposed (an ki 'heaven and earth'). Occasionally, however, bi-da (sometimes reduced to bi) is used after the last in a sequence of nouns with a co-ordinating force. As a noun phrase can end with only one case marker, the instances in which bi-da is followed by a case marker suggest that it has been reanalysed from a sequence ending with the comitative and given a new lexical status as a co-ordination marker (for references see Attinger 1993: 149, and for similar reanalysis of morphemes with a comitative function in other languages see Haspelmath 2004: 11–16).[2] On the

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[2] Instances are also attested in which bi-da is preceded by a demonstrative, as in lu$_2$-e-bi-da-meš-am$_3$ (OBGT I 305); on the basis that the Sumerian noun phrase is restricted to only one demonstrative or possessive, such instances indicate that bi has been reanalysed as part of bi-da. The ablative case marker is also used with a

evidence of other languages (such as Latin *que*), bi-da can be analysed as an enclitic. The only other noun phrase co-ordinator is u₃, a loanword from Akkadian. While bi-da and u₃ have a meaning such as 'and', their more specific nuances ('as well as', 'and also' etc.) are difficult to recapture; u₃ … u₃ is used with a meaning such as 'both … and'.

The Akkadian loanword u₃ is also used to co-ordinate clauses, as well as a further loan from Akkadian attested somewhat later, the enclitic ma. Sumerian does, however, have its own, as it were home-grown, clause-initial subordinating conjunctions: the multifunctional word en-na, in this context with a temporal meaning such as '(unless and) until' (see also n. 3), and two conditionals, tukum-bi and ud-da, both with a meaning such as 'if'. More complex subordinating conjunctions occur less frequently: en-na-nu 'unless' and en-na-me-še₃-am₃ and en₃-tukum-še₃, both with a meaning such as 'as long as'.

These subordinating conjunctions introduce an adverbial clause which is dependent upon a main clause and expresses the circumstances under which the event in the main clause takes place. When less abstract concepts than future possibilities are involved, Sumerian has a different strategy for expressing such circumstances: a phrase consisting of a head noun, a relative clause and an oblique case marker, an example being ud CL-SUB=LOC, literally 'on the day that …' but translatable as 'when …'. Other instances have as a head the body-part words discussed previously in relation to complex adpositions, such as eĝer CL-SUB=ABL 'after …' (literally 'from the back that …'). For the same word to function as both an adposition and a subordinating conjunction is common (as in *after*), although sometimes, providing a closer match to this Sumerian example, a possessive morpheme signals a distinction between the two (as in the preposition *because of* and the conjunction *because*) or an adposition combines with a subordinator to form a subordinating conjunction (as in the preposition *après* and the conjunction *après que*). However, despite these Sumerian body-part heads having lost the properties of a content word and acquired a more grammatical function, the structure of the language can again be viewed as preventing such sequences as eĝer CL-SUB=ABL from becoming full subordinating conjunctions.[3]

Functionally equivalent constructions occur in which there is no head noun, such as -SUB=LOC 'when', -SUB=ABL 'after' and -SUB=TERM 'because'. Lexical class aside, these constructions can be compared with instances in other languages in which subordinators combine with adpositions to form subordinating conjunctions, such as English *in that* (as in *in that you are unhappy*) and Dutch *omdat* 'because', from the preposition *om* 'at' and the subordinator *dat* 'that'.

A further strategy for subordinating clauses in Sumerian involves a set of verb-initial prefixes. While the functions of these prefixes are primarily modal they also include clause connection. For example {u} specifies an action as preceding one that follows and is thus translatable as 'after' or 'when'. And a verbal form such as ḫu-mu-na-ab-šum₂-mu, which begins with an assimilated form of the prefix {ha}, can be translated, depending on context, as either a main clause, 'he should give it to him', or as a subordinate clause, 'should he give it to him'.

Another verbal prefix, {nga}, which sometimes co-occurs with the co-ordinating conjunction u₃, is never verb-initial because it begins with a consonant cluster. It has a connective function translatable as 'and' or 'too', or preceded by the negative prefix {nu} an adversative function translatable as 'but' or 'however'. In a closely related sequence of two verbs the function is correlative, translatable as 'both … and' or, in the negative, 'neither … nor'. As these basic English

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co-ordinating force; however, in this usage it can be preceded by either a human or a non-human third person possessive, suggesting that this is simply a function of the case marker rather than a reanalysis as a co-ordination marker.

[3] Also attested as the head in such relative clause constructions is the multifunctional word en-na, as in en-na CL-SUB=TERM 'until'. The usages of this word as a nominal relative determiner ('as many … as') and as a temporal subordinating conjunction have already been mentioned. In addition en-na occurs, again with a meaning such as 'until', before verbs with a subordinating suffix but no oblique case marker; before noun phrases, in which context it has a spatial as well as a temporal function; and within interrogative adverbs of time, as in en-na-me-še₃ 'how long?' (Attinger 1993: 305, 309; Edzard 2003a: 164).

translations indicate, there is a degree of functional overlap between co-ordinating conjunctions (such as 'and' and 'but') and some words that are traditionally termed adverbs ('too' and 'however'), the latter being the subject of the next section.

Adverbs

The conventional definition of an adverb is a negative version of the one given to an adjective, that it can modify everything except a noun: *very* modifying an adjective or adverb, *quickly* a verb, and *maybe* a clause. And this definition is too narrow because an adverb can also sometimes modify a noun: *the men below.* Adverbs consequently constitute a very mixed word class.

Simplifying the various ways in which adverbs can be classified, words such as *very* are degree adverbs (or intensifiers) which do not occur in Sumerian (arguably their function is performed by base reduplication in stative verbs); words such as *quickly* are manner adverbs, a problematic category in Sumerian; words such as *maybe* are modal adverbs, a Sumerian example being i_3-ge-en 'truly'; and words such as *below* are spatial adverbs, a further problematic category in Sumerian.

In addition Sumerian has conjunctive adverbs (or conjuncts), such as ga-nam 'moreover'; temporal adverbs, such as a-da-al 'now'; and interrogative adverbs, consisting of a base (a, a-na, en_3, me) plus an oblique case marker, such as a-gin_7 'how?' (literally 'like that' and also functioning in declarative contexts as 'thus' and in exclamatory contexts as 'how!'), a-na-aš 'why?', en_3-$še_3$ 'how long?' and me-$še_3$ 'where?' (also en-na-me-$še_3$ 'how long?'). More complex non-interrogative adverbs are also formed by adding an oblique case marker, such as a-da-al-ta 'from now on, henceforth'. The number of adverbs in Sumerian is low, aside from the possible adverbs of manner.

Sumerian has been argued to have various derivational affixes which form manner adverbs from nouns, adjectives and verbal adjectives: {eš}, {bi} and a combination of the two {beš} (Michalowski 2004a: 37–8; see also Attinger 1993: 168–70; Edzard 2003a: 69). Examples are: ud-de_3-$eš_2$ 'like the daylight', zid-de_3-$eš_2$ 'correctly', gibil-bi 'anew', ul_4-la-bi 'quickly' and maḫ-be_2-$eš_2$ 'magnificently'.

However, Sumerian also has an adverbiative case marker {eš}, with a range of meanings such as 'like, as, in the manner of', which occurs at the end of sequences consisting of more than one word, as in ur-saĝ ug_5-ga i_3-me-ša-ke_4-$eš_2$ 'because they are slain heroes' (literally 'as of that they are slain heroes' [Gudea Cyl. A 26: 15 = ETCSL 2.1.7 717]). Possibly an earlier morpheme has grammaticalised in some contexts as a derivational affix and in others as a case marker. Equally, though, what have been termed manner adverbs might be noun phrases with an oblique case marker, the adjectives being instead de-adjectival nouns and the verbal adjectives verbal nouns. Literally zid-de_3-$eš_2$ would then be 'in the manner of justness', with an adverbiative case marker, while instances such as gibil-bi and ul_4-la-bi might have a contracted directive case marker {e}, then being literally 'in its newness' and 'in their being quick'.

This problem of distinguishing adverbs from noun phrases with an oblique case marker is not restricted to manner adverbs. Several spatial and temporal concepts are expressed in Sumerian with constructions which can be analysed as case-marked noun phrases but which can be translated into Akkadian and English by adverbs, such as ki-ta 'below' (Akkadian *šapliš*) and an-ta 'above' (*eliš*).

Interjections

Interjections are often exclamatory and onomatopoeic, and they tend to occur in syntactic isolation (for brief discussions see Anward 2000: 24; Wierzbicka 2000: 304–5, 308–10). The class includes expressives (such as *ah* in English and u_8-a in Sumerian), directives (such as *hey* and ga-na 'come on'), and mimetics, that is words imitating the sounds made by animals and birds (such as *cuckoo* and ti-ku-ti-ku-ma-e).

Further mimetics, words imitating the sound of a noise (*bang*), also termed ideophones, behave like interjections in some languages. In Sumerian they can be analysed as nouns, typically functioning as the direct object of the verb za (such as dum-dam za; for further examples see Black

2003). However, they differ from other nouns in that they only occur in reduplicated forms which feature vowel contrast rather than the vowel assimilation that is more typical for the language.

Words such as *yes* and *no* are also classifiable as interjections. More specifically, however, they are clause substitutes, and it is clauses that are used to express assent or denial in Sumerian (ḫe₂-am₃ 'let it be (so)' and in-nu 'it is not (so)'), although the distribution of these words and the lack of a predicative complement to the copular verb suggest that they have undergone some degree of lexical reanalysis as interjections. Phrases such as ḫe₂-am₃-zu and u₈-a-bi, in which ḫe₂-am₃ and u₈-a are noun-phrase heads, show that words which function as interjections can also occur as nouns.

Particles

The term particle is used here as no more than a catch-all for morphemes that evade easy classification, in particular e-še and ĝiš-še-en (Attinger 1993: 314, Edzard 2003a: 157–8). The former has a quotative function (translatable as 'as they say') and presumably derives from the incompletive base of the irregular verb dug₄ 'to say' (see also Civil 2000 [2005]: 38). The latter has a non-factuality function (translatable as 'were it that'). Both are typically clause-final. Given that neither belongs to the type of closed set that typifies affixes nor has the syntactic freedom that typifies words they may be best regarded as clitics.

Other morphemes that are sometimes treated as being distinct can be incorporated within the categories referred to elsewhere in this article. Some appear to be contextualised usages of demonstratives and case markers at the end of noun phrases containing a relative clause (Attinger 1993: 260–1; Edzard 2003a: 160). And another morpheme, ne (Attinger 1993: 311; Edzard 2003a: 137), can also be analysed as a type of case marker, sharing an etymology with the locative verbal prefix {ni} but being restricted to a temporal function (Krecher 1993: 97).

Verbs

Words can be assigned to the class of verbs on the basis of their meaning, in that typically, at least in the case of dynamic verbs, they denote an event; their morphology, for example whether they distinguish such inflectional categories as number, person, gender, aspect, tense, polarity and mood; their distribution, for example where they occur in the clause; and their syntax, for example whether they can take a noun phrase as subject.

These criteria can be fairly straightforwardly applied to Sumerian, yielding a secure contrast between nouns and verbs and a less secure one between adjectives and verbs. Reconstructing the aspect and/or tense categories of the Sumerian verb is, however, much less straightforward and, given the limited nature of the evidence, a precise identification of these categories is likely to remain impossible. Many Sumerologists consequently rely on the terms used by Babylonian grammarians, *ḫamṭu* and *marû*. There is a broad agreement that the distinction in finite verbal forms is between a completed action (*ḫamṭu*) and an uncompleted action (*marû*), but disagreement as to whether this is primarily an aspectual distinction (between completive and incompletive) or primarily a temporal distinction (between past and non-past, the latter including both present and future). For the sake of simplicity in the following discussion, aspect labels are used (for a contrasting view advocating a temporal analysis see Streck 1998).

The distinction between finite and non-finite verbal forms is more clear-cut, the latter being limited in their morphology to a negative prefix and one of three aspect suffixes: {a}, completive, typically with past reference; {ø}, habitual, typically with present reference; and {ed}, incompletive, typically with non-past reference. Consequently non-finite verbal forms can only distinguish the categories of polarity and aspect (and to some degree modality in incompletive aspect). However, on this analysis aspect in non-finite verbal forms is more nuanced than in finite forms, the label habitual being used in consequence of the many compound agent and instrument nouns formed in this aspect (such as dub-sar 'scribe', literally '(person who) writes tablets', and ᵍⁱˢ̌gana₂-ur₃ 'harrow', literally '(thing which) drags fields'). Non-finite forms function as verbal adjectives and

verbal nouns, as well as in reduced relative clauses and in various types of adverbial clause, for example, ones of purpose and time.

Verbs can be subcategorised in different ways, in particular in terms of their syntactic requirements and their semantics, the latter sometimes being termed lexical aspect in contrast with the grammatical aspect which is a morphological category of the verb.

The basic semantic distinction is between stative verbs, which refer to persisting states or situations (such as zu 'to know'), and dynamic verbs, which describe an action or process (such as šum$_2$ 'to give'). However, this distinction is less one of classes and more one of usages, some intransitive stative verbs also being used transitively to express a dynamic concept, such as ḫul$_2$ stative 'to be happy' and dynamic 'to gladden' ('to make someone happy'). Just as stative verbs in English are excluded from progressive aspect (*I am knowing this*, for example, being an unacceptable clause), so too Sumerian stative verbs are excluded from incompletive aspect. In non-finite forms their distribution typically depends, at least in the third millennium, on transitivity, intransitive stative verbs occurring in completive aspect (such as sag$_9$-ga 'beautiful') but transitive ones in habitual aspect (niĝ$_2$ tuku 'rich', literally 'having things').

Both completive and habitual aspects encode a situation as being more time-stable than incompletive aspect does, this semantic similarity explaining why stative verbs only occur in completive and habitual aspects, and why irregular verbs have the same base in these two aspects but a different base in incompletive aspect.

The syntactic requirements of a verb relate to its argument structure, that is to the complements which a verb typically requires. In these terms Sumerian has the five familiar classes of intransitive verb (uš$_2$ 'to die'), extended (or two-place) intransitive verb (kur$_9$ 'to enter' into a place), transitive verb (dim$_2$ 'to fashion' something), extended (or three-place) transitive verb (ĝar 'to place' something on something), and a final class with only one member, the copular verb me 'to be' which conjugates like an intransitive stative verb but differs in that it requires a predicative complement; it is the only verb which also occurs in clitic forms, these being encliticised to its complement. Again, however, these syntactic requirements relate more to usages than classes, as some intransitive verbs are also used transitively, such as uš$_2$ intransitive 'to die' and transitive 'to kill' ('to make someone die'). A few verbs show a more complicated pattern, such as du$_3$ transitive 'to erect' but extended intransitive 'to hold' onto someone or something.

Doubts are sometimes expressed as to whether the morphemes bound to the verbal base are affixes or clitics, in particular because in the imperative the same morphemes follow the base that otherwise precedes it (Black 2002a: 66). Such movement is atypical for affixes; however, provided it is morphologically and semantically regular, and the morphological change resulting in a consistent change in meaning, it can be argued to fall within the domain of inflection. Weak pronouns in Romance languages behave in a similar way in the imperative, as in indicative *tu me le donnes* 'you give it to me' versus imperative *donne-le-moi* 'give it to me'. However, the morphemic status of these pronouns is a controversial topic in linguistics. While the French writing conventions separate them like words in the indicative, linguists regard them as bound morphemes and dispute whether they are clitics or affixes (see, for example, Stump 1998: 21; Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002: 9), although *moi* is stressed and therefore regarded as a word. Whatever the status of these morphemes, such French sequences appear to be less bound than their Sumerian equivalents, given that they can be interrupted by an adverb, as in *je ne l'ai pas encore vu* 'I've not seen it yet'.

Having begun this discussion with nouns it is appropriate to conclude with verbs, the second most important class of words in Sumerian. However, compared with some other languages Sumerian has relatively few verbs because lexical expansion of this class is primarily by means of multiword expressions. These multiwords can themselves be subcategorised into two broad groups, ones in which a semantically light verb (ak 'to do' or dug$_4$ 'to say, do') combines with a noun to express a verbal meaning, as in a dug$_4$ 'to water' ('to do water'), and ones in which a semantically strong verb extends its meaning in combination with a noun (often one denoting a body part), as in

šu bala 'to alter' ('to cross hands'). In so far as such differences are recoverable for Sumerian, the latter type can again be subcategorised into two broad groups: ones in which the meaning is compositional, that is relatively transparent in relation to its parts, such as igi du$_8$ 'to see' ('to spread eyes'), and more opaque non-compositional instances, such as si sa$_2$ 'to straighten' ('to equalise horns'). As these examples indicate, such multiword expressions not only reduce the number of verbs in Sumerian but also increase the incidence of nouns in the language.

CONCLUSION

As reflects their origins, the preceding word classes are those typically found in Indo-European languages. However, even within those languages problems remain that apply equally to Sumerian. For example, adverbs constitute a very mixed class with few distinctive defining characteristics. And many words belong to more than one class as a result of conversion from one class to another, a process also referred to as zero-marked derivation, examples being English de-adjectival nouns like *contemporary* and de-adjectival verbs like *dim*. More fundamentally, in some instances the boundaries between classes are fluid and fuzzy rather than fixed and clear-cut, a case in point being the disputed criteria for identifying when an English participle should be classified as an adjective.

Such fluidity or indeterminateness in grammatical categories is not restricted to word classes, but also arises, for example, in relation to the distinction between affixes and words. Here, however, one solution is to use the term clitic for morphemes that are neither full affixes nor full words: the English possessive marker *'s*, which is always phrase-final and as such is indifferent to the class of the word to which it is attached (*the man's dog*, *the man who was running's dog*), can be classified as one such clitic, as can the Sumerian case markers which behave in a similar way.

Analysis beyond Indo-European languages shows that word classes, in addition to sometimes having fluid boundaries, also have an uneven distribution, different languages having different word-class inventories. As a result what one language expresses with a specific word class can be expressed in another with a different, but functionally equivalent, strategy. This applies in particular below the level of content words. Consequently, for example, one recent cross-linguistic study of subordination focuses on functional rather than grammatical similarities between languages, largely ignoring the question of the different ways in which subordination is formally encoded in different languages (Cristofaro 2003). It has been argued similarly in this article that the Sumerian verbal postfix {'a} is functionally equivalent to the English subordinator *that*, that sequences such as eĝer …=GEN=ABL 'after' are equivalent to complex English prepositions, and that {'a} occurs with such sequences, or simply with a case marker, to form equivalents to English subordinating conjunctions.

Such unevenness in the distribution of word classes and the occasional indeterminateness at their boundaries indicate that the abstract categories which we construct in order to explain how languages work sometimes fail to capture their fluidity and complexity. This is, however, not intended to dismiss word-class analysis, but merely to acknowledge its limitations.

THE ELECTRONIC TEXT CORPUS OF SUMERIAN LITERATURE:
AN ALL-IN-ONE CORPUS?

Jarle Ebeling—Oslo

In this paper, *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (ETCSL) will be described from two different but interrelated perspectives.[1] By comparing ETCSL to other (types of) corpora, it will be shown how it resembles other language corpora but also, and more importantly, how it differs from them. Secondly, ETCSL will be described from within, so to speak, by presenting some vital statistics about it and by emphasising some important aspects related to the design of the corpus. This second part of the paper is crucial since it highlights some of the possible pitfalls associated with using ETCSL uncritically as an electronic resource.

There are almost as many types of corpora as there are corpus linguists, for there is nothing a corpus linguist enjoys more than coming up with yet another type of corpus. Hence, we have monolingual, bilingual, multilingual corpora; diachronic, historical, international, and national corpora; parallel, comparable, and translation corpora; annotated, tagged, parsed, and lemmatised corpora; and corpora of spoken, written, literary, and computer texts. To place ETCSL within this tradition, we could say that it is a diachronic, annotated, transliterated, bilingual, parallel corpus of literature.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF ETCSL

ETCSL consists of two major parts. One part comprises the 380 compositions of transliterated Sumerian, the other the translation of 367 of the Sumerian compositions into English prose. The corpus is subdivided into seven categories based on type of literature or function. The first category, labelled C.0, consists of 13 catalogues which are not translated. The other categories are: Narrative and mythological compositions (C.1), Royal praise poetry and compositions with a historical background (C.2), Literary letters and letter-prayers (C.3), Hymns and cult songs (C.4), Proverbs (C.6), and Other literature (C.5). The individual Sumerian texts of the corpus are referred to as composite texts since many of them are constructs made up of information from several sources. As a corollary, pinpointing the origin and date of a composition does not make sense. This can only be done for the individual sources making up each composition (see further below).

A distinction between literary and non-literary works is not always easy to make. The corpus does not contain so-called socio-economic or administrative texts, which seem to have had very practical purposes in Mesopotamian society. On the other hand, the corpus does contain catalogues and lists, e.g., *The Sumerian king list* (ETCSL 2.1.1), that may not have been interpreted by the originators as literature, if such a concept existed at that time. On the whole, however, ETCSL contains compositions of a fictional character, and is thus a literary corpus.

ETCSL COMPARED
Corpus design and corpus compilation
What is a corpus?

Within corpus linguistics, an approach to the study of language through the use of corpora, a **corpus** is seen as: 'a collection of linguistic data, either written texts or transcription of recorded speech, which can be used as a starting point of linguistic description or as a means of verifying

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[1] Without the determination and tenacity of Jeremy A. Black, there would be no ETCSL. I can only hope that the corpus has developed along the lines he envisioned. I am forever grateful to Jeremy for giving me the opportunity to work on such an interesting and rewarding project.

hypotheses about a language' (Crystal 2003).[2] If a corpus is to be useful in linguistic research it should be a representative, finite sample of a variety of a language in machine-readable form, in the view of McEnery and Wilson (2001: 29). In addition to being representative of a particular variety, a corpus should also try to be balanced, so that no text type or genre is overrepresented in the sample as a whole.

Forty years of corpus compilation have proved it difficult to meet all these design criteria. Compiling a balanced and representative corpus is extremely difficult to achieve, partly due to the ever-changing media through which language is communicated and the legal obstacles associated with the use of copyrighted material. Some uses of language are also notoriously underrepresented in, or even excluded from, corpora. In languages where foreign films and television programs have subtitles, for instance, it has been estimated that the general public read translated language in the form of subtitles on the same scale as they read newspapers. Despite this, subtitles are seldom part of a national corpus.

ETCSL is a 'collection of linguistic data' and 'can be used as a starting point of linguistic description of a language', so in these respects it is a proper corpus. However, it may fall short of some of the other ideals advocated by McEnery and Wilson, simply because we do not know with any certainty whether it is representative of Sumerian literature or whether it contains a balanced sample of Sumerian literature as a whole. However, based on our current knowledge of Sumerian, the ETCSL is a fairly representative sample of Sumerian literature.[3]

Corpus compilation

The way the early electronic English language corpora approached the ideal of a representative and balanced corpus of written English was to collect 500 2,000-word samples of most of the written genres of contemporary English. The Brown[4] and Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen[5] (LOB) corpora, which both consist of texts published in 1961 in the USA and Britain respectively, include 15 text categories. In addition to informative prose, e.g., newspaper and magazine articles, government documents, biographies, and learned and scientific writing, the two corpora contain six categories of literary fiction: general fiction, mystery and detective fiction, science fiction, adventure and western fiction, romance and love story, and humour. Even today, this seems to be a fairly reasonable selection of written text genres, if we disregard e-mail, text messages and text produced solely for publication on the Internet.

The idea of a balanced and representative corpus is also pervasive in the thinking behind the sampling of the two 100 million word corpora: the British National Corpus[6] (BNC) and its American sister corpus, the American National Corpus[7] (ANC). However, the carefully selected 2,000-word samples and the 15 text categories found in Brown and LOB have been abandoned for larger chunks of texts and broader text categories. The written component of the BNC, for instance, consists of 75% informative and 25% imaginative writing.[8] In the Brown corpus, the percentages were 66 versus 33. The initially broader categories of the BNC are, however, compensated by having a very detailed description of each text in the header section of the text. This information includes 'the topic or subject of the text; the author's name, age, gender, region of origin, and domicile; target age group and gender and the level of writing (a subjective measure of reading difficulty): the more literary or technical a text, the 'higher' its level'.[9]

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[2] The comparison will be restricted to modern, electronic corpora. Some earlier corpora are mentioned in Francis 1992.

[3] The question 'what is literature' is deliberately not addressed here.

[4] See Francis and Kučera 1979.

[5] See Johansson 1978.

[6] See http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.

[7] See http://americannationalcorpus.org/.

[8] See http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/creating.xml.

[9] http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/creating.xml.

In order to be useful, a corpus does not have to be as broad in its coverage as, for instance, the BNC. There are a number of specialised corpora that, although they may be small in terms of the number of words they contain, are used successfully to study a particular variety of language, e.g., child language, sign language, translated language, the language of poetry, etc. It is into this latter category of corpora that ETCSL falls. It is very small compared to most modern corpora. It contains fewer than 170,000 tokens, many of which are damaged and unrecognisable and coded simply as X.

Did corpus compilation start in Sumer?
The definition of the term corpus offered above was taken from the field of linguistics. However, a corpus is not necessarily a collection of linguistic data, nor does it need to serve solely as a basis for linguistics research. In the *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (http://www.m-w.com/) a **corpus** is defined as 'all the writings or works of a particular kind or on a particular subject'. A search for the phrase 'a corpus of' on Google reveals that the term is used for, among other things, catalogues of various kinds, e.g., paintings, and collections of artefacts, e.g., (writing-)tablets. If a corpus can be a catalogue, the scribes of Mesopotamia surely were some of the first people to produce corpora.

The so-called Standard Professions List (Civil 1969: 3–12), first encountered in Uruk in southern Iraq, and dated to the late fourth or early third millennium BCE, contains a long list of names of officials and professions. The list was faithfully copied for hundreds of years by Sumerian and Akkadian scribes, and thus must have been seen as important by its contemporaries. The primary purpose of the Standard Profession List may escape us, as does the exact meaning of many of the officials and professions enumerated in it, but it is a good example of the many literary catalogues and lexical lists, both mono- and bilingual, that have been found in Mesopotamia, and which show that people have been preoccupied with collecting instances of language use from the very beginning of history.

Of a more recent date, but even more interesting in our context, is a set of curricular works from the Old Babylonian period, approximately 2000–1600 BCE (see Tinney 1999 and references therein). Perhaps for the first time, samples of language data are used to study a particular variety of a language, namely literary Sumerian, by mainly non-Sumerian learners. The study of the set texts may have had primarily prescriptive rather than descriptive purposes, but so will presentations of language use today, especially when they occur in list form, e.g., as glossaries, dictionaries or key-word-in-context (KWIC) concordances. In any case, the study of a limited number of texts to come to grips with the language as a whole immediately rings a bell with corpus linguists interested in learner corpora and teaching language using language corpora, which has been a growing sub-discipline of corpus linguistics for a number of years now.[10]

A diachronic corpus
ETCSL is a historical or diachronic corpus on a par with for instance the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*[11] and *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*.[12] What tends to distinguish historical corpora from modern ones containing modern language, apart from the fact that they contain dead languages, is that they try to be comprehensive and include all available texts associated with a domain or a period. As far as possible, the included texts are also complete and not samples or extracts. In this respect, they are not necessarily balanced samples of a particular language use or genre. Furthermore, the challenge of collecting representative samples of use may not be an issue, since everything available has been compiled. However, whether the collected material is representative of the language of that period of time as a whole may, of course, still be debatable.

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[10] There is now an established biannual conferences devoted to this theme, namely Teaching and Language Corpora (TaLC; see for instance http://www.ugr.es/~talc6/). See also Granger 1998.
[11] See http://www.tlg.uci.edu/.
[12] See http://khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/hc/

The benefit of having a corpus consisting of complete texts is that it can serve as a textual source for many types of studies, not only linguistic ones, e.g., literary studies, religious studies, and political and cultural studies.

On a more practical level, the compilation, annotation and presentation of historical corpora are often very labour-intensive. Corpora compiled before the advent of Unicode, for instance, had to develop elaborate routines for keying in and converting ASCII codes to the appropriate character set of the language in question. Much thought and work have also gone into the presentation and display of electronic, historical corpora, e.g., by showing Greek and English translation in parallel, by linking individual words in the corpus to relevant dictionary articles, and by showing frequency information of the words in the corpora.

ETCSL follows in this tradition by linking every word (lemma) in the corpus to the relevant article in *The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*.[13] The lemma list accompanying ETCSL also contains part of speech and frequency information for every lexeme in the corpus.

A bilingual, parallel corpus
In the past 15 years or so parallel corpora have attracted a lot of attention, not least due to the interest from the natural language processing (NLP) community, who see them as a means of improving machine translation and as a way of recognising semantic patterns or topics cross-linguistically. A parallel corpus is most often thought of as a corpus consisting of a source text in one language and one or more translations of that text into another language or other languages. This type of corpus is sometimes referred to as a translation corpus. However, a translation corpus may also be a corpus consisting solely of translations. A second type of parallel corpus is known as a comparable corpus, that is, texts in two or more languages that are not translations of each other, but rather converge along a set of common parameters such as genre, intended audience, emotive effect, etc. Examples of comparable corpora can be collections of election manifestos, political speeches or passages from tourist brochures in two or more languages.

The renewed interest in compiling parallel corpora was partially sparked by the idea that one could use the computer to automatically align original and translation at sentence level. Aligning closely related Western European languages in this way is fairly easy since in most cases they are translated sentence by sentence (1:1). In the cases when they are not, simple word and/or character counts can be used to adjust the alignment from 1:1 to 1:2, 2:1, 1:3, 3:1, etc. (see Oksefjell 1999). A more sophisticated and language-aware method would be to have the alignment software read a basic bilingual wordlist of the language pair you want to align, and use that in the alignment process. The wordlist should include high-frequency content words, numbers, typical abbreviations, and names of days, months, etc. The wordlist itself can in fact be produced by a computer program, if you have an algorithm that can recognise cognates in the two languages you are trying to align.[14] As so often within computational linguistics, combining a statistical method with a rule-based one seems to work best.

The following sentence pairs, taken from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus, show how a sentence-aligned corpus can be organised:

Original

Translation

As soon as the words were out, she regretted them. Kaum waren die Worte heraus, bereute sie sie schon.
This was an ancient battle between the two women. Dies war ein alter Streitpunkt zwischen den beiden Frauen.

Parallel corpora have become a much used language resource within the fields of contrastive linguistics and translation studies (see Granger et al. 2003).

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[13] See http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/.
[14] The *Oslo Multilingual Corpus* is one example of a parallel corpus. See http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/OMC/English/index_e.html.

To my knowledge, transliterated Sumerian and modern languages such as English have never been automatically aligned in the way described. In principle, there should be no reason why they could not be, as transliteration and translation are often aligned manually. The following pairs taken from the opening of Ur-Namma C [ETCSL 2.4.1.3] in Flückiger-Hawker's edition (1999: 208–9), have a very similar pattern and layout to the English-German sentence pairs presented above:

Original

iri me du$_{10}$-du$_{10}$-ga para$_{10}$ maḫ nam-lugal-la

eš$_3$ uri$_5$^{ki} gu$_2$-gal ⌜ki⌝-en-gi-ra ki ku$_3$-ga du$_3$-a

Translation

City of all good **me**, highest dais of kingship,

Sanctuary Ur, foremost in Sumer, built on splendid ground

The ETCSL edition is not aligned in this way. It is aligned at paragraph level, which means that an English paragraph will correspond to several Sumerian lines of text, as in the next example:

Original, lines 43–9:

a$^!$-ĝu$_{10}$ šag$_4$ kug-ge ba-ri-a-ta

^{d}suen-e u$_6$-e ki aĝ$_2$-ni

^{d}nanna-ar ḫi-li-na ba-ni-in-kur$_9$-re

^{d}en-lil$_2$-le ^{d}utu-gin$_7$ kalam-ma ed$_2$-de$_3$ mu dug$_3$ mu-un-⌜sa$_4$⌝

^{d}nin(source: nin$_9$)-tur$_5$ tud-⌜tud⌝-a mu-un-gub-bu$^!$

šag$_4$ ama-ĝu$_{10}$ ^{d}nin-sumun$_2$-ka-ta

nam tar-ra sag$_9$-ga ma-ta-e$_3$

Translation, lines 43–9:

After my seed had been poured into the holy womb, Suen, loving its appearance (?), made it partake of Nanna's attractiveness. Coming forth over the Land like Utu, Enlil called me by an auspicious name, and Nintur assisted at my birth. As I came forth from the womb of my mother Ninsumun, a favourable allotted destiny was determined for me.

The reasons for not attempting a line-by-line translation are several, but the main one is that it was deemed too difficult to get a fluent prose translation of the compositions into English when constrained by the line format, since the translation part of the corpus is meant to be a stand-alone introduction to Sumerian literature for non-academic users as well.

However, with the annotation of the corpus, a word-by-word gloss of every Sumerian word is available, and this forms a convenient bridge between the transliteration and the translation. The next example shows how this works in the case of lines 43–5 from the extract above.[15]

43:	a$^!$-ĝu$_{10}$	šag$_4$	kug-ge	ba-ri-a-ta
	water	heart	shining	to throw
44:	^{d}suen-e	u$_6$-e	ki	aĝ$_2$-ni
	Suen	wonder	place	to measure
45:		^{d}nanna-ar	ḫi-li-na	ba-ni-in-kur$_9$-re
		Nanna	attractiveness	to enter
Translation:	After my seed had been poured into the holy womb, Suen, loving its appearance (?), made it partake of Nanna's attractiveness.			

The example also illustrates several other points relevant to interpreting Sumerian poetry and translating it into English prose, e.g., the significance of reading a as 'semen' and not 'water', and šag$_4$ as 'womb' and not 'heart' in the current context; the importance of knowing Sumerian multi-

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[15] In the online version of the corpus, every lemma is linked to a dictionary article. This makes it even easier to get from the transliteration via the gloss to the translation.

word verbs, such as ki aĝ$_2$ = 'to love'; and the fact that uncertain choices of translation should be marked in the text, as when u$_6$ is taken as 'appearance' and not 'wonder'.

Some of the points just raised lead nicely into our next sub-section on annotation, since we need corpus annotation to make explicit aspects of Sumerian grammar implicitly known to (some) grammarians only.

An annotated corpus

In Garside et al. (1997) **corpus annotation** is defined as 'the practice of adding interpretative, linguistic information to an electronic corpus of spoken and/or written language data'. The most common information that is added to corpora, and which has been added ever since the days of the Brown corpus, is part-of-speech (POS) or word class information. It has proved relatively easy to automatically attach the correct POS label to the single words of modern language corpora using either statistical or rule-based methods. Getting at the correct part of speech in many cases involves stripping a word of its affixes and performing various other word-internal transformations. Thus, POS tagging a corpus will almost automatically involve lemma recognition as well. Recognising units above orthographic words, however, has proved more difficult, and often involves manual proof-reading or post-processing of the output from the automatic annotation tool.

In more recent years, however, great improvements have been made, and other types of linguistic information have been successfully added to corpora, e.g., phrase structure and syntactic functions. A good example of a syntactically parsed corpus is the British component of the *International Corpus of English*,[16] which comes with software for viewing the parse trees of every sentence in the corpus. The result of the recent developments is the many treebanks that have been set up, of which the Penn Treebank[17] is perhaps the most widely known.

ETCSL is annotated with the following information: lemma, part of speech, type of (pro)noun, English label (gloss), and Emesal base. All the recognised word forms in the corpus have been subsumed under a citation form or lemma. According to the *Collins English Dictionary*, a **lemma** is 'a word considered as its citation form together with all the inflected forms'. This means that searching for a lemma in a corpus should find all the occurrences of it, regardless of the form it has in each instance, i.e., searching for 'go' should also find 'goes', 'going', 'went', and 'gone'. In other contexts, a lemma will be more or less equivalent to a dictionary headword or lexeme.

The part-of-speech tags adopted for ETCSL follow the ones proposed by the EAGLES guidelines,[18] and only nine parts of speech are recognised: adjective, adverb, conjunction, interjection, noun, negator, numeral, pronoun/determiner, and verb. In addition, the noun, numeral and pronoun/determiner parts of speech have been further subcategorised into types of proper nouns, ordinal and cardinal numbers, and demonstrative, indefinite, interrogative, personal, reflexive pronouns/determiners. A detailed description of the automatic lemmatisation process can be found on the ETCSL homepage under Technical Information.[19]

The label information with which the corpus has been annotated is not usually found with modern language corpora. The label, which is a standardised English word or phrase, is meant to denote the basic or most frequent meaning of a word *in the corpus*. There are several reasons for adding this information to the corpus files. At present, there is no completed dictionary of Sumerian, although several glossaries in paper form exist, and the electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (ePSD) is in its final stages.[20] Moreover, it was felt that ETCSL should come with a corpus-based glossary which could be of help to students and researchers in their ETCSL corpus studies. The ePSD has a much wider textual base than ETCSL and covers the whole of Sumerian. As a consequence, their English translations must take a wider set of word senses into

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[16] See http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice-gb/index.htm.

[17] See http://www.cis.upenn.edu/~treebank/home.html.

[18] See http://www.ilc.cnr.it/EAGLES96/home.html.

[19] See http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/edition2/technical.php.

[20] See http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/.

consideration, senses which may not be found in ETCSL. Furthermore, and as indicated above, since ETCSL is not aligned line by line with corresponding English translations, a basic English gloss is included to help in reading and analysing the Sumerian transliterations. Finally, a note of warning: the labels are crude glosses and nothing more. Any word may take on a multitude of (related) meanings in context. It is therefore advisable to consult the translation of the line in which a label occurs, before making up your mind about the meaning of a particular Sumerian word.

As an example of how the corpus is annotated, consider line 44 from the extract above as it occurs unformatted in the original corpus file:

```
<l n='44' id='c2413.44' corresp='t2413.p4'>
<w form='&d;suen-e' lemma='suen' pos='N' type='DN' label='Suen'>&d;suen-e</w>
<w form='u6-e' lemma='u6' pos='N' label='wonder'>u6-e</w>
<w form='ki' lemma='ki' pos='N' label='place'>ki</w>
<w form='aj2-ni' lemma='aj2' pos='V' label='to measure'>aj2-ni</w>
</l>
```

Each line of text begins with a line number internal to the composition, a corpus-unique 'id' and a 'corresp' attribute which links this line with its corresponding translation. The 'id' and 'corresp' values are made up of a text code starting with 'c' for composition and 't' for translation, a unique text number, followed by the line or paragraph number.

To simplify the electronic processing of the texts, each word form is put on a separate line and bounded by the <w> tag. The 'form' attribute, which is the first one in the list of <w> attributes, is used to hold a copy of the actual occurring Sumerian transliterated word form. This is done for ease of processing, since the word may be interrupted by tags used to code irregularities of the original manuscript (tablet), e.g., damaged text, or as in the next example, an uncertain reading of a sign.

```
<w form='mu-un-gub-bu' lemma='gub' pos='V' label='to stand'>mu-un-gub-<unclear cert='cor'>bu
</unclear></w>
```

Those interested in a more detailed account of the coding of ETCSL should consult the ETCSL website, and especially the ETCSL manual.[21]

A transliterated corpus

In the case of ETCSL, transliterating the characters of the cuneiform script involves more than converting them into sequences of letters of the Roman alphabet. Transliteration, i.e., transcribing a word, etc., in one writing system into letters of an alphabet script, was earlier used as a method for storing and representing non-Latin-based scripts in the computer. Today, this is usually no longer necessary, since most modern languages use scripts which have been adopted by the Unicode Consortium, and font developers have created glyphs for most of these languages. This applies to the cuneiform script as well, which is now included in version 5 of Unicode. So why go on transliterating Sumerian cuneiform, when we can (should?) store and display the original script? For the time being at least, one good reason is tradition. Sumerologists have become used to reading Sumerian in transliteration. In addition, and more importantly, transliterations reveal the polysemous nature of cuneiform signs. Since there is a one-to-many relationship between sign and transliteration value, the transliteration makes explicit the value of a sign in a specific linguistic context; and the value is essential for understanding the intended meaning.

An example of a polysemous sign is 𒄢. It may have the value mu, meaning, among other things, 'name' or 'year', but it can also have the value ĝu$_{10}$, meaning 'my'. When one knows that certain high-frequency signs can have as many as 20–30 different values, making explicit the value through the transliteration is crucial for understanding.

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[21] See http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/edition2/etcslmanual.php.

Now that cuneiform script has been sanctioned by Unicode and once it becomes part of the most widely-used software packages, there is no reason why the cuneiform signs themselves cannot be stored and displayed like any other script. The preferred transliteration value can then be coded and displayed on a par with the other annotated information, e.g., lemma, pos, etc. The sequence 𒅗𒈬, for instance, which can be analysed as either ka-ĝu₁₀ or inim-ĝu₁₀, would result in two different analyses in the corpus:

<w form='ka-ju10' lemma='ka' pos='N' label='mouth'> 𒈬</w>

<w form='inim-ju10' lemma='inim' pos='N' label='word'> 𒅗 𒈬</w>

Another seemingly good reason for having a corpus of transliterated Sumerian is the phenomenon of compound signs. Compound signs are sequences of signs making up one transliteration value. In the original, compound signs are not signalled in such a way as to distinguish them from when the same sequence should not be taken as standing for one value. The sequence 𒀀 𒀭 can in principle be read a an 'water heaven', but is more likely to be read am₃ '3SG.COP', i.e., the third person, singular of the enclitic copula me.

An integral part of the transliteration practices that have developed since the discovery of cuneiform writing is the use of hyphens. In ETCSL, as in most other corpora, the space character is used to delimit orthographic words. The use of the hyphen, however, plays a special role in the transliteration of Sumerian. It is used to join clitics and affixes to the preceding or following base, to join the elements of a proper name, and to join compounds believed to constitute a unit, e.g., gal-zu 'wise' (gal-zu = great-know). Maintaining consistency of hyphenation is notoriously difficult. Many of the hyphenated sequences consist of noun+verb or verb+verb, and can also occur unhyphenated, especially when the two parts are seen not to form a semantic unit. An example is nam-tar 'destiny' which when transliterated nam tar is given the meaning 'to decide fate/destiny'.

Yet another reason for rendering cuneiform signs in an alphabetic script is to make explicit certain phonological processes such as vowel harmony, assimilation and consonant duplication.

The transliteration practice adopted in ETCSL does not distinguish between logograms and phonograms, that is, signs which express lexemes and signs which express phonemes. Apart from loanwords, which are often written phonographically (syllabically), most Sumerian words contain at least one logogram. And as mentioned above, signs for which a transliteration value cannot be decided are written in capitals, e.g., MU for 𒈬 .

The various reasons we have indicated as part of the rationale behind having transliterated corpora of Sumerian may not be deemed sufficient as soon as the cuneiform script becomes part and parcel of every computer system.[22] However, at some point in the process of interpreting the cuneiform texts we need to disambiguate and to make explicit in some form or another our interpretation of what is written, whether in the form of annotations or by way of translating word by word the lines of cuneiform signs.

Summing up

In the opening paragraphs we referred to ETCSL as a diachronic, annotated, transliterated, bilingual, parallel corpus of literature. In this section we have, by comparing ETCSL with other corpora, seen how it is indeed all these things and how much it resembles other language corpora. The one thing that sets it apart is the interpretative nature built into the process of rendering the transliterations. For this reason, we may say that ETCSL is first and foremost a transliteration corpus.

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[22] A discussion of the relationship between a standardised cuneiform script and the signs as they occur on three-dimensional tablets lies outside the scope of this paper. There are, however, a whole range of interesting topics related to the development of the cuneiform script.

So far we have looked at ETCSL from the outside so to speak, and seen how it can be described and how it compares to other (types of) corpora. We have also seen how it has been annotated and transliterated. We shall now turn to the corpus itself, and present some initial statistics, which may serve as a starting point for saying something about Sumerian literary language.

SUMERIAN AND ETCSL
Compositions and versions
Sumerian literature has not been handed down to us on complete, neatly preserved clay tablets. Much of it has come in numerous fragments from various parts of Mesopotamia. Thus, putting together a composite text for a Sumerian literary work is something of a puzzle. In quite a few cases building a complete text from fragments has meant that different parts of the composite text stem from different excavation sites and/or from different periods of time. Any scholarly work based on ETCSL must be aware of this, and take this into account before making claims about Sumerian literary language as a whole. Fewer than half of the compositions in the corpus, approximately 165 texts, have only one source. 116 composite texts are based on between two and five sources, while the remaining 99 are reconstructed from more than five sources.

In addition to consisting of composite texts, ETCSL, in a few cases, includes several versions of the same composition. Depending on the kind of research one is performing, one must make clear whether all (or some) versions of a composition are included in the material or only one. By definition, the versions are not exact copies of each other, so there may well be reasons for including more than one. It is not uncommon for modern text corpora to contain several chunks of identical text, either because of mistakes made during compilation, or because two or more newspapers have included extracts or quotations from the same source, e.g., a news agency. However, the smaller the corpus, the greater the influence of these stretches of identical wording on the overall statistics.

Table 1: The number of texts, tokens and lemmas in the corpus

	C.0	*C.1*	*C.2*	*C.3*	*C.4*	*C.5*	*C.6*
Number of texts	13	35	**138**	31	107	25	31
	(3.4%)	(9.2%)	(36.3%)	(8.2%)	(28.2%)	(6.6%)	(8.2%)
Number of tokens	**1,138**	38,321	**49,291**	3,635	26,903	12,156	11,456
	(0.8%)	(26.8%)	(34.5%)	(2.5%)	(18.8%)	(8.5%)	(8.0%)
Number of tokens per text	87.5	1,094.9	357.2	117.3	251.4	486.2	381.9
Number of lemmas	303	2,182	2,437	685	1,931	1,553	1,297
	(7.4%)	(53.1%)	(59.4%)	(16.7%)	(47.0%)	(37.8%)	(31.6%)
Number of Emesal words	20	432	706	0	826	14	187

As regards the categories of Sumerian literature included in the corpus, one should bear in mind the special nature of the proverbs (C.6) and the catalogues (C.0). The catalogues do not contain any running text as such, only individual lines which together function as tables of content of Sumerian literature. That is, instead of referring to a literary text by its title, it was referred to, and known by, (part of) its first line.

The proverbs are special in at least two ways. First, many of the proverbs are included in several of the proverb collections. Hence, features characteristic of proverbs are inflated by having exactly the same wording represented many times over in the corpus. On the ETCSL website, we have tried to show this by creating links between individual proverbs in the various compositions. Second, the style and language of proverbs are marked compared to other types of literature, as also in Sumerian.

Due to the special characteristics of the catalogue compositions and the proverbs, one may want to exclude these categories from certain types of studies.

Basic statistics

To get a first impression of the size and composition of the corpus as a whole, a few basic statistics are presented here. These reflect the corpus as it was in May 2005, and will inevitably change over time as the corpus is expanded and new words and meanings of words are being discovered. It is, however, not likely that the overall frequencies will change radically in the near future.

Overall frequencies and the number of tokens, types and lemmas

ETCSL contains 168,066 tokens (orthographic words). Included in this count are 16,012 ($\approx$ 10%) fragmentary and unrecognisable signs coded as X or &X;. A single X represents one unrecognisable sign. Although &X; stands for two or more unrecognisable signs, it is treated here as one token. The total count also includes 9,154 ($\approx$ 5%) stand-alone signs. These are signs for which we have been unable to assign a function either as lexeme or morpheme. If we subtract these two numbers from the total we are left with 142,900 tokens (word forms), which then constitute the Sumerian wordstock of ETCSL.

Depending on the line of research conducted the 12,444 (8.7%) proper nouns and the 1,624 (1.1%) words tagged as numerals may also be excluded from the material. However they are included in the counts below, but not in the online version of the lemma list.

There is a total of 4,106 lemmas in ETCSL and 30,913 types, which yields a type-token ratio of 0.216 (30,913/142,900). If we compare these figures with the average of five comparable chunks of texts taken from the written fiction part BNCBaby, a four-million word subset of the British National Corpus, we get, on average, 11,433 lemmas and 12,918 types, which yields a type-token ratio of 0.087 (12,918/142,900). The difference in type-token ratios is to a great extent due to the difference in morphology between Sumerian and English. Even more striking is the difference in the number of lemmas between the two languages.[23] If nothing else, this shows clearly the usefulness of lemmatising a language as morphologically rich as Sumerian.

If we divide the total number of tokens by the number of compositions, we get an average of 376 per composition. However, if we distribute these figures across the seven text categories we get a very uneven picture.

Table 1 shows that categories C.0 and C.3 are very small in terms of number of tokens, while C.2 stands out as the largest by far both in terms of the number of compositions it includes and the number of tokens it contains. Note also the average number of tokens in category C.1. This seems to be the category with the longest compositions. The last row shows the number of Emesal word bases each category contains.

Another interesting feature of ETCSL is the fact that nearly 62% of the types only occur once in the corpus, while types that occur ten times or more constitute only 6.6% of the total. The list below shows how many types occur once, twice, 3, 4, 5–9, and ten times or more in the corpus.

Types occurring 10 times or more in ETCSL: 2,027
Types occurring 5–9 times in ETCSL: 2,093
Types occurring 4 times in ETCSL: 1,073
Types occurring 3 times in ETCSL: 1,903
Types occurring twice in ETCSL: 4,701
Types occurring once in ETCSL: 19,116

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[23] Comparing lemma frequencies from corpora tagged with different tag sets is notoriously difficult. ETCSL has nine POS tags, while the BNC has more than 60. The BNC tag set was reduced to 16 tags by collapsing several tags into one, e.g., NN1 (singular, common nouns), NN2 (plural, common nouns) and NP0 (proper nouns) became N before the lemmas were counted.

However, if we compare the number of lemmas that occur ten times or more to the ones that only occur once, these numbers are almost identical, namely 30.9% (1,269 lemmas) versus 29.8% (1,225 lemmas). This difference between the number of types that occur ten or more times and the number of lemmas that occur ten or more times is a direct result of the several forms some frequent verbs can take coupled with the many possibilities of combining the elements of the preverbal chain. A verb like dug$_4$ 'to say', for instance, which is the most frequent lemma in the corpus, makes up 756 types.[24] The six most frequent forms of dug$_4$ in the corpus are: dug$_4$-ga (234), di (117), im-me (104), dug$_4$-ga-ni (84), bi$_2$-in-dug$_4$ (80), and ga-am$_3$-dug$_4$ (51). Except for im-me, the most frequent of the six are all non-finite forms.

Table 2 shows the distribution of parts of speech across the seven text categories. In the table, the frequency of each part of speech has been divided by the total number of occurrences in each composition and multiplied by 1,000 to get comparable figures for all the categories. The raw numbers are shown in parentheses after the calculated figures.

The figures presented so far do not in themselves tell us very much about Sumerian literary language. However, they can point to possible areas of further research in a way that looking at individual compositions cannot. If we take Table 2 as an example, the relatively high number of adjectives (AJ) and conjunctions (C) in category C.3, Literary letters and letter-prayers, may point to interesting aspects of these compositions, e.g., are they more prose-like than for instance the royal praise poems, category C.2? Similarly, the relatively high number of verbs and low number of nouns in C.6, the proverbs category, may be indicative of the special style of these compositions.

Another possible use of the overall figures is to compare them to comparable figures for individual compositions. This can be done by providing various types of statistical measures for each composition and for the corpus as a whole, and/or by comparing manually. Again, both methods should be followed up by in-depth analysis of whatever feature is highlighted.

Table 2: Part of speech frequency per 1,000 occurrences

POS	C.0	C.1	C.2	C.3	C.4	C.5	C.6
AJ	26.4	20.9	31.1	**14.0**	31.0	13.8	12.8
	(30)	(802)	(1,535)	(51)	(833)	(168)	(147)
AV	8.8	4.7	2.1	7.2	1.6	4.6	3.9
	(10)	(180)	(107)	(26)	(43)	(56)	(45)
C	9.7	1.4	0.8	**17.3**	0.9	1.9	4.9
	(11)	(54)	(37)	(63)	(24)	(23)	(56)
I	0	1.4	2.1	0.6	1.1	2.5	1.2
	(0)	(53)	(102)	(2)	(30)	(30)	(14)
N	690.7	599.3	619.6	582.4	625.4	603.1	**561.1**
	(786)	(22,964)	(30,541)	(2,117)	(16,825)	(7,331)	(6,428)
NEG	0	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.9
	(0)	(3)	(14)	(1)	(2)	(5)	(10)
NU	1.8	3.1	2.7	1.7	1.4	1.9	0.6
	(2)	(119)	(132)	(6)	(39)	(23)	(7)
PD	24.6	27.0	13.8	24.2	18.2	19.2	29.2
	(28)	(1,036)	(681)	(88)	(490)	(234)	(334)
V	238.1	342.1	327.5	352.4	320.0	352.4	**385.2**
	(271)	(13,110)	(16,141)	(1,281)	(8,608)	(4,284)	(4,413)

The part of speech tags are: AJ (adjective), AV (adverb), C (conjunction), I (interjection), N (noun), NEG (negator nu), NU (numeral), PD (pronoun/determiner), and V (verb).

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[24] In Attinger 1993: 324–38, the table listing all the forms of the verb dug$_4$ spans 45 pages.

As an experiment, figures comparable to the ones in Table 2 are shown in Table 3 for one of the compositions of category C.2, namely ETCSL 2.1.7, *The building of Ninĝirsu's temple* (Gudea, cylinders A and B). The reason for choosing this particular composition is that it is fairly long and well preserved.[25]

Table 3: Part of speech frequency per 1,000 occurrences in ETCSL 2.1.7

POS	ETCSL 2.1.7	
AJ	30.9	(144)
AV	0.6	(3)
C	0.2	(1)
I	1.3	(6)
N	649.2	(3,029)
NEG	0.4	(2)
NU	1.7	(8)
PD	**3.9**	(18)
V	311.8	(1,455)

Without running various tests we cannot say whether any of the differences we observe are statistically significant or not. However, the overall use of pronouns and determiners in category C.2 (13.8) seems to be much higher than for ETCSL 2.1.7, and may be worth investigating.

This section has provided some very basic statistics on ETCSL, and also pointed to possible avenues of research based on the figures presented. So far, however, we have mainly dealt with surface phenomena, i.e., tokens and types. In the next sub-section, we shall look at lemma frequencies, which are the result of the analysis of types and tokens.

Lemma frequencies
Lemmatising ETCSL was a long and labour-intensive process. It started with the input of the transliterations, when proper nouns were recognised, and did not finish until all the lemmas had been disambiguated; that is, when every word form (token) had been assigned a lemma form, a part of speech and an English label.

As in the previous section, we shall present some overall frequencies, compare them with comparable frequencies taken from written English literature, and finally compare the overall frequencies with one composition.

Above we compared type-token ratios for Sumerian and English. Another way of highlighting the difference between the languages is to compare the 30 most frequent lemmas (Table 4). Again we are struck by the differences between the languages. The most frequent lemmas in written English literature seem to be function words and some auxiliary and primary verbs. The only exception is *say*. The 30 most frequent Sumerian lemmas, however, appear to be mostly content words. This is once more highly indicative of the type of language Sumerian is: where a language such as English uses articles, prepositions and pronouns, Sumerian has clitics and case markers which do not show up in the lemma list. It is interesting to note that *say* is among the 30 most frequent lemmas in English literary texts, since dug₄ 'to say' is the most frequent lemma in Table 4.

The fact that dug₄ is the most frequent lemma in Sumerian literary texts is not only due to the many praises and commands uttered by kings and deities in the compositions, but also because it forms part of so many multi-word expressions, where it has a delexicalised or bleached meaning similar to English 'do'. This last observation applies to several of the verbs in Table 4; they have a literal meaning as well as a more bleached one when combining with a restricted set of preceding nouns. These nouns often denote body parts, something which is also indicated in the list by the frequent occurrence of words such as e.g., šu 'hand' and igi 'eye'. The Appendix contains an

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[25] It can be argued that this composition is in fact a royal inscription, and should be in a category of its own.

overview of the most frequent lemmas in six of the categories of ETCSL; only category C.0, the catalogues, is left out.

Finally, let us see how our test composition, ETCSL 2.1.7, compares with the corpus as a whole. The final columns of Table 4 gives a very good indication of what this text is about by the high frequency of words like e₂ 'house(hold)', du₃ 'to erect', and il₂ 'to raise'. Furthermore, the rank of proper nouns like 'Ninĝirsu', 'Gudea', 'E-ninnu' (a temple), and Lagaš in the list tells us who are involved and where this is taking place. On the other hand, there is also great overlap between the most frequent words in ETCSL 2.1.7 and the overall frequencies shown in Table 4, which may point to the fact that the wordstock of ETCSL 2.1.7 is not that different from Sumerian literary language as a whole.

In this section, some very basic statistics on ETCSL have been presented to highlight salient features of the corpus, e.g., how big it is in terms of the number of tokens (orthographic words), types and lemmas it contains. We have also sounded a word of caution about including all of the text categories that make up the corpus in every type of corpus study. Finally, the special nature of a morphologically rich language has been emphasised by comparing some of the frequencies with comparable frequencies based on text from the genre of written English literature.

Table 4: The 30 most frequent lemmas in ETCSL, in an arbitrary chunk of 142,900 words in the written fiction part of BNCBaby, and in ETCSL 2.1.7

Words	ETCSL	Words	BNC Baby	Words	ETCSL 2.1.7
2768	dug₄ 'to say' V	7973	the	148	e₂ 'house(hold)' N
2426	ki 'place' N	5929	be	98	ki 'place' N
1978	šu 'hand' N	4335	he	91	nin-ĝir₂-su 'Ninĝirsu' N
1776	gal 'to be big' V	3792	she	88	ĝar 'to place' V
1723	lu₂ 'person' N	3616	and	73	du₃ 'to erect' V
1614	e₂ 'house(hold)' N	2938	a	62	dug₄ 'to say' V
1613	ĝar 'to place' V	2790	have	62	gal 'to be big' V
1512	ud 'day(light)' N	2637	of	61	šu 'hand' N
1498	šag₄ 'heart' N	2540	to (infinitive marker)	56	gu₃-de₂-a 'Gudea' N
1486	kur 'land' N	2152	I	56	gub 'to stand' V
1405	lugal 'king' N	2107	it	55	e₂-ninnu 'E-ninnu' N
1333	igi 'eye' N	1820	in	54	en 'lord' N
1321	en-lil₂ 'Enlil' N	1673	you	54	kur '(mountain) land' N
1253	kug 'shining' AJ	1607	not	52	saĝ 'head' N
1250	an 'heaven' N	1299	to (preposition)	52	zid 'right' AJ
1169	saĝ 'head' N	1236	they	51	an 'heaven' N
1143	en 'lord' N	1168	do	50	lugal 'king' N
1124	e₃ 'to go out or in' V	1119	with	49	e₃ 'to go out or in' V
1112	ak 'to do' V	972	for	49	igi 'eye' N
1024	gub 'to stand' V	957	that	49	ud 'day(light)' N
996	ĝen 'to go' V	914	at	47	il₂ 'to raise' V
996	niĝ₂ 'thing' N	891	on	46	kug 'shining' AJ
991	ĝal₂ 'to be (located)' V	835	but	41	šag₄ 'heart' N
938	iri 'town' N	682	would	37	a 'water' N
937	zid 'right' AJ	668	that	36	me 'essence' N
922	de₆ 'to carry' V	660	we	33	ĝen 'to go' V
899	gi₄ 'to return' V	654	say	32	lu₂ 'person' N
892	maḫ 'to be majestic' V	622	go	30	lagaš 'Lagaš' N
887	a 'water' N	618	's (genitive)	30	sa₂ 'to equal' V
852	inim 'word' N	599	a	29	gi₄ 'to return' V

CONCLUSION

The title of this paper poses the question of whether ETCSL is an all-in-one corpus. The second section attempts to answer this question by comparing ETCSL to other types of corpora, and by highlighting similarities and differences between them and ETCSL. We concluded that ETCSL incorporates many, if not all, of the characteristics of these other corpora, but that it is first and foremost a transliteration corpus. Although the third section of the paper does not address the question posed in the title directly, it shows how a diachronic, annotated, transliterated, bilingual, parallel corpus of Sumerian literature can be used to reveal interesting facts which cannot easily be observed without an all-in-one corpus.

APPENDIX: THE 30 MOST FREQUENT LEMMAS IN CATEGORIES C.1–C.6

Words	C.1	Words	C.2	Words	C.3
877	dug$_4$ 'to say' V	926	ki 'place' N	116	dug$_4$ 'to say' V
596	kur '(mountain) land' N	878	dug$_4$ 'to say' V	111	lugal 'king' N
572	ki 'place' N	768	gal 'to be big' V	72	lu$_2$ 'person' N
570	šu 'hand' N	627	šu 'hand' N	70	ĝar 'to place' V
477	lu$_2$ 'person' N	623	ĝar 'to place' V	65	gi$_4$ 'to return' V
455	igi 'eye' N	608	lugal 'king' N	56	igi 'eye' N
409	ĝen 'to go' V	592	ud 'day(light)' N	50	šag$_4$ 'heart' N
405	kug 'shining' AJ	584	en-lil$_2$ 'Enlil' N	48	šu 'hand' N
400	ud 'day(light)' N	549	šag$_4$ 'heart' N	46	zu 'to know' V
387	en 'lord' N	514	saĝ 'head' N	43	ak 'to do' V
369	inana 'Inana' N	511	zid 'right' AJ	43	ma-da 'land' N
355	an 'heaven' N	507	e$_2$ 'house(hold)' N	42	ki 'place' N
354	gal 'to be big' V	491	kur '(mountain) land' N	42	ud 'day(light)' N
354	ĝar 'to place' V	490	ak 'to do' V	39	erin$_2$ 'group of people' N
333	šag$_4$ 'heart' N	464	an 'heaven' N	38	u$_3$ 'and' C
328	gub 'to stand' V	459	kug 'shining' AJ	32	diĝir 'deity' N
322	gi$_4$ 'to return' V	453	iri 'town' N	32	iri 'town' N
322	me 'to be' V	438	maḫ 'to be majestic' V	31	inim 'word' N
319	a 'water' N	429	e$_3$ 'to go out or in' V	31	ĝen 'to go' V
316	e$_2$ 'house(hold)' N	391	igi 'eye' N	30	a$_2$ 'arm' N
314	lugal 'king' N	379	en 'lord' N	29	gal 'to be big' V
310	en-lil$_2$ 'Enlil' N	360	lu$_2$ 'person' N	27	bad$_3$ 'wall' N
298	de$_6$ 'to carry' V	329	dug$_3$ 'to be good' V	27	šum$_2$ 'to give' V
293	inim 'word' N	326	ĝal$_2$ 'to be (located)' V	27	du$_3$ 'to erect' V
281	e$_3$ 'to go out or in' V	323	nam 'destiny' N	26	kur '(mountain) land' N
260	dumu 'child' N	320	de$_6$ 'to carry' V	25	niĝ$_2$ 'thing' N
258	saĝ 'head' N	316	kalam 'the Land' N	25	tuku 'to have' V
256	a-na 'what(ever)' PD	316	niĝ 'thing' N	24	arad 'slave' N
246	en-ki 'Enki' N	313	diĝir 'deity' N	24	ensi$_2$ '(city) ruler' N
246	gu$_3$ 'voice' N	312	me 'essence' N	24	ĝe$_{26}$ 'I' PD

Words	C.4	Words	C.5	Words	C.6
531	ki 'place' N	213	ki 'place' N	3001	u$_2$ 'person' N
510	e$_2$ 'house(hold)' N	211	lu$_2$ 'person' N	207	dug$_4$ 'to say' V
492	dug$_4$ 'to say' V	184	dug$_4$ 'to say' V	195	šu 'hand' N
466	gal 'to be big' V	157	ud 'day(light)' N	172	niĝ$_2$ 'thing' N
375	šu 'hand' N	156	ĝar 'to place' V	143	gu$_7$ 'to eat' V
320	ĝar 'to place' V	152	šu 'hand' N	132	e$_2$ 'house(hold)' N
320	kug 'shining' AJ	135	šag$_4$ 'heart' N	122	igi 'eye' N
307	kur '(mountain) land' N	133	e$_2$ 'house(hold)' N	121	šag$_4$ 'heart' N
296	šag$_4$ 'heart' N	132	niĝ$_2$ 'thing' N	115	ki 'place' N
291	an 'heaven' N	127	ak 'to do' V	114	ĝen 'to go' V
287	lu$_2$ 'person' N	114	a 'water' N	107	ĝal$_2$ 'to be (located)' V
271	en 'lord' N	110	ĝal$_2$ 'to be (located)' V	100	zu 'to know' V
266	en-lil$_2$ 'Enlil' N	109	igi 'eye' N	94	ak 'to do' V
238	mah 'to be majestic' V	109	saĝ 'head' N	92	a-na 'what(ever)' PD
237	e$_3$ 'to go out or in' V	99	dumu 'child' N	91	tuku 'to have' V
237	zid 'right' AJ	97	gub 'to stand' V	89	il$_2$ 'to raise' V
235	nin 'lady' N	95	dug$_3$ 'to be good' V	88	sag$_9$ 'to be good' V
231	me 'essence' N	94	a$_2$ 'arm' N	85	ĝar 'to place' V
219	gub 'to stand' V	90	inim 'word' N	84	ud 'day(light)' N
211	inana 'Inana' N	88	en-lil$_2$ 'Enlil' N	79	de$_2$ 'to pour' V
207	saĝ 'head' N	86	al 'hoe' N	73	gi$_4$ 'to return' V
198	dug$_3$ 'to be good' V	85	la$_2$ 'to hang' V	73	lugal 'king' N
197	igi 'eye' N	83	e$_3$ 'to go out or in' V	71	de$_6$ 'to carry' V
194	ud 'day(light)' N	82	gu$_2$ 'neck' N	69	e$_3$ 'to go out or in' V
193	lugal 'king' N	82	ku$_6$ 'fish' N	69	me 'to be' V
190	diĝir 'deity' N	81	gi$_4$ 'to return' V	68	iri 'town' N
185	ĝal$_2$ 'to be (located)' V	77	gal 'to be big' V	65	a 'water' N
172	niĝ$_2$ 'thing' N	77	gud 'bull' N	65	dam 'spouse' N
169	me 'to be' V	73	diĝir 'deity' N	64	ur-gir$_{15}$ 'domestic dog' N
168	ama 'mother' N	71	ĝen 'to go' V	63	dab$_5$ 'to seize' V

HERALDS OF THE HEROIC:
THE FUNCTIONS OF *ANGIMDIMMA'S* MONSTERS

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Narratives of heroes and monsters span both cultures and ages.[1] They abound in contemporary cultural products, from films such as *Species* or *Aliens* to the recent cinematic revival of *The Lord of the Rings*. Monster culture flourishes now—as it has done historically. Assuming that the monstrous is a distinct cultural phenomenon related to category transgression, liminality, and discourses on the other, I wish to consider here what the monstrous characters of Sumerian heroic narratives may signify and what cultural functions they might perform. An answer to these questions is sought by means of a literary analysis of a Mesopotamian variant of the hero vs. monster conflict narrative, the Sumerian literary composition *Angimdimma*. The narratology of Mieke Bal (1997) is used as a method for analysis and Catherine Bell's theory of ritualization (1997) is drawn upon as reading perspective. The study aims to contribute a narratological/cultural analytical interpretation of aspects of this Sumerian composition, a piece of Sumerian literature which has not previously been subjected to this type of analysis. The focus will be on the functions of the monsters in *Angimdimma* and the relations to other Sumerian Ninurta narratives, but the article will also include a presentation of anthropological and literary-critical approaches to monsters and a discussion of literary approaches to Sumerian literature, drawing on Black's stimulating book of 1998, *Reading Sumerian Poetry.*

INTRODUCTION

I met Jeremy Black for the first time in November 2003, after corresponding with him for a while by email. Meeting him in person only confirmed the impression he had given during our email conversations—one of generosity and kindness to students of Sumerian literature. Jeremy Black was an outstanding scholar in the field of Assyriology, who broke new ground in the discussion of literary approaches to Sumerian literature and who was, moreover, willing to share his expertise with students. I dedicate this article, which is a literary-critical approach to *Angimdimma*'s monsters, to his memory.

A considerable amount of recent scholarship in anthropology and literary criticism has focused on monsters as cultural phenomena, so that there is now a body of work, ranging from new editions and translations of texts involving monsters to new studies of monstrosity as a form of cultural expression.[2] The present study is motivated by a similar curiosity with regard to monstrosity and the cultural function of monsters. Why do monsters play such important roles in cultures worldwide, why are they so ubiquitous in literatures and religious practices? In Mesopotamian literature, stories of monsters occupy central positions in Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian traditions, and religious practices testify to the use of monsters. Many interpretations of monsters by Assyriologists have been allegorical in nature, and have seen the monsters as related to natural phenomena or political events. In this way, monsters have not been understood as autonomous cultural phenomena with particular functions, but have been seen as more or less translatable to other types of phenomena. In this study, I will argue for the fruitfulness of seeing the Mesopotamian monsters as autonomous cultural phenomena, and of interpreting their functions in the literary contexts in which they occur. For that purpose I use the narratology of Mieke Bal

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[1] I wish to thank Eleanor Robson warmly for reading an earlier version of this article.
[2] For a small sample of the literature, see e.g., J.J. Cohen 1996; Lionarons 1996; Borsje 1996; Williams 1996.

(1997), literary critic and cultural analyst. Needless to say, then, this is not a philological or historical study, but a 'literary' one (combining narratology with cultural analysis).

Before we proceed, I briefly present anthropological and literary-critical approaches to monsters. Subsequently, I discuss issues pertaining to literary-critical approaches to Mesopotamian texts. Then we turn to the analysis of the monsters of *Angim*.

MONSTER THEORY

In Assyriology, scholars' interest in monsters has been linked to an interest in Mesopotamian religion, often in the form of evolutionary hypotheses about the historical development of religion in Mesopotamia. The most common question asked by Assyriologists has been one of substance or identity, the aim being to ascertain what the monsters stand for or represent. This question has often been answered allegorically by reference to natural phenomena (e.g., Jacobsen 1976: 6, 127–35, 233–5; Wiggermann 1992: 143–85; 1993) or politico-historical events/processes (e.g., van Dijk 1983: I 1–9, 26–30, 33–4; Maul 2000), although some have also seen the monsters primarily as reflections of conceptual ideas or beliefs, thought to be caused by feelings of fear and danger, i.e., psychology (e.g., Green 1984; Black 1988). The most common trends in the Assyriological interpretations of Mesopotamian monstrosity have thus not discussed independent cultural meanings and functions for the monsters, but rather have seen their meaning as related to other types of phenomena.[3] While it is entirely possible, even likely, that relations between nature, politics or psychology and religion be reflected in literature, approaches which primarily concern themselves with pointing out such relations to some extent disregard, or display less interest in, the synchronic meaning(s) of the literary use of monsters in the individual texts.[4]

Anthropology and literary criticism

In recent cultural anthropology inspired by literary criticism, the phenomenon of monstrosity has been met with great interest (J.J. Cohen 1996; Crook 1998; Kritzman 1996; Uebel 1996, etc.) Monstrosity is studied as an autonomous cultural phenomenon evoking questions of cultural identity formation in relation to cultural 'others'.[5] Monsters are seen as cultural constructs, disturbing hybrids refusing easy categorization and participation in classification (Cohen 1996: 3–6). A monster is by definition that which does not fit into the categories, in that it participates in several mutually exclusive categories simultaneously, and so cannot be included in systematic classifications. Therefore, monsters disturb the given order or structure. Because they put focus on the classification system as such, the monstrous bodies reveal that such systems are arbitrary, constructed, and that the identities they posit are not essential but constructions, therefore monsters are often construed as dangerous creatures (Cohen 1996: 7–11). They reveal the potential of systems of classification to differ from their actual appearance, or, in a word, their contingency. But the monster may paradoxically also function as the 'other', for its body is eminently useable for the inscription of alterity (political, racial, sexual, economic, etc.), as is seen in allegations of cannibalism among Jews, in the glossing of 'Saracens' as blood-thirsty devils, and countless other examples (Cohen 1996: 9–20).[6] At the same time they may reveal the system's contingency by

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[3] For a detailed analysis of Assyriological takes on monstrosity, see Feldt 2003b.

[4] To be sure, we cannot interpret anything without establishing connections to something else, be that the weather and seasons, history and politics, or mental states. Also, it is a truism that all religious/literary texts *are* embedded in very specific natural, historical, political, social, etc. conditions. That is beyond question. But the texts cannot be reduced to such conditions and contexts: they always transcend them, and only rarely do they stand in a one-to-one relation to such contexts. The 'external world' forms any literary text's 'material' in terms of ethnography, climate, economy, social system, etc., its building blocks, as it were. Yet literary texts do not necessarily *reflect* these external realities; they may, for instance, both *reflect* and *invert*, or even be inventive or deceitful.

[5] I take J.J. Cohen 1996 as representative of the trend.

[6] Monsters may—paradoxically—challenge and threaten the homogeneity of the social, but they may also—

resisting and questioning classifications. Such interpretations of the function of monsters in cultural identity formation offer interesting insights into the relation of monsters to the construction of cultural identities, and explain why monsters are often perceived as dangerous. Their 'constructed nature' exposes the classificatory boundaries as fragile, and so they threaten to dissolve exactly those boundaries between identities which are essential for upholding a cultural system. However, monsters may also be conceptualized as benevolent, positive creatures. This is related to their exposing the cultural system as arbitrary, contingent, whereby they enable change and transformation.

In literary criticism, there are no 'monster theories' as such, but rather an effort to address the place of monsters within literary works. This is primarily done within work on what is known as the genre of the fantastic (e.g., Todorov 1975; Brooke-Rose 1981; Jackson 1981; Chanady 1985; Traill 1996; Lachmann 2002). The remarkable fascination in nineteenth and twentieth-century literature with monsters (ghosts, werewolves, vampires and their transformations, aliens, etc.) led to significant literary-critical interest in such literature with a 'supernatural' content, which was, in the wake of Todorov's seminal work *The Fantastic: a Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (1975), primarily addressed from a literary-historical, generic perspective. Literary critics consider the textual representation of monsters within this genre, a genre of literature in which monsters are among the dominant features. They suggest that monstrosity gives shape to the uncategorizable, the unknowable, and impossible. Critics in the Todorovian tradition further see the literary fantastic as resistant to allegories and the reduction of difference into one clear explanation on the one hand, but also as resistant to readings which reduce the text featuring supernatural, inexplicable events and monsters to 'mere poetry' (cf. Todorov 1975).

These approaches to monsters from anthropology and literary criticism form the inspiration for an approach to *Angim*'s monsters that is anthropological in perspective and literary in method. But before we go there, let me briefly consider some problems related to approaching Sumerian texts in a literary way.

READING SUMERIAN LITERATURE

Since this study aims to be a literary-critical reading of aspects of a piece of Sumerian literature, it is useful briefly to consider the specific problems that apply to the reading of Sumerian literature with the methods of literary criticism and to make my own stance on the issue explicit. The problems that apply to a literature as distant in time and space have, fortunately, been discussed by Jeremy Black in his stimulating book *Reading Sumerian Poetry* (Black 1998: 20–47). The problems are primarily of two sorts: one is linked to the scholarly traditions of Assyriology, the other to the specific historical contingencies of Sumerian literature.

Within the field of Assyriology, interpretative strategies appealing to factors outside of or beyond the text abound. Reading strategies which appeal not to the text as a literary means of expression, but to the authorial function, understood in the widest sense as not only the intentions of the author, but also as the social and historical background, are the most common. The consequence has been that literary texts have primarily been treated as sources for the reconstruction of social conditions or historical facts.[7] To some extent the quest for historical (etc.) knowledge reflects a justifiable search to reconstruct the Mesopotamian world in as much detail as

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if controlled—serve to keep the social intact by locating danger without (Cohen 1996: 12–20; Crook 1998: 537).

[7] Indeed, there has been some literary study of Sumerian literature, defying the general proclivity of Assyriology towards treating all texts as sources for history, especially (but not only) in the late twentieth century by people such as B. Alster, J. Black, J. Cooper, A. Falkenstein, W. Hallo, W. Heimpel, J. Klein, P. Michalowski, H. Vanstiphout, M. Vogelzang, and J.G. Westenholz as well as others. Such studies have proceeded largely along two paths: on the one hand, there has been an interest in looking at technical features and arrangement on a small scale (parallelism at sentence level, sound, assonance, alliteration, rhyme), and on the other an interest in structure on a larger scale, especially of longer narrative poems, as Black (1998: 8) shows.

possible (Black 1998: 6–7). Yet it is not clear why this Mesopotamian world could not also be reached via literary interpretations. Many Sumerian literary texts seem even to invite literary approaches in that the 'referential function' is not privileged, as W. Hallo pointed out long ago (Hallo 1975), as did Black (1998: 23–4). There are also some historical contingencies that make for a special situation when it comes to Sumerian literature. When most Sumerian literature was produced there was no Sumerian nation, Sumerian society or even a Sumerian ethnic group that we can identify. Further, the majority of Sumerian works are anonymous or pseudonymous (Hallo 1975: 182–4; Black 1998: 43–5). Approaches which are primarily or only interested in the ability of the literary work to tell us of the world in which it arose, or the person who created it, will not always take us very far.[8] From within literary criticism and text theory, it is, further, entirely open to question whether literary texts may be said to reflect, invert, or construct 'reality' (or all of the above), and there is no clear and unequivocal relation between literature and whatever is taken to constitute 'external reality' (cf. Pechlivanos et al. 1995: 182–5). Further problems pertaining to Sumerian literature are the lack of live informants, our imperfect knowledge of this alien culture and its language, the fragmentary state of the texts, etc. But—as Black argues—none of these problems are different in kind from the problems of understanding Classical Greek or Latin, medieval, African, Aboriginal, or any other 'foreign' literature. To be sure, there are major problems involved when reading Sumerian literature, but I agree with Black that these problems ought not to inhibit the attempt to approach Sumerian literature in a literary way, since 'reading a text in a literary way is not a different kind of activity form reading a text in any other way, historical, political or sociological' (Black 1998: 47).[9] Besides, we simply have no alternatives to literary approaches from the 20th and 21st centuries (Black 1998: 47). The 2,000-year-plus gap in interpretation ought, instead, to lead us to attempt to make our own historical situation explicit (Bal 1999: 1–14).[10]

The present study applies the systematic theory of a specific literary critic to a specific piece of Sumerian literature. Even if it intuitively might seem better to choose an eclectic approach, as advocated by Black (1998: 20–1, 67), I believe that the application of a systematic theory developed by a literary critic and cultural analyst is more advantageous than eclecticism. When using a systematic theory, all choices are systematically founded, not based on personal preferences, and this might lead the analyst to ask questions which would not otherwise have been asked—and this opens up the possibility that we notice things that would not otherwise have been noticed. Now, to the reading of *Angim*.

THE ANALYSIS OF *ANGIM*

The monsters of *Angim* cannot be said to constitute *the* central motif of the composition, and they do not seem to play quite the same roles as the monsters do in other Sumerian Ninurta narratives (*Ninurta and the Turtle* and *Lugal-e*), yet—as I hope to show—they occupy a significant position in the text. But before we proceed, a few words on the whens and wheres of the text are in order.

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[8] I am not excluding the viability of other approaches, but pointing out what makes a text-centred approach meaningful.

[9] According to author-centred approaches (intention, social background, political-historical impulses), meaning is located not so much in the text as in its origin. Of course, texts do originate in a context and in the minds of people. But the text is one thing, and as a thing it is not much: its meaning is a different matter. Meaning, according to more recent developments, is a property of the act of reading. However eagerly one attempts to overcome the limitations of reading, every scholar of texts is a *reader* in the first place. Acknowledging that status, and accounting for the underlying guiding conventions, is a primary ethical responsibility, as is acknowledging the relative status of all readings.

[10] Part of the experience of reading this old literature is exactly a sense of its distance and its alterity.

Text, date, and provenance

There are OB, MB, MA, NA, and NB manuscripts available for *Angim*. All of the OB mss. were excavated at Nippur, but the composition was also known and studied at Ur (for it was entered in a literary catalogue there),[11] and was probably studied at other scribal centres as well. All of the OB mss. are unilingual Sumerian, whereas the non-OB texts are bilinguals—the addition of Akkadian translations seems to have occurred in the MB period (Cooper 1978: 30–52). In this reading, I use the OB mss. only. The text of OB *Angim* is 207 lines long, and the preserved mss. between them contain every line of the text, but some of it is fragmentary, impairing our understanding of lines 16, 28, 39a–50, and 111–21.

Since the oldest mss. date to the OB period, there is no reason *per se* to regard *Angim* as composed earlier, or at least not earlier than the Ur III period, to which many works known only from OB mss. can be dated.[12] As for its provenance, the text's frame of reference is clearly Nippur,[13] and no direct relations to Lagaš (or any other site) are visible in the text,[14] so there is no reason to think that it originates outside of Nippur.

Angim's interpretation history

Since my focus here is on the monsters, I will not detail the interpretation history of the entire composition. A few remarks will suffice. Cooper (1978: 5–8) has made a thorough overview of *Angim's* interpretation history up until 1978, an overview which shows the range of interpretations in the early days of Assyriology from the astral (Hrozny, Jastrow)[15] to the cultic (Pinches, Radau, Witzel).[16] Later, Langdon (1931) saw the wars of the Sumerians against the mountain lands east of the Tigris reflected in *Angim*, and the slain heroes as reflecting the conflict between the sun-god (Ninurta) and the 'dragons of darkness', whereas Kramer (1944b: 76–96) read *Angim* as treating 'Ninurta's return to Nippur after he had vanquished the monster Kur and the exaltation of his temple Eshumedu'. Jacobsen (1946) interpreted *Angim* as an apotropaic myth for use whenever a thunderstorm threatened Nippur, meaning that Ninurta was the embodiment of the thunderstorm (Cooper 1978: 8 n. 11). Wilcke (1974) found no concrete occasion for *Angim*, but suggested that if an older Ninĝirsu myth lay behind it, then it would be the triumphal entry of a victorious Lagaš-ruler and his city god into Nippur, as well as the well-attested custom of kings presenting their booty to Enlil in Nippur (Cooper 1978: 6 n. 10). Alster (1974: 54) suggested that the journey of Ninurta in *Angim* ideally represents the journey of Mars in the sky and that it should be understood as a paradigm for the return of the kings to their cities as victors in the battlefields. Hallo (1975: 184) saw *Lugal-e* and *Angim* as reflections of Gudea's campaign against Anšan and Elam, with Ninurta substituted in both texts for an original Ninĝirsu.

Cooper himself stressed that no literary text can be said to possess meaning on one level only, and although he did not venture any definitive interpretation, he did suggest some possible avenues of approach: the *psychoanalytic* or *analytic* interpretation, which would see a story of a young warrior's striving for recognition from his father, and a special relationship with his mother; or a

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[11] Cooper 1978: 11.

[12] See Appendix A for a discussion of Landsberger's suggested dating in relation to Anzu. The blessing of the king in *Angim* suggests that the composition is not very old, but clearly much of the narrative material *is* no doubt quite old (Cooper 1978: 10–11).

[13] Ninurta's paredros is Ninnibru: his voyage from the kur goes straight to Nippur: the text refers to Nippur as Ninurta's city, to Ešumeša as his temple, ll. 170–3, 182–6.

[14] The Barton Cylinder attests to Ninurta being regarded as the saviour of Nippur already in Pre-Sargonic times. However, Ninĝirsu is also related to Nippur in some texts: Ukg. 4-5 xii 12: ^{d}nin-ĝir₂-su en nibru^{ki}-ta nir-ĝal₂, and Ukg. 9 ii 6: ^{d}nin-ĝir₂-su en nibru^{ki}-ta u₄ sud-še₃ maḫ (both Sollberger 1956). The Abu Salabikh god lists have Ninĝirsu in a place where one would expect Ninurta—in a town close to Nippur (Biggs 1974: 83), and Ninurta is not present in any of the preserved fragments. See Cooper 1978: 11.

[15] Hrozny saw in *Angim* the sun's (Ninurta's) daily procession across heaven; he was later followed by Jastrow. Details in Cooper 1978: 5–7, to which add Maynard 1917–18.

[16] See Cooper 1978 for details.

story of a hero battling forces of destruction and chaos embodied in kur and ki-bal. Cooper found that *Angim* is not amenable to interpretation as a nature myth and nor is Ninurta the personification of a 'natural force', and thus ruled out Jacobsen's interpretation. He discussed the views of scholars who see reflections of geopolitical realities in *Angim*, and agreed that the setting of *Angim* reflects the threat from the mountains to the east which was constant in Mesopotamian political history, but doubted that it was written to commemorate any specific victory. Moreover, since there are abundant Sumerian texts which are not reluctant to give historical information, the political aspect cannot be central to the composition.[17] Cooper also thought that there might be aetiologies for cultic phenomena in the story (e.g., the presentation of booty, a procession of the statue of Ninurta into Ekur, the chariot, etc.), but deemed them speculative in the absence of new texts (Cooper 1978: 7–9).

Hallo, in his review of Cooper (1978), found that the point of the composition is to show how a demand for recognition of Ninurta in Nippur was met by assigning him an important place in that pantheon (Hallo 1981: 254). But the ED Barton Cylinder attests to Ninurta's earlier presence in that city (which of course could have changed in between), as do mentions of a Ninurta temple in late pre-Sargonic or early Sargonic texts from Nippur (Westenholz 1975b: nos. 82, 145). But whatever the historical referent, Hallo finds that *Angim* celebrates the effective introduction of Ninurta's cult to Nippur (Hallo 1981: 255).

This quite varied interpretation history reveals that no-one has yet ventured a literary-narratological interpretation of the monsters of *Angim*. Let me therefore present my approach now.

Mieke Bal's Narratology

Narratology is a label for theories formed to help us understand, analyze and evaluate narratives. Like semiotics, narratology may apply to virtually any cultural object: not that anything is narrative, but practically everything in culture has a narrative aspect. In her book *Narratology* (1997), Mieke Bal offers a narratology of systematic concepts as an 'instrument' with which we can describe narrative texts.[18] Her theory describes narrativity, not narrative, and sees it not as a genre or object but as a cultural mode of expression. This means that the theory does not rely on the availability of a coherent and single text to form the object of interpretation, but is designed to deal with the narrative aspects of any cultural text in that it sees narrative as a discursive mode affecting semiotic objects in variable degrees—and thus it is entirely possible to apply it to a fragmented type of literature.

Bal's theory of narrative suggests a set of distinctions intended as a point of departure for the interpretation of narrative texts (Bal 1997: 5–7). 'Text' is defined as a finite,[19] structured whole composed of language signs. A '*narrative text*' is a text in which an agent tells a story in a particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, buildings, or a combination thereof. In all narrative texts, she proposes, three layers[20] can be distinguished: text, story and fabula. A *fabula* is a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors. The *story* is a fabula presented in a certain manner, whereas the *text* layer is the concrete manifestation of the narrative text embodied in the sign system—the collection of sentences. Logically, the reader first sees the text, not the fabula. The fabula is a result of an interpretation by

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[17] *Angim* does not bring mortal rulers into play: in fact, *Angim* implies that the land's safety depends not on a mortal ruler but on Ninurta and Enlil. Similar views on political interpretations of religious texts are found in Cooper 2001.

[18] Her use of the words 'instrument' and 'tool' is to be taken with a grain of salt, for she finds enlightenment thought illusioned in that it believes the subject able to stand outside of what it criticises, analyses, and understands (Bal 1997: 220–2).

[19] The finite number of language signs does not mean that the text itself is finite, for its meanings, effects, functions and background are not. It only means that there is a first and a last sign to be identified.

[20] The layers are not hierarchical, nor exclusive. They represent, rather, different ways of asking questions of the same text.

the reader: an interpretation influenced by the initial encounter with the text and by the manipulations of the story. The division into layers is grounded in the insight that narrative texts differ from each other, even when the story is the same. That is why it is useful to examine the text separately from the story. There may also be a difference between the sequence of events (fabula) and the way in which these events are presented (story).[21] The distinction between layers carries with it the assumption that it is possible to analyze the three layers separately. That does not mean that these layers exist independently of one another: rather, the analyst distinguishes layers in order to account for particular effects that the text has on its readers (Bal 1997: 5–6), and thereby disjoins what is really inseparable in the actual text. The thesis is, however, that new insight can be gained by asking questions in terms of these layers.

I will not detail the type of analysis relating to all of the three layers here, but merely contend that a text-layer analysis will be fruitful for a new understanding of the *Angim* monsters and that the text-perspective analysis gives us the best view of the monsters in *Angim*. Analysis from the perspective of the text layer means attentiveness to issues related to the *narrator*, the *non-narrative comments* (descriptive and argumentative sections), or *alternations* between narrative text and non-narrative text; that is, the *levels of narration* (Bal 1997: 16–75). The present analysis will revolve around such questions.

Angim *and text layer analysis*

A classification of the text of *Angim* into narrative and non-narrative (descriptive text, speeches, comments, etc.) reveals that the monsters[22] of *Angim* appear in two *descriptive*[23] passages: first, when Ninurta fetches them from their original 'habitats' (ll. 30–40), and second when he places them on his battle wagon (ll. 51–62). Although descriptive passages would intuitively appear to be of marginal importance for narratological analysis of narrative texts, they are, in fact, both practically and logically very necessary and so narratological analysis must take them into account. For although descriptions interrupt the line of the fabula (the narrative structure), the ways in which descriptions are inserted characterize the rhetorical strategy of the narrator and constitute privileged sites of focalization, and as such they have an impact on the ideological and aesthetic effect of the text (Bal 1997: 36–7). The fetching and placing of the monsters seems not to be a function of the fabula structure, which is *exactly why* it calls for our attention: it is interesting that *Angim* spends so much attention on describing these two actions with the monsters. To get an idea of the division of attention in *Angim* in text layer vs. fabula, let us first briefly look at the fabula structure in the context of heroic Ninurta narratives in Sumerian.

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[21] E.g., the difference between the original comic strip narrative about Superman and the later movies about him, or the original edition of Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckelberry Finn* and an abridged version of it for small children: the stories and the texts may differ, even if the fabula is the same.

[22] I speak here only of the monsters traditionally regarded as 'the monsters of *Angim*'. It would require more space than is allotted here to also investigate what must also be regarded as monsters in lines 128–52, where Ninurta describes his weapons. Some of them are clearly monstrous. Šarur is of course well known as his personified weapon from *Lugale*, but other weapons here are monstrous: in particular the 'man who comes down from the mountains' bearing the name No-Resisting-This-Storm (Udbanuila) (l. 132) and the 'great serpent with seven teeth' (l. 138), possibly 'my seven-headed weapon', etc. It is unclear whether these are poetic names for regular weapons, or whether they are indeed monstrous, or both—varying according to context. Šarur is a good example of that—in some contexts merely a weapon, in others monstrous. Note also the personal (animate) pronoun in l. 147 used of the weapon Giškimtila (Object-of-Trust) (l. 149). The (intended?) effect of this long description of weapons is clearly a threat: that is the performative effect of this description and the motivation or basis for the following demands.

[23] Of course this is a relative criterion—the descriptive function is dominant. The relationship between description and narrative is complex. See Bal's 'Description as Narration' in Bal 1991.

Angim's *fabula in the context of heroic Ninurta narratives*

Asking questions of the fabula of a narrative entails sorting out what the basic sequence of events is. It entails the confrontation of a concrete fabula with a general model in order to place in relief the structure of the text. Bal suggests using Greimas', Propp's, or Brémond's models for fabula analysis. I have chosen Propp's model because of its explanatory value and paradigmatic status when it comes to the functioning of the quest sequence. A formalist description of the narrative structure is useful for bringing structural similarities and differences between different narratives into view, and as such it is useful for a comparison of the Sumerian Ninurta narratives. The basic idea behind Proppian analysis of narratives is that the underlying structure behind the narratives is essentially invariable, whereas the given concretizations vary (Propp 1968: 22; Duff 2000: 11f; Nünning 2001: 532). Propp's approach is systematically derived and used widely on material other than Russian folk tales—just as he himself recognized that his strategy might be extended to the narratives of other cultures (Propp 1968: 64). Readings based (in whole or in part) on Propp in Assyriology are rare, but Forsyth's (1981) reading of *Gilgameš and Huwawa* proves that it is feasible, as does Limet (1972: 9–11).[24] Here, I obey the spirit of Propp, not the letter, so rather than applying his 31-function model rigidly, I have stuck to his basic idea, that of the shared narrative structure; and to his principles, those of 1) the functions as constants, the names of the actors, etc., as variable,[25] and 2) the functions as occurring in the same order or sequence (Propp 1968: 87: 20–22). I have drawn upon the larger corpus of Ninurta narratives in Sumerian in order to properly draw the contours of a common narrative structure for Sumerian heroic Ninurta literature. I have constructed a schema (Table 1) to show my interpretation of the common narrative structure and how it is reflected in each narrative, for obviously the individual *stories* differ in their presentation of the structure. The schema aims to demonstrate that these texts, in spite of their differences, belong to a common structure of expectations: that they directly or indirectly refer to each other and focus on dimensions of the same problem.[26]

Each narrative slot represents a significant, invariable event in the narrative sequence of the three Ninurta-narratives. Some are always present (e.g., lack-villainy, battle), others may be absent, shortened, prolonged or repeated, without changing the basic character of the fabula.[27] The motivating incident for the narratives is always a lack (of heroic stature, fame, etc.) and/or villainy (a monster causes problems) (it may be one and the same thing) (Propp 1968: 34), which interrupts an initially peaceful situation.[28] There is usually either an attack or a specific problem (the monster threatens the gods' rule, for instance), which initiates a fundamental opposition between hero and monster, which may be actualized at various levels (*political*—tyranny vs. orderly government, *economic*—absence of product, e.g., water, *personal*—obscurity vs. fame, retiring vs. ambitious, *cosmogonic*—chaos vs. order, etc.) All the narratives may represent a basic opposition along these lines, as well as an opposition between *before* and *after* (from disorder to order, for instance). The conflict is of an ontological nature, as it concerns the origin and preservation of the necessary world order. Each text presents a unique construction of this world order, but every text has come

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[24] A similarly formalist study is Vogelzang 1988 (which uses a mixture of Greimas, Olrik and van Gennep).

[25] The functional 'slots' may be filled by variable characters (the slot 'hero' may be filled by Ninurta, Marduk, etc., the opponent by Anzu, Asag, Tiamat, etc.), but the basic narrative sequence of events remains the same.

[26] Different texts, separated from each other in terms of genre, etc., may concern the same problem and thereby be related. This is seen as a sign of a conversation, or a polemic, between the texts. At an abstract level, such contacts may unite texts which at first glance seem distant.

[27] Individual texts may also focus on telling the stories of one or two separate narrative slots, but they still assume and imply the missing or not narrated slots. The reason why they still function as narratives is precisely that the narrative sequence is known and recognizable. In this way, they structure the receiver's expectations of the text.

[28] This situation is not a function, but an important morphological element, in which time-space indications are given. Often the initial situation presents a picture of unusual prosperity, peace, or happiness as a contrasting background for the following misfortune (Propp 1968: 84f).

into being on the basis of structures and principles that are not unique. The status of this model structure is that this is what forms the narrative structure of expectation in relation to these texts. The reason for making it explicit is that it makes it easier to see differences and similarities and, further, that explicitness facilitates discussion.[29]

Table 1: Model fabula structure: heroic Ninurta narratives in Sumerian

Model structure	Lugale	Angim	Ninurta and the Turtle
a: lack/villainy	x		x (implied)
b: hero emerges	x		x (implied)
c: journey	x	x	x (implied)
d: battle	x	x	x
e: initial defeat	x		
f: donor or consultation	x		
g: hero recovers	x		
h: battle resumed	x		
i: victory	x	x	
j: enemy punished, world reordered	x		y
k: journey home / return	x	x	y
l: triumph, praise, reward: fame + power	x	x	y

x: attested: *implied*: implied from the attested text: *y*: attested, but transformed[30]

Table 2: Model fabula structure in *Angim*

Model structure	*Attested in* Angim
a: lack/villainy	*not described, but implied* (rebellion as in ki-bal)[31]
b: hero emerges	Ninurta
c: journey	18–9
d: battle	24, 29, 47 [made a corpse of the mountains]
e: initial defeat	*not attested*
f: donor or consultation	*not attested*
g: hero recovers	*not attested*
h: battle resumed	*not attested*
i: victory	yes
j: enemy punished, world reordered	*not attested*
k: journey home / return	51–78: but the warrior cannot control his furore[32]?
– *met by mediator*[33]	*Nuska mediates between the furore and society*
l: triumph, praise, reward: fame + power	110–12 (attempted by Ninlil); 114–76 (demanded by Ninurta)

Let us now have a closer look at *Angim*'s presentation of this structure (Table 2). From this schema, we see that textual emphasis (in terms of number of lines devoted) is given to the two last

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[29] Other texts that share the same narrative structure could be added, such as the *Anzû Epic*, the *Labbu myth*, or the episodes of the killing of *Apsû* and later *Tiamat* in *Enūma eliš*, but later developments in structure, themes and motifs are not at issue here.

[30] *Ninurta and the Turtle* is a satirical tale, which mocks the standard structure of the heroic Ninurta narratives by transforming it.

[31] Lines 11, 18–19, 24, 28, 33, 37–8, 38, 56–7, 58, etc.

[32] *Furore* is used to designate the warrior's function of intense activity and violent outburst of anger. See also Dumézil 1969.

[33] Ninurta is also met by a mediator before entering his own temple, Ešumeša, namely Ninkarnuna, just as Ninurta is met by Isimud before attempting to enter Enki's abzu-temple in *Ninurta and the Turtle*.

slots in the narrative structure: The 'journey home' and the subsequent 'triumph/reward'. The monsters are featured in slot k: 'journey home'. But neither this slot in the fabula nor the next necessitate a detailed description of Ninurta's fetching of monsters and a rendering of the meticulous placing of them on his battle-wagon. *Why are these sections there at all? How can we meaningfully account for the presence of these two descriptive segments?* We also see that the battle sections (slots d–j) are under-represented.

For the purpose of giving an overview of the levels of narration, the amount of text uttered by the narrator and by characters, as well as the narrative/non-narrative text ratio, I present a schema surveying these aspects (Table 3). The schema shows the ratio of narrative text to non-narrative text as well as the distribution of the text types onto the speakers of the text. The narrator of *Angim* is an external third person narrator, but the composition is introduced and concluded by hymnic first person addresses.[34] The schema is constructed on the basis of the questions 'who speaks' and 'how' (narrative/non-narrative). Naturally, we could make other divisions of the text, but this is what we see when it is done according to Bal's 'text layer' analysis.

Table 3: Narration and speech in *Angim*

Speakers							
First person speaker	**1–15**						
Third person EN		*16–29*[35]	*40–50*	51–62	*63–79*		*98–109*
CS Nusku						**80–97**	
CS Ninlil							
CS Ninurta							
CS Ninkar-nuna							
First person speaker						**201–7**	
Third person EN		*113*	*177–81*		*189–200*		
CS Nusku							
CS Ninlil	**110–12**						
CS Ninurta		**114–76**					
CS Ninkar-nuna				**182–8**			

Narrative text in italics, **non-narrative text** in bold. Progression of narrative →.
EN: external narrator: CS: character speaker.

The analysis reveals that the monsters (ll. 30–39a and 51–62) are the *only* items described by the third-person external narrator (EN).[36] We also see that the speeches of the various actors are all *embedded* into the narration of the third person narrator. The hero Ninurta is allotted maximum speaking time/space (62 lines), whereas other characters speak minimally (Nusku, 18 lines; Ninlil 3 lines; Ninkarnuna 7 lines). The remaining participants — the monsters (ll. 30–40, 51–62), Udane (l. 65), Lugalanbadra (l. 66), Lugalkurdub (l. 67),[37] the Anuna gods (l. 71), Enlil (l. 75), Ninnibru (l. 186), and the king (l. 188) are given no speaking time. The ratio of narrative text (101 lines) to

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[34] The first-person speaker who introduces and concludes the composition is not necessarily identical to the third-person narrator, who narrates the remainder of the text.

[35] I base this change to *narrative* on the change to the third person. It is difficult to determine because of the text's fragmentary state. Cooper 1978: 25 finds that the hymnic section continues, but recognises the problems (the change to the third person, and line 29 which seems entirely narrative).

[36] Apart from the stock laudatory epithets attached to Ninurta's name whenever he is mentioned.

[37] 'The lord who shatters (dub_2 = $napāṣu$) the mountain'. A minor god in the court of Ninĝirsu in Gudea's time. In Cyl. A (xiv 18) he seems to be the deified standard of Ninĝirsu, in Cyl. B (vii 12–23) Ninĝirsu's commander (šakkana). An Ur III document from Lagaš (CT 7 16 i 8–9) assigns dates to ᵈLugal-kur-dub_2 ka-du_8-ḫa, 'Lugalkurdub of the open mouth' (Lambert 1987–90: 147), possibly indicating a mouth-opening ceremony.

non-narrative (106 lines) is split almost evenly[38] from a quantitative angle, but since the narrator's text frames and situates the texts of the actors at all times, because s/he keeps the narrative voice and only lets various actors 'enter the stage' to utter speeches (to very particular, dramatic[39] effects), we may say that the narrative text is *primary*. The ways in which the narrator selects items for description and items for narration thus reveals much of the tenor of the text, and interestingly, the analysis reveals that the actions with the *monsters* (ll. 30–39a, 51–62) are the *only* items directly described by the narrator. The monsters are not described by any of the actors/characters in any of their speeches, although they are possibly mentioned once by Ninurta in his demands to Enlil, in lines 158–9, as ur-saĝ dab$_5$-ba-ĝu$_{10}$ and possibly lugal dab$_5$-ba-ĝu$_{10}$, as suggested by Cooper (1978: 110, captured warriors and ditto kings).

An interesting object for analysis is thus *the narrator's text*. It is relevant to ask which elements have been selected for narration and which for description, and indeed this procedure yields interesting results when used on *Angim*. This analysis leads to the question of why the narrator spends so much time describing the fetching and placing of each individual monster (the list of monsters is enumerated *twice*), when s/he *describes* nothing else? The actions of lines 30–39a and 51–62 could be summarized as 'Ninurta fetches monsters' and 'Ninurta hangs the monsters on his vehicle'. But they are not rendered like that in the text. The text meticulously describes from where Ninurta fetches the monsters and exactly where he places them on his vehicle. The amount of space and time spent on them is suggestive of their significance in the narrator's text. Let us look at the relevant text segments.[40] Translations of the relevant passages may be found in Appendix A.

PRACTICAL PROPS AND HEROIC SIGNS: THE USE AND FUNCTION OF THE MONSTERS IN *ANGIM*

To analyze the use and function of the monsters in *Angim* requires a closer look at the relevant text sections. First, we review the entire block of narrator's text (ll. 16–79) in which the monsters are featured, then a more detailed analysis of lines 30–39a and 51–62 follows. Lines 16–79 may be divided into sections on the basis of events narrated (Table 4). The section following immediately upon the monster sections deals with the procession towards Ekur and its effects (ll. 65–79), and it is also somewhat descriptive, but the remainder of the narrator's text (ll. 98–109, 113, 177–81, 189–200) is straightforwardly narrative.

When we look closely at lines 30–39a and 51–62 we notice the following common traits in the treatment of all the monsters: the pace of narration slows down and becomes meticulously descriptive in the relating of Ninurta's fetching (nam-ta-an-e$_3$) of the individual monsters from their places of origin. The style is repetitive and attentive to details, first in the description of the monster's places of origin and second in the description of their placing (bi$_2$-in-la$_2$) on the vehicle. If you agree that redundancy is emphasis, it could be useful to take a closer look at what is repeated, and thus emphasized, in the text passages treating monsters (Table 5).[41]

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[38] But that does not invalidate a narrative analysis, as stated above. A large part of the text is indeed narrative. And the narrative text is even *primary* (without implying a value judgment) in the technical sense that the speeches of the characters/actors are inserted into the narrative text—the narrator at all times keeps the authoritative teller's voice to himself. The division into narrative text vs. speeches/dialogues, etc., does not reflect the view that speeches or dialogue are not essential to narration, for they are, but nevertheless it is possible to distinguish.

[39] In the sense that it comes to resemble a dramatic text.

[40] Further questions this type of analysis raises are: why doesn't the narrator narrate the answer to Ninurta's strong demands to Enlil, which in fact would have reduced Enlil to his servant? Did Ninurta get what he demanded or not? Significantly, neither the narrator nor any other character relates the answer to us. What is the effect of this important omission? Why doesn't Enlil speak at all?

[41] See Appendix A for discussions of individual words.

Table 4: Narrator's text in *Angim*, lines 16–79

Lines	Actions
16–20	Fragmentary. Ninurta is *travelling* towards the hostile mountains, towards the fortresses of the rebellious lands.
21–3	Fragmentary. Unclear what happens.
24–9	Fragmentary. Ninurta *creates destruction* and death in the mountains (l. 24), wages a battle (l. 29) against the 'kur' (mountains) and 'ki-bal' (rebellious lands). There is mention of wild bulls, rams, and stags: Ninurta seems to be *catching* them.
30–39a	With heroic strength Ninurta *fetches* or removes nine monstrous beings from their original habitats (temple, a fortress, an abzu, dust, the end of the world, soil, shattered mountains, a tree, and an unknown (unreadable) place).
40–50	Fragmentary, but it seems that someone rises up towards Ninurta, Ninurta or someone else speaks, and destroys. Again Ninurta *causes destruction and death in the mountains*. He piles up the 'gods of the rebellious lands', and destroys them.
51–62	Ninurta *hangs* the monstrous beings or trophies on his wagon. Once more the list of monstrous beings is given, and a detailed account of their placing on the vehicle.
63–76	Ninurta steps into his chariot Fit-for-Battle and *travels* towards Nippur and Ekur. He sweeps on like a storm, like the deluge, he is *devastating* the land. The gods cannot confront him, they are scared. At this point, Nusku is sent out to meet him.

Table 5: The fetching and placing of monsters in *Angim*

Monster	Fetched from	Placed on
[am dab$_5$-dab$_5$-ba-ni (his captured wild bulls)?][42]	Not described	The axle (^{ĝiš}du$_3$-a)
[ab$_2$ dab$_5$-ba-ni (his captured cows)?]	Not described	The cross-piece of the yoke (a$_2$ ^{ĝiš}šudun)
šeg$_9$ saĝ-aš$_3$ (six-headed wild ram)	The shining lofty temple (e$_2$ za-gin$_2$ uru$_x$-na-ta)	The dust-guard (saḫar-gi$_4$-a)
ušum ur-saĝ (the 'dragon', the warrior)	The great fortress of the mountains (bad$_3$ gal kur-ra-ta)	The seat (saĝ-dur$_2$-ra-ka)
magilum	(His abzu?)[43] (abzu-ka-ni)	The frame (še-er-di$_8$-na-ka)
gud-alim (bison?)	His battle dust (saḫar me$_3$-ka-ni)	The beam (ad-us$_2$-a)
ku-li-an-na (fish-man?)	The limits of the universe (an-šar$_2$ ki-šar$_2$-ta)	The foot-board (^{ĝiš}ki-gir$_3$-a)
niĝ$_2$-bar$_6$-bar$_6$-ra ('the white substance', gypsum)	The dust of the mountains (saḫar ḫur-saĝ-ĝa$_2$-ta)	The forward part of the yoke (erin$_2$-saĝ-ĝa$_2$)
urudu niĝ$_2$-kal-ga (strong copper)	The shattered mountains (ḫur-saĝ dar-ra-ta)	The inside pole pin(?) (kišib-kak-ša$_3$-ga-ka)
mušen anzu^{mušen} (the anzu bird)	The ḫalub-ḪAR-ran-tree (^{ĝiš}ḫa-lu-ub$_2$-ḪAR-ra-na-ta)	The front guard[44] (gaba-gal$_2$-la)
muš saĝ-imin (the seven-headed serpent)	The … of the mountains (fragmentary text)	The shining … (tum za-gin$_3$-na-ka: unknown meaning)

The following aspects are redundant and thus emphasized: (1) The *monstrosity* of the creatures he fetches is a constant factor, none of them are familiar, natural animals or things. (2) Their *places of origin* are invariably mentioned (their colour, diet, smell, or typical behaviour could have been mentioned, but of all things *place* is selected and thus given importance). All of the places of origin

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[42] The two first rows list creatures which are possibly not monsters. See Appendix A.

[43] See Appendix A.

[44] It is unclear what exactly this is on a chariot, but note that Anzu is also placed towards the front on Ninurta's wagon on the Stele of the Vultures. See Alster 2005, *Shuruppak's Instructions* l. 201, chs. 1.3, 1.4.

belong to a *macrocosmic* level, they are *generic* and *cosmic*[45] (the battle dust, the shattered mountains, the great fortress, etc.). No *specific* information is given: these places clearly belong to a 'mythical' or fictive universe: there is nothing particular or historical about them. Also, emphasis is given to (3) *their exact placing* on the wagon: all of these belong to a *microcosmic* level, they are *particular*[46] and *local*: seat, dust-guard, yoke, etc. The same verbs are used for the fetching (ed$_3$) of every single monster, as for the placing (la$_2$). What is also striking is that none of the verbs used indicate any form of struggle or battle—as we would expect, were these creatures Ninurta's dangerous adversaries.[47] In Appendix A, I discuss the individual monsters of *Angim* and their places of origin. Here, I treat the question of what the three parameters (monsters, origins, positioning) of their use in this context might mean.

Monstrosity
All the creatures lack straightforwardly definable identities. The absence of detailed information as to the identity of the monsters could suggest *either* that their forms and identities were completely evident *or* that they were meant to be 'mysterious', undefinable. We cannot know the answer, but probably these monsters and locations were indeed unknown, exotic and undefinable to *some* ancient 'readers' and *possibly* clear to others, experts. The fact remains that *the text* gives no statements about or hints to the monsters' identities. And there is no text preserved which explains these monsters to us. Simultaneously, it is also clear that these creatures do not belong to standard semantic domains: they are not straightforwardly identifiable as humans, animals, plants or minerals. We must, based on the text, conclude that they are monstrous creatures with uncertain identities.

Origins
We get no details about the locations they are connected to. There are no indications that they are to be seen as expressions of (for instance) political phenomena, historical phenomena, natural phenomena, or the like. The monsters and their places of origin are not straightforwardly allegorical—no allegories are hinted at in the text. Some of the monsters are set in relation to *natural* phenomena (e.g., shattered mountains), some to *cultural* phenomena (e.g., temple, fortress), some to *cosmic regions* (e.g., the limits of the universe). However, their capacity for meaning ascription is evident. So the only way we can get closer to what these monsters signify is via a detour over function: how are they used and—based on that—what may we say their function in *Angim* is?

Positioning
The text does not state directly what the monsters 'mean' or what the purpose of Ninurta's actions is, but nevertheless his actions carry some significance in themselves. If we see the monsters in terms of their *use* as described in *Angim* the following image emerges: Ninurta's fetching and subsequent placing of them constitutes a *mastery* over them. This is indicated by the fact that they are not represented as characters on a par with Ninurta or the other gods. Ninurta simply goes to fetch them, without struggle, just like one might fetch things, or animals, in a matter-of-fact way, and displays them on his chariot. No details of their individual characters or independent actions,

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[45] They are cosmic in the sense that they are all elements, which are common to the entire cosmos (like earth, water, air, tree, mountain, etc.), not 'cosmic' in the 'cosmic region'-sense. But what about the horned wild bull in l. 26? This is probably predicated of Ninurta, cf. the wild ram and stag in l. 27, and *Ninurta's Journey to Eridug*, STVC 34 i 20. But what about the 'great bull of the mountains … from its …' in l. 28?

[46] Of course they are only particular in comparison with the generic spaces of origin, for naturally *all wagons* will have such places as mentioned here: a seat, a yoke, a frame, etc., so in a sense they are also generic—for *wagons*.

[47] Cooper 1978: 12 n. 2 finds the lack of such verbs a cause for wonder. Eleanor Robson (pers. comm.) points out that the fact that Ninurta treats them identically suggests that he sees them as functionally equivalent.

their relations to other characters, etc., are related. The monsters are constructed *only in terms of their relation to Ninurta* and this relation is a relation of mastery over the monsters as inanimate *items*, which Ninurta fetches from remote regions and places in very specific positions on his chariot. Here it is important to note the importance of his *display* of them, the *positioning*, because it gives a clue to their function in the context: I would say that their function is fundamentally that of *signs*.[48] It is significant that Ninurta displays them on his chariot, for he uses the chariot whenever *he shows himself in public*.[49] The display of the monsters exactly there, on his vehicle, means that in effect they function as signs *marking Ninurta*. Of course the monsters in the first place mark Ninurta's *feat* (that he was able to catch them), not his identity, and thereby reflect his power and courage. But if we consider it more closely, then we see that the implication of the display on his chariot is that they also come to function as *signs for Ninurta's identity*. How so? When someone shows off something caught, the caught prey throws a new light upon the catcher and gives him/her a new identity. Ninurta shows his power and might over the kur by exposing these representations or tangible proofs that he has been to the end of the world and back, that he is the ruler of the kur. It is a demonstration of heroism and power, but no less a *constitution* of heroism and power, a *construction* of heroism. Ninurta uses the monsters for his self-marking, in his construction (and/or maintenance) of identity as the master of the kur and its powers. In the process of the display, the monsters turn into externalized expressions[50] of Ninurta's abilities, powers. In this way, monstrosity may rub off on heroism, a monster *may function to show what a hero is*, and thus it may become *a sign of the heroic*. And so it seems that we enter a slippery boundary area between hero and monster, where a certain convergence is visible. The emphasis on monsters in the narrator's text is *a means for establishing Ninurta's heroic identity*. Interestingly, the other side of that coin is that they are thus also *externalisations* of central traits in the divine *identity*: they are *emblematic of Ninurta*. The connections binding hero to monster are surprising but clear.[51]

There is one more aspect that we need to consider. Ninurta's positioning of the monsters on the chariot represents a *relocation* of them from macrocosmos to microcosmos, from universe to chariot, far away to close up, exterior (kur) to interior (kalam). Above, I said that the monsters functioned as signs. But where are they placed? They are placed on *the chariot*. What is a chariot? It is Ninurta's vehicle of transportation between the kur, the exterior, and the kalam, the interior, it is that which travels, that which brings him from exterior to interior and vice versa, that which allows passage. I would say, therefore, that the monsters also mark the chariot as a vehicle for travelling, a bridge, between exterior and interior. His driving his chariot marked with the signs of the exterior into the kalam, the interior, represents a transgression of boundary, a driving the

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[48] According to the semiotician C.S. Peirce, a sign is something which stands for something else, a physical object which refers to something else, expresses something, means something. This general meaning of 'sign' may be divided into the following types: 1) An *icon* is an object which signifies something by its similarity to it (e.g., a drawing of a face). The icon is thus a motivated sign, for it is bound by similarity; 2) An *index* is a natural object which signifies something by actually (especially in a causal way) being tied to it (e.g., a symptom of a disease, smoke as a sign of fire); 3) A *signal* is an act or gesture or a created object which gives an indication in a particular situation (e.g., the sound of the whistle as a sign of the train's imminent departure, or traffic lights); 4) *Symbols* refer to things by convention. Symbols are signs in that they are used and understood as such in a society (like the lamb in Christian symbolics) (Sørensen 2007: 44–8).

[49] We hear in Ent. 79 ii 8–10 that Ninĝirsu had a battle wagon: ĝišgigir kur-dub ᵈnin-ĝir₂-su₂-ka ᵇᵃḫar-ra-an-eridu^{ki}-ka HE₂.[GAM.GAM-bi] ni₂-bi kur-šag₃-ga mu-na-dim₂.

[50] Something similar is expressed by Dumézil 1969: 125–33, 145–6. Dumézil analyses the warrior function in Indo-European contexts.

[51] The other side of this question of why Ninurta hangs the monsters on his chariot is why it fascinates the narrator. A display only works because there is an audience, it is constituted by the gaze of onlookers. It tells of a desire to impress insofar as we never display anything without an audience. One can only use monsters to demonstrate power with *insofar as* people find monsters fascinating or scary or powerful. And that leaves us with the question of fascination—a possible avenue for further research.

exterior into the interior. The chariot is marked as a bridge, conceptually speaking, as spatially liminal, with the signs of 'the other'. Now, is there something in *Angim* which marks the monsters as liminal, apart from their transgressive bodies and their positioning-relocation? Something in their use? Let us look again, more closely.

RELOCATIONS: BRIDGES AND LIMINAL PHENOMENA

The peculiar thing about the monsters in *Angim*, that which challenges our intuitive expectations (which are of course fabula-based), is that they are treated more as trophies, *valuable goods*, than as *dangerous enemies*: they do not seem hostile, and nor does Ninurta's interaction with them.[52] They do not offer any battle, do not seem dangerous, they do not resist the hero, the verbs used (e$_3$, la$_2$) do not indicate a battle. Ninurta does not refer to them as threatening in the section of his speech (ll. 113–74) in which he speaks of his threatening weapons. Of course the fragmented lines 40–50 could be a (short) description of how he fought and killed the monsters, although there would hardly be room enough to narrate the killing of so many monsters individually.[53] But that does not change the fact that the description portrays them as if they are *things* that he can simply *fetch*. It is not said that they are scary or invoke fear. Compared to Anzu or Asag, these monsters are not even *potentially* as strong as Ninurta, they are no match for him. This, combined with their monstrous identities, their origins, and their placing on the chariot, indicates, I believe, that we should consider seeing them as *liminal signs*. Let me elaborate.

The text posits a relation between the monsters and the various supernatural *places of origin*: they are related to types of places that are found at the ends of the earth, the corners of the world, those regions where only divine heroes venture to, and where only fabulous monsters live, in the distance, beyond the horizon: places to which humans (and the other deities) do not travel. It is a fantastic landscape, not a real landscape. These areas are *spatially liminal*. The monsters come to stand for these spatially liminal places metonymically, *pars pro toto*. They are associated with particular alien, exotic or transgressive regions: places that are 'other' from the perspective of home, kalam. They are transferred from those regions and brought into the well known, the familiar, the homely. And that is why they may act as *bridges*[54] to this other world, exterior world, their origin, because they metonymically stand for, or embody the boundary-transversive, the exterior. Ninurta *uses* them exactly for the purpose of *actualizing* this spatial liminality: to mark off a specific place. This place comes to function as a point of contact with, or a bridge to, that other world, the exterior. What Ninurta does is to let the foreign, the other, the exterior, cross the boundary to the home, the near, the self. A confirmation of this interpretation we see in the way Ninurta's procession is perceived in the text: it is actually *perceived* as, *verbalized* as, an intrusion of the foreign into the homely: Ninurta's procession scares the gods and Enlil: they demand that he change his behaviour before he enters.

The monsters, their places of origins, and their placing on the spatially liminal boundary-crosser of the hero's chariot, represent or embody (the possibility of access to) an 'other', exterior, world, and its powers, and offer a spatially marked possibility for communication between these domains, worlds. This may be verbalized both as a possibility for *access* to, or as a possibility for *intrusion* of, the exterior. The hero Ninurta, the boundary-crosser, masters this *bridge*, he owns it, uses it. This aspect I wish to take a little bit further.

RITUALIZED MONSTERS?

At this point, I wish to discuss the ritual-like character of the text and of the actions described. Precisely as in a ritual text emphasis is here given to the meticulous specifications for the placing

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[52] In a way, they resemble Huwawa, the lahmu (*Enki and the World Order*) or the Scorpion-men (*the Gilgameš Epic*) as *guardians of fantastic or magical landscapes* more than they resemble a frightening enemy like Asag in *Lugale*.

[53] Which must be the case, if so, as they are each in different locations.

[54] I understand the bridge as a phenomenon à la Michel de Certeau 1984: 115–30.

of items and these are given without motivation and seem non-utilitarian. Similar to a ritual, special interest is taken in position and place. This gives an impression of these non-narrative text segments' similarity to ritual. In order to qualify this impression, let us take a look at ritual theory, to see whether we might substantiate the impression. What characterizes ritual-like behaviour?

Ritual-like behaviour and its characteristics: Catherine Bell
Catherine Bell (1997) has proposed to see ritual not as a separate category but instead to speak of *ritualization* as a name for specific, strategic ways of acting. What characterizes ritual-like activity are the following attributes: *formalism*, *traditionalism*, *disciplined invariance*, *rule-governance*, *sacral symbolism*, and *performance*. Ritual-like activities will evoke one or more of these features and may span continuums of action from the religious to the secular, the public to the private, the routine to the improvised, the formal to the casual, the periodic to the irregular. The attributes are intended as an initial lexicon for analyzing how cultures ritualize (or de-ritualize) activities (Bell 1997: 138–69). Let us briefly take a closer look at each of these characteristics of ritual to see whether they are relevant for understanding Ninurta's actions with the monsters:

Formalism is one of the most frequently cited characteristics of ritual, but is not restricted to ritual per se. It is a quality understood in terms of contrast and degree, for formal activity sets up a contrast with informal or casual activity, and activities can be formalized to varying extents. In general, the more formal, the more ritual-like is the activity. Formality is the use of a limited and rigidly organized set of expressions and gestures, a restricted code of communication or behaviour in contrast to a more open or elaborated code. Formal *speech* is more conventional and less idiosyncratic or personally expressive. Formal *gestures* are fewer in number than informal ones, and are more prescribed, restrained and impersonal. The ritual-like nature of formality draws our attention to the way in which the *contrasts* with other activities (implicit or explicit, delicately signalled or dramatically marked) are intrinsic to the construction of ritual activities (Bell 1997: 139–44). *Traditionalism* covers strategies for making a set of activities appear to be identical to or consistent with older cultural precedents. It is a powerful tool for legitimization, and may be a matter of near-perfect repetition of activities from an earlier period, the adaptation of such to a new setting, or even the creation of practices that simply evoke links with the past (Bell 1997: 145–50). *Invariance* is one of the most common characteristics of ritual-like behaviour, usually seen in a disciplined set of actions marked by precise repetition and physical control. For some theorists, this is the prime characteristic of ritual behaviour: the careful choreography of actions, the self-control required by the actor, the rhythm of repetition. It is not repetition alone, but also punctiliousness, a form of repetition tied to non-utilitarian thoroughness and exactitude (Bell 1997: 150–3). *Rule-Governance* is the characteristic rule-governed behaviour that may characterize social action, particularly rule-governed contests in which violent chaos is (barely) held in check by complex rules, as in some types of play, sports and warfare. It involves non-utilitarian gestures such as the chess-like line-up of traditional armies on both sides of a battle-field, or codes of forms of dress, speech, gestures, or conduct rules to constrain the contenders and force them to follow controlled patterns of interaction (Bell 1997: 153–5). The quality of *sacral symbolism* points to ritual-like activities that explicitly appeal to supernatural beings or a supernatural reality. They express a fundamental *difference* between sacred things on the one hand and profane things on the other, between the domain of the supernatural or special and the domain of the natural or ordinary. Ritual-like action then seems to the participant to be the type of action that best responds to the sacred nature of things, but in reality ritual-like actions effectively *create the sacred* by differentiating such a realm from a profane one. Sacredness is thus a quality of *special-ness*, of being not-the-same-as-other-things, of standing for something important, extra meaningful. Sacral objects are objects which are more than the sum of their parts, which point to something beyond themselves, thereby expressing and evoking values, attitudes, and so on, associated with a larger, more abstract and transcendent reality. This quality of sacrality is attributed not only to objects, but also to places, buildings, people, etc. Ritual-like action is action which *gives form* to such special-ness, of a site or

an object, for instance, and *distinguishes* it from other places in a way that evokes symbolic meanings. Such activities differentiate a sacred, special, or 'set-off' world in the midst of a profane, ordinary, or 'unmarked' world, and thus afford experiences of this sacrality that transcend the profane reality of day-to-day life. Such activities help assert identities, histories, and values. The symbolicity of things lies in the multiple *activities* that *differentiate* this thing, handle it in special ways, respond to it in special ways, etc. (Bell 1997: 155–9). Finally, the *performance* quality of ritual behaviour is what scholars' attention has focused on in recent years. It has been pointed out how ritual resembles activities such as dramas, spectacles, and public events: that they have a performative dimension, which has to do with the deliberate, self-conscious 'doing' of symbolic actions in public. The performance-aspect often involves a multi-sensory experience (communication at many levels: sight and hearing as well as tactile, olfactory, gustative experience), a framing (the setting off of some activities, places, things, or people from others, giving a frame that indicates that this is different, deliberate, and significant, offering something other than routine reality, a specific type of demonstration, and an ability to shape people's experience and cognitive ordering of the world (Bell 1997: 159–64).

Ritualization (in its various forms) is one of the most basic social acts in the construction of reality (e.g., Rappaport 1974; Berger and Luckmann 1967). The traits presented here are some of the most common of its strategies, says Catherine Bell (1997: 169). Now, let us return to *Angim*.

RITUALIZED MONSTERS, CONTINUED
With the aid of Bell's theory of ritualization strategies, we see that Ninurta's actions in the monster text segments of *Angim* indeed do exhibit traits of ritual-like behaviour: *formalism, invariance, sacral symbolism,* and *performance*:[55] *formalism* in that they use 'a more limited and rigidly organized set of expressions and gestures' and that these seem 'prescribed, restrained and impersonal'; *invariance* in that a 'disciplined set of actions marked by precise repetition and physical control' and 'a careful choreography of actions, a self-control required by the actor, a rhythm of repetition' are used; *sacral symbolism* in that there is 'appeal to supernatural beings or supernatural reality', and in that a 'fundamental difference between sacred things on the one hand and profane things on the other is expressed'. The sacral symbolism aspect is applicable here insofar as 'sacrality' is understood as a quality of specialness, as standing for something important and possessing an extra meaningfulness, so that a 'sacral' object means the way in which the object is *more* than the sum of its parts and points to something *beyond* itself, thereby expressing and evoking values, attitudes, etc. associated with a larger, more abstract and transcendent reality. In this way, the ritual-like actions can effectively *create* the 'sacred' (in the above sense) by differentiating such a realm from a profane, non-special one. And in that sense, I believe we can speak of Ninurta's ritualized 'sacralization' of his chariot. Finally, we have *performance*: 'the deliberate, self-conscious 'doing' of symbolic actions in public', combined with a framing (the setting off of some activities, places, people from others, marking that this is different, deliberate, and significant). This we can relate to the display-aspect of Ninurta's handling of the monsters. In sum, I believe that we can safely conclude that *Ninurta's actions with the monsters and with his chariot* are *ritualized*, or, in fact, better, *ritualizing*.

We know from the first-millennium ritual texts (e.g., KAR 298; Wiggermann 1992), from the inscriptions on excavated clay figurines (Rittig 1977), as well as from the use of monsters such as the *lamassū* at gates, that monsters were used for warding off evil as well as for securing, procuring, blessing and life. As artefacts, the transformative quality of these monsters was used symbolically in situations where transition and transformation of categories, status, and relationships was wanted or needed signalling, as well as on occasions of temporal and spatial transitions (cf. Feldt 2003a; Green 1984). The significance of the use of monsters in *Angim*, the

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[55] It does not seem that *traditionalism* or *rule governance* apply, but that is not really significant for Bell's traits are not definitive or absolute, but merely *different strategies for ritualization*.

fetching from remote supernatural locations to close, 'natural' locations is that they are used as marks, as signs, for highly semantically invested spaces, sites of spatial liminality, sites which mark points of contact with an 'other' world. And if we look again, is that not what is going on in *Angim*? The monsters in *Angim* are used in a situation in which transition—spatially, temporally, and in status and relationships—is wanted.[56] Not only does Ninurta's own action with the monsters constitute a transition (he relocates them from their habitats to his vehicle), but their function is also to assist in Ninurta's desired transition in identity and status, and to ritually mark off his chariot as special, as 'other', as an intrusion of something exterior. The difference from the activities with monsters in the ritual texts of the first millennium, in which the monsters facilitate or embody access to the *supernatural* world, and help procure prosperity, blessing, health, or ward off evil and illness, even if we are here already *in* the supernatural world, does not seem all that great.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the monsters have a particular function in *Angim* in that they aid in the construction of Ninurta's heroic identity, they function as signs of the heroic, because they are used in the construction of central traits in the heroic identity. But they are also used as liminal signs and Ninurta's actions with them are ritualizing. Until we understand *that*, it is puzzling why the narrator spends so much time describing the fetching and placing of the monsters, when those actions do not really seem central to the fabula of the narrative.

What I have presented here is not a comprehensive interpretation of *Angim*, but I do believe that I have pointed out some elements which have elsewhere been left out of sight, and suggested a new direction for the interpretation of the *Angim* monsters. The text perspective of Bal's narratology has directed our attention to the ratio of narrative and non-narrative text in *Angim*, and this enabled us to see that in terms of the narrative sections of *Angim* (found only in the third-person external narrator's discourse) the monsters played a significant role.[57] This raised the important question of why the monsters had been selected for focus—and why the text enumerates the monsters twice. Why are they so important? We went on to investigate how the monsters were used in the relevant text passages, and found that the monsters were not construed as dangerous enemies, since the verbs used did not indicate any kind of struggle, battle, or destruction, but merely a simple fetching and display. The monsters and their original habitats and placing did not warrant any straightforward allegory, since there were no indications of a special relation to any particular type of phenomena (political, natural, historical, geological, etc.) All we had to go by was the description of how Ninurta used them. The text passages were analyzed and we saw how they were used to mark off Ninurta's identity as a hero, and how they in the process came to be signs of heroism, used in the *construction* of Ninurta's identity as a hero. The focus in the narrator's text on the ritual-like fetching and placing of monsters might be related to this sign-function of the monsters: the monsters are essential signs in the construction of the heroic identity. Attention was devoted to them, because they have a function in the establishment and maintenance of Ninurta's hero-identity. We also saw, however, how the monsters could function as liminal signs insofar as they stood for, pars pro toto, the exterior regions, the inaccessible, fantasmatic, alien, transgressive. They were *bridges* to 'the other', embodying access *or* marking the possibility of intrusion into 'kalam' of the exterior. Finally, in the last section, I suggested seeing Ninurta's actions with the monsters as *ritualizing*.[58] His use of them marks points of contact with an 'other' world: they are

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[56] Part of it could also be an aetiology for why Ninurta has monsters on his chariot, something highly likely, but of which we know nothing substantial.

[57] The analysis of the levels of narration also revealed the oddities that (1) Enlil does not speak at all, in spite of being spoken to in a large part of the text, namely Ninurta's speech, and that (2) Enlil's reaction to Ninurta's speech is not narrated at all.

[58] Combined with the interest in cultic paraphernalia such as chariots, washing of weapons, meticulous enumerations of monsters and weapons, this might suggest to us that the composition reflects the interests of cult functionaries or 'priests'.

used in a situation in which transition—spatially, temporally, and in status and relationships—is wanted. I then pointed out that this use is not all that far removed from the use of monsters in first-millennium ritual texts.

I have tried to show how the monsters resist a reduction to allegory. There are no indications that they are to be understood in terms of phenomena of a different order—be that the weather, politics, history, or geology. Nevertheless, they are overfull with significance, they are suggestive, for the meanings of their names are obscure, the places they come from ditto, the ontological status of their bodies uncertain, but yet they do not offer a simple allegory. I have tried to make the case that they are autonomous cultural phenomena. Their identities in *Angim* were undefinable and category-transgressive, and they were used in the construction of a cultural identity—that of the hero Ninurta. However, I also offered some pointers that the monsters also could function as bridges, mediators, between the world of the familiar, well-known 'interior' and the world of the 'exterior', strange, alien. The monsters seemed to have a transformative quality that was used symbolically in a situation where transition and transformation were wanted.

APPENDIX A
Table 6: Sources for lines 30–62

Ms. name	Number	Publication	Lines
A	3NT 423 (IM 58472)	Cooper 1978	(1–21), 22–36
A"	Ni 9503	SLTF III	1–15
D	Ni 9641	SLTF II 20	20–32, (167–83)
E	3NT 414 (IM 58466)	Cooper 1978	29–51, (79–104, 105–28, 166–87)
E'	N 1746,	Cooper 1978	33–39a, 50–57
F1	CBS 8034	STVC 115	42–7, (94–101)
G	N 3670	Cooper 1978	49–61
H	3NT 792 (IM 58712)	Cooper 1978	52–68, (87–102)
I	CBS 14185	Cooper 1978	52–66, (143–63)

Translation of lines 30–39a

30   The ruler in his heroic strength,
31   Ninurta, the son of Enlil, in his great might,
32   The six-headed wild ram from the shining, 'lofty' temple he brought out,
33   The warrior dragon from the great fortress of the mountains (kur) he brought out,
34   The Magilum … [of'] his abzu he brought out from …
35   The bison from his battle-dust he brought out,
36   The *kulianna* from the limits of heaven and earth he brought out,
37   The White Substance from the dust of the mountains (kur) he brought out,
38   The Strong Copper from the shattered mountains (kur) he brought out,
39   The Anzu Bird from the Halub-Haran-tree he brought out,
39a   The seven-headed snake from … of the mountains (kur) he brought out.

Comments to lines 30–39a

32   There is no reason here, in this religious context, for this to be an ordinary house, especially not when za-gin$_3$ and uru$_x$-na are predicated of it. The modal prefix na+hamtu gives an affirmative (Thomsen 1984: 195), 'fetch'. There is no unequivocal indication in the text that this was intended to have a plusquamperfect meaning, as J. Black and E. Robson suggested to me (personal communication, Nov. 2003): if plusquamperfectum ('he had brought out') were intended I do not believe that the na-prefix would have been used. The formula nam-ta-an-ed$_3$ occurs in this and the following 9 lines and bears some resemblance to expressions in magical literature concerning monsters 'coming out' of specific locations, for instance OB

Udug-hul (Geller 1985) lines 311, 389, 404, 411, 425, 768, 769; *Šurpu* VII, 1. Cf. also *Lugale* l. 30.

Cooper (1978: 147–8) discusses which kind of animal the šeg$_9$ is. (See MSL 8/2 18, 143–4 = *atūdu*, although rejected by Landsberger 1934: 96, see Landsberger 1965: 296, n. 40: wild boar; he is followed by Heimpel 1968: 251–2 and Wilcke 1972: 42. CAD A/2 521 reverts to 'wild sheep (male)', which is preferable considering the cognates in other Semitic languages.) Black (1988: 21) suggests that the real animal behind this monster is probably the ram of the wild sheep (*ovis orientalis* or *ovis ammon*). For my purposes, however, the important thing is not whether the šeg$_9$ is a wild ram or another wild animal—even though these questions are relevant; the important thing is that it is monstrous: it has six heads. The place from which Ninurta fetches it, the 'shining lofty house/temple' is otherwise unknown. The six-headed wild ram is unknown outside Ninurta's monster enumerations.

33   The (restored) habitat of the ušum (ur-saĝ) is 'the great fortress of the mountains', an otherwise unknown locale. Wiggermann (1992: 166) understands ušum as an Akkadian loanword and he identifies it as a snake with forelegs based on a caption in Weidner (1967: pl. IX–X), where there is a caption, ^{d}MUŠ, which Wiggermann then takes to be a shortened spelling of muš-ša$_3$-tur$_3$ = *bašmu*, which according to Wiggermann historically is the same as the ušum, an argument which I find tenuous. I agree with Wiggermann that this monster is a *specific* monster, but I do not agree that the identification is secured on the basis of this one caption from the Seleucid period, which says ^{d}MUŠ. Note that the SB myth KAR 6 describes a muš / *ba*-[*aš-mu*] (see CAD B 141a; Landsberger 1934: 58), which is created in the sea and which is devouring animals and humans. According to the Akkadian *Anzû Epic's* prologue, the battle between Ninurta and the gud-alim/*kusarikku* took place in the midst of the sea. In Sm 1875: 5, the sea is mentioned with other Ninurta adventures; in the Bullussa-rabi Hymn 149 Ninurta is *rāhiṣ tâmtim*, trampler of the sea (Cooper 1978: 148–9). This is not necessarily contradictory for *kusarikku* (gud-alim) were in some contexts seen as a creature of the sea, as Heimpel (1998) has demonstrated. As for ur-saĝ 'warrior' attached to ušum here, it is probably not an independent monster, for *Angim* usually devotes an entire line to each monster, so therefore it is likely that it is an epithet of ušum. In Gudea and *Lugale*, ur-saĝ appears before šeg$_9$ saĝ-aš$_3$, which, I believe, only goes to show that this whole group of monsters was seen as 'warriors', cf. the reference to 'the warriors you have already slain' in *Lugale* (l. 128) and the ur-saĝ-imin in Gudea Cyl. A: xxv 28. Cooper (1978: 148) speculates that this ur-saĝ is not ur-saĝ 'warrior' but some kind of animal, but I do not believe that this is an independent monster, since all the monsters may be referred to as ur-saĝ, cf. above.

34   Ms. E has a variant: x muš$_3$ DIŠ-u abzu. As for ma$_2$-gi$_4$-lum, this trophy/monster is never written with ĝiš determinative, except in the OB ms. A" of *Angim*, which uses that determinative with a greater frequency than other OB mss. (Cooper 1978: 148). Therefore it is possible that the trophy is related to the ^{ĝiš}ma$_2$-gi$_4$-lum, a type of ship connected with Magan and Meluhha (*Gilgameš and Huwawa* 113; *Enki and the world order* 126; Black 1988: 22; van Dijk 1983: 16; Cooper 1978: 148). Otherwise, its nature is not known (Cooper 1978: 148; CAD M/1 44b, 45b; for the variant ma$_2$-ar-gi$_4$-lum, see Heimpel 1987: 38, 52). Wiggermann (1992: 154) suggests that the word is a composite: Ship-*argilum*, the second part of which is probably identical with the word *irgil/ṣu*, '(a locust)' also found in the Hebrew *ḫargol*. The creature is probably monstrous, but it is difficult to see it as an inhabitant of the mountains—and the context does suggest that the actions with the monsters take place in the mountains—, at least if is indeed connected to ships and water. Yet something watery is suggested here by the presence of /abzu/, although the line is fragmented.

35   gud-alim, 'bison'? According to this line, Ninurta brings it out of the 'battle dust'. alim and its variant gud-alim denote the bison (Landsberger 1934: 92–5; Klein 1983: 270 nn. 85–6),

but usually not the bison as an ordinary animal but as its human-hybrid variant, the bison-man or human-faced bison (Boehmer 1965: 44). The difficulty of telling whether gud-alim was *originally* merely a bison or a bison-man notwithstanding, it is clear that gud-alim *becomes* the bull-man (in Akkadian *kusarikku*) (as already proposed by Landsberger 1934: 93), and is taken over in *Enūma eliš* (I 143 et passim). The gud-alim in *Angim* is in all likelihood the bison-man. According to the Akkadian *Anzû* prologue, the battle between Ninurta and the gud-alim/*kusarikku* took place in the midst of the sea (I 12), which would seem to contrast with *Angim*'s battle dust (Black 1988: 22). See also the notes to line 33.

36   As Cooper explains, it is possible to distinguish between ku-li-an-na, dragonfly, and the kulianna mentioned here (Wilcke 1969b: 99, n. 107), but both appear as *kulīltu* in Akkadian, so the reasons for such a distinction are unclear. We cannot be sure that ku-li-an-na means dragonfly (cf. CAD K 503a: *kulilītu* 'an insect'), for dragonfly in Sumerian would be buru$_5$-íd-da, corresponding to the Akkadian *kulīlu*, at least in non-mythological references. This makes Cooper suggest that the identification and Akkadian translation of ku-li-an-na are based more on a partial homonymy than on reliable traditions on the nature of the kulianna. The home of the kulianna is here an-šar$_2$ ki-šar$_2$, the limits of the universe, i.e., everywhere. This might support an insect identification, but in reality does not tell us much of anything. What ku-li-an-na specifically denotes in the OB text is difficult to ascertain, but there is no apparent relation to the ku-li-an-na, friend of An, an epithet of Dumuzi (Wilcke 1969b: 69), although he is sometimes called 'friend of An'. It is in all likelihood not a monstrous insect, either (although we cannot be certain), for no tradition of such lived on in Mesopotamia, neither in texts nor art. Gudea places kulianna in the temple of Baba. The ms. aA (late Middle Assyrian) has the spelling ku$_6$-li-an-na, which suggests relations to the ku$_6$-lu$_2$-u$_x$-lu = *kulullû*, 'fish-man' (and 'fish-woman'), or at least some type of monstrous fish. But it could, however, be a late etymologizing attempt to make sense of an obscure word (Eleanor Robson, pers. comm, 2004). (See Cooper 1978: 149). Yet it is probable that this is also a kind of monster, possibly a fish-hybrid monster. Fish-men are found once in Ur III glyptic and abundantly in OB and later art. The possibility of an insect cannot be excluded, however, since insects *are* depicted in OB glyptic.

37   niĝ$_2$-bar$_6$-bar$_6$-ra / im-babbar, gypsum: In OB and earlier (Cohen 1975: 28:153; SLTN 128 r. iii 2; Gudea Cyl. A: xvi 8; CAD G 54–5: *gaṣṣu*) gypsum or 'white substance' is im-bar$_6$-bar$_6$-ra, so it is possible that the niĝ$_2$-bar$_6$-bar$_6$-ra attested here is not gypsum (Cooper 1978: 112). But in all likelihood it is some kind of mineral. It precedes urudu niĝ$_2$-kalag-ga in both *Angim* and *Lugale* lists, and here its place of origin is given as 'soil of the mountain'. It gives the impression of being an object-hybrid monster and assists in giving the impression that Ninurta's trophies are not all that inimical, in that it seems to be more of a valuable object than an enemy. In later tradition, however, it seems that it was regarded as inimical, cf. the Nabû balaĝ *Ukkinta ešbar tila*, l. 152: im-babbar kur-ra me-ri sig$_{11}$-du$_{11}$-ga-a-ni, 'His (word) which trampled upon the gypsum in the mountain' (Cohen 1988: 496), which occurs in a sequence of victories over monsters (seven-headed snake l. 151, kušu$_2$-animal l. 153). But gypsum also seems to be regarded as monstrous there.

38   urudu niĝ$_2$-kalag-ga, strong copper: See CAD E 321–3: *erû* A. urudu niĝ$_2$-kalag-ga occurs in several contexts: Sumerian literary texts, bilingual literary texts, and OB and first-millennium incantations and rituals. In Sumerian literary texts, níg-kalag-ga often follows urudu as an epithet and a metal is meant (references in Cooper 1978: 150). In the *Debate between Silver and Copper*, personified copper is called urudu niĝ$_2$-kalag-ga. In *Angim* and *Lugale* urudu niĝ$_2$-kalag-ga is a trophy of Ninurta. In the first-millennium version of *Angim*, this is translated *erû dannu*; in *Gudea* the trophy is referred to simply as urudu. In all likelihood there is reference to a personified copper-monster, Cooper concludes (1978: 150–4), a conclusion with which I agree. Its habitat is in the mountains according to *Angim*.

This copper-monster also features in OB and first-millennium incantations and Akkadian ritual texts. In the first-millennium texts, urudu niĝ$_2$-kalag-ga is translated as a Sumerian loan-word in Akkadian: *(urudû)nigkalagû*. In these incantations it seems to be a very noisy creature, which is probably why it has been translated as a percussive musical instrument, even though the evidence is not conclusive, as Cooper (1978: 151) has shown, and it never occurs in the context of other instruments or in any list of musical instruments. Cooper (1978: 152–4) argues on the basis of Sumerian and bilingual incantations that the urudu niĝ$_2$-kalag-ga was probably a representation of the copper-monster of the Ninurta myths. The fearsome noise attested in the incantations would then stem from a clanking of such a metallic monster representation. It being more than a simple ritual implement is suggested by its epithet ur-saĝ an-na-ke$_4$, the me-lam$_2$ that may be attributed to it, and the personal suffix --ani which occurs both in OB and later texts. So a copper-monster occurs both in *Angim* and *Lugale* and in a benign role in incantations, where it is actualized in some physical object: such is Cooper's interpretation of this monster, which I find convincing. In the post-OB periods, it was translated literally in the Ninurta stories (*erû dannu*), but in the *āšipūtu* tradition of the incantations and rituals it became *(urudu)nigkalagû*. See also Black (1988: 22); van Dijk (1983: 15). In addition to Cooper, I suggest that something similar goes for niĝ$_2$-bar$_6$-bar$_6$-ra, above. If urudu is a personified monster, then it is very likely that 'the white substance' is too.

39   mušen anzu^{mušen}: Anzu is well known from Mesopotamian literature, but primarily from two epic narratives most likely originating in the same period, the *Anzû Epic* (Vogelzang 1988; Annus 2001), and the *Lugalbanda Epic* (Wilcke 1969a). However, it is also known from metaphorical expressions in Sumerian literature, e.g., when used to signify a part of the deity Ninĝirsu's temple Eninnu (Heimpel 1968: 433–9; Hruška 1975: 65–6) and from enumerations of monsters in *Lugale* (ll. 128–34) and here in *Angim*.[59] The subject of Anzu's place in Mesopotamian tradition is large and has been treated elsewhere.[60] Landsberger has suggested that Anzu's absence in *Gudea* is due to a later radical change for the worse in the concept of Anzu, rather than to other factors—such as, for instance, that the omission occurred because of Anzu's close associations with Lagaš and the Ninĝirsu cult. Here Anzu is placed in the ḫa-lu-ub$_2$-ḪAR-ra-an tree, in which it also lived in *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* until Gilgameš started cutting it down to make furniture for Inanna. Then Anzu took its young and fled to the mountains. In the *Lugalbanda Epic*, however, Anzu nests near the ĝiš-ḫu-ri$_2$-in, eagle-tree (l. 28, Wilcke 1969a: 92–3).

39a   muš saĝ imin, seven-headed serpent: See CAD Ṣ 149: ṣēru B 1e; Lambert 1971: 350; Black 1988: 21; Cooper 1978: 154. Again, a clearly monstrous being, but it is unknown outside the context of Ninurta's monster enumerations, although it is possibly mentioned in *Gudea* Fragment 1, col. ii, 1 (see Edzard 1997: 102). Pictorial representations of a hero killing a

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[59] In the Cylinders of Gudea, Anzu is among the most used metaphors for the Eninnu, but Anzu is not mentioned in Gudea's enumeration of Ninĝirsu's monsters (Cyl. A: xxv–xxvi) (but Anzu is referred to as Ninĝirsu's emblem in Gudea Cyl. A xiii 22). Wiggermann (1992: 159) believes this to be because Anzu then was still a faithful servant of the gods and fought on the same side as Ninĝirsu against the mountain lands (and maybe he is right, see Cyl. B i 6), and thus he posits a change in Anzu's character from good servant to evil adversary, as Landsberger (1961: 1–3) did earlier. The thesis seems to disregard even the *possibility* of earlier oral traditions for the texts of *Lugale, Angim*, the *Anzû Epic* and *Ninurta and the Turtle*. The existence of such traditions is highly likely (see e.g., Alster 1976: 111). Note also that some of the monstrous 'adversaries', 'enemies', 'slain heroes' can hardly be regarded as *evil enemies* (e.g., magilum), so Anzu being a *benevolent* creature is not necessarily an argument *against* his inclusion in the list.

[60] See Alster 1991; Hruška 1975; Landsberger 1961: 1–3; Wilcke 1969a: 61–4. See also CAD A/2 153–5 *anzû*; the Bullussa-rabi Hymn 13; Annus 2001; Cooper 1978: 153; Heimpel 1968: 433–9; Lambert 1967: 105–7, Vogelzang 1988; Wiggermann 1992.

seven-headed snake-like monster are found on an Old Akkadian seal (Frankfort 1955: 478) and on a shell plaque of the same period (Pritchard 1969: 671).

Translation of lines 40–62

40   … he was rising up towards him
41   … he spoke
42   … he destroyed …
43   … he spoke
44   … he seized the axe (?)
45   … he took h[is …]
46   [...] … he made the mountains (kur) into a corpse
47   […], who destroys…, made a corpse of the mountains (kur)
48   […] he heaped up … into stacks […]
49   […] to his heroic strength he handed them over,
50   […] Ninurta, to his heroic strength he handed them over.
51   On his shini[ng chariot] which is cla[d] in awe-inspiring fear
52   His captured wild bulls he hung on the axle,
53   His captured cows he hung on the crosspiece of the yoke,
54   The six-headed wild ram he hung on the dust-guard,
55   The dragon warrior he hung on the seat,
56   The Magilum he hung on the frame(?),
57   The bison he hung on the beam,
58   The Kulianna he hung on the footboard,
59   The White Stuff he hung on the front part of the yoke,
60   The Strong Copper he hung on the inside pole pin(?),
61   The Anzu Bird he hung on the front guard,
62   The seven-headed Serpent he hung on the shining (?).

Comments to lines 40–62

40   Cooper translates 'he mustered them all before him' on the basis of zi = *dekû*. But the subject of lines 40–3 could be someone other than Ninurta since the -na- of the verb must refer to Ninurta, and -na- cannot be reflexive. Kramer (1985b: 139 n. 16) suggests that it is kur. In TCS 1 36: 3-4 we have a similar use of zig_3 with the dative: Ur-^{ĝiš}tukul-ka gud-a-ni ga-na-ab-zig_3, 'let me issue Ur-tukulka's ox to him'.

42   Cooper translates 'he was unhappy' by combining $šag_3$ with ḫul, but the line is too fragmentary to determine the function of $šag_3$ in the sentence, although Cooper's suggestion is possible.

44   tun_3 is to be read aga_3 cf. PSD A/3 40, and *Šuruppak's Instructions* 31.

46–7 In lines 46 and 47 it does seem as if the kur is personified or something similar, since Ninurta can turn it into a corpse. It could also be disjunct language use, or an idiom for destroying.

49   As far as I can see, a₂-nam-ur-sa$ĝ$-$ĝa_2$-ni-$še_3$ šu-na-mi-in-gi_4 with še in that position can mean two things: 'he handed them over to his heroic strength', meaning that he dealt with them, i.e., killed them, or 'he turned them into his heroic weapons'. I do not see how a₂-nam-ur-sa$ĝ$-$ĝa_2$-ni-$še_3$ can mean 'in his heroic strength' as Cooper (1978: 63) translates. $še_3$ regularly means 'into' with a motion towards something included, see Thomsen (1984: 101–3). Of the two translations mentioned, the latter is not likely in view of Ninurta's description of his weapons later in the text (ll. 128–52), which does not concur with this. Cooper further translates 'wreaked his vengeance', but literally šu(-a) … gi_4 means 'hand over', 'turn in'.

52   am are 'wild bulls', ab_2 'cows', probably more booty than enemies. The cows occur only in *Angim*, see Cooper (1978: 141–54).

53   This could indicate that the wild bulls and cows are not a collective designation for the monsters, because they are hung in different places on the wagon.

55   To 'seat': s*aĝ-dur₂-ra MSL 6 8: 39–41 (Hh V) ^{ĝiš}gu-za-gigir, ^{ĝiš}saĝ-dur₂-ra-gigir = *kussû*, ^{ĝiš}saĝ-dur₂-ra-gigir = *littu*), Cooper 1978: 110.

56   To 'frame': še-er-DU₈-na as part of the chariot pole, see Civil (1968: 13): še-er-du₈-na = nir-du₈-na), but also Civil (1968: 10), where he links it with ^{ĝiš}še-er-gaba-gal₂-gigir. For še-er-tab-ba = *limītu*, see Civil (1961: 173); Cooper (1978: 110).

62   The unidentified word here may be a part of the chariot pole, see CAD Ḫ 249: *ḫurdatu* B, but cf. MSL 6 9 43 (Hh V) (*zibbatu*) and Cooper (1978: 110).

General features of third- and second-millennium monster enumerations

The enumerations of *Angim* may be contextualized by a comparison with other monster enumerations, of which there are many (see for starters Cooper 1978: 141–54; Black 1988; Green 1984; 1994; Lambert 1986; Wiggermann 1992; 1993). This will not occupy me here. It is, however, pertinent briefly to discuss some general features of the three pre-first-millennium monster enumerations—those of *Angim* (ll. 32–40, 52–63), *Lugale* (ll. 128–34) and *Gudea Cylinder A* (ll. xxv 25–xxvi 13).

In OB Sumerian sources, it seems that the monsters or trophies have the common designation ur-saĝ ug₅-ga, 'slain warriors' (*Lugale*, l. 128), ur-saĝ dab₅-ba lugal dab₅-ba 'captured warriors and kings' (*Angim* ll. 158–9), and possibly—according to a disputed (see Lambert 1986) suggestion by Cooper (1978: 142) am dab₅-dab₅-ba / ab₂ dab₅-ba, 'captured wild bulls and cows'. The issue is not clear, for in *Angim* the am dab₅-dab₅-ba / ab₂ dab₅-ba are treated differently from the other monsters in that no place of origin is mentioned for them, while places of origin are mentioned for all the other trophies. This lends support to the idea that the am and the ab₂ are not part of the monster enumerations, but that they are either collective designations, as Cooper suggests, or some other spoils of Ninurta's. The reference to the Anzu hunting am-kur-ra in the *Lugalbanda* epic (ll. 63–4, Wilcke 1969a: 96–9) is a further indication of their 'natural animal' status and seems to suggest that they were hunted as spoils. Further, the first enumeration in *Angim* (ll. 32–40) does not include the am / ab₂ dab₅, which also indicates a difference from the monsters proper. Therefore, Lambert's (1986: 57–9) hypothesis that there is a quasi-canonical list of 11 monsters is open to question, for he counts the am/ab₂ each as independent monsters. The varying content and the varying order of these lists suggest, as Cooper (1978: 142) has pointed out, that there is no *original* list or *original* sequence, an impression I can only concur with. Varying traditions commonly occur simultaneously in Mesopotamia. In the *Gudea* list, although there seem to be 11 monsters, they are placed in 7 different locations in the Eninnu.

A comparison of the three lists *Gudea*, *Lugale*, and *Angim* reveals that Anzu and Asag, as well as the seven-headed monster, are absent from the *Gudea* enumeration. This has led to the suggestion that the reason for Anzu's absence is that he was benevolent and fought on the side of Ninĝirsu in Gudea's time (Landsberger 1961: 8–13; Wiggermann 1992: 159). But there could be any number of reasons for that. As I argue above, the list and its use in *Angim*, at least, does not necessarily imply that all these monsters are evil antagonists. Magilum, copper, gypsum, and possibly the kulianna, are not exactly prototypes of evil monsters, so being benevolent is not necessarily a criterion against inclusion in the list.

Cooper (1978: 143–4) divides the monsters into three groups: 1) *mythical animals and monsters* (šeg₉ saĝ-aš₃, ušum, (ur-saĝ), gud-alim, mušen anzu^{mušen}, muš saĝ-imin, ur saĝ-imin, ur-maḫ, saĝ-alim, kušu₂^{ku6}, and probably ku-li-an-na, saĝ-AR, ma₂-gi₄-lum, and en ^{d}saman-an-na); 2) *personified minerals* (urudu (niĝ₂-kalag-ga) and niĝ₂ im-babbar); 3) *personified trees* ((lugal ^{ĝiš})gišimmar and ^{ĝiš}ḫa-lu-ub₂-ḪAR-ra-na). However, a simpler categorization would subsume them all in the category of the monstrous, of which some would be animal monsters, some human hybrids, others object-hybrids.

LATE BABYLONIAN *LUGALE*

M.J. Geller—London

One of the unique features of the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, created by Jeremy Black and colleagues, is that it enables the study of Sumerian literature of the Old Babylonian period and earlier, concentrating on texts which predate 1700 BCE.[1] There are many advantages in having a chronologically concise corpus, since the task of reconstructing Sumerian literature in third-millennium texts down through the Old Babylonian period is daunting enough, without taking into account the many new variants which appeared in late school copies from the first-millennium scribal curriculum.

Nevertheless, there may be something to be gained from taking into account the variants appearing in late scribal-school copies of Sumerian literary texts, such as the one copied in the present article. The underlying assumption is that if the Babylonian *ummânū* knew Sumerian literature at least as well as modern Sumerologists, their translations into Akkadian could be taken seriously.

There are two factors arguing in favour of the accuracy of ancient translations over our own. First, ancient scholars from Babylonia had no need to decipher Sumerian, since a continuous tradition of translating Sumerian texts had been in progress from at least the Old Babylonian period. Sumerian continued to be studied as the language of scholarship and liturgy down to the various latest periods of cuneiform writing. There is an enormous difference between languages which have ceased to be spoken but are still read and studied, and languages which have died out completely. Decipherment, no matter how ingenious and based upon thousands of source texts, can never recover the full meanings of a dead language, comparable to the state of understanding while still a legible language. The Babylonian Talmud, for instance, with its many philological difficulties, has been subjected to a continuous and unbroken tradition of translation and commentary. Of course, a traditional understanding of the Talmud is not necessarily 'correct', in the sense that the original meaning may have been altered over the ages through miscopying of an original Vorlage or by simple mistranslation at any stage. In general, however, the traditional understanding of a text as part of an unbroken tradition has tremendous advantage over an interpretation of a deciphered text, and especially in the case of Sumerian for which cognate languages cannot be used to help understand the basic meanings of words. The nuances and subtleties of meaning of a text are usually lost when the language is moribund, and it is nuance which decipherment has great difficulty in recovering.

A comparison of a newly discovered Late Babylonian manuscript of *Lugale* and the translation in ETCSL could prove useful in determining whether this late school tablet can offer any valuable suggestions or clues to the meaning of the Sumerian text.[2]

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[1] It is an honour to contribute an article to the memory of Jeremy Black, colleague and friend. This article has benefited greatly from an exchange of views with Gábor Zólyomi, who remains unconvinced by the discussion of Sumerian grammar.

[2] ETCSL 1.6.2, 'The Exploits of Ninurta', with a prose translation: see http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/. The primary edition of *Lugale* is by van Dijk 1983, with a useful poetic translation by Jacobsen 1987: 233–72. See also Seminara 2001 and the present author's review in Geller 2005.

BM 38896 is published by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The text was identified by the author during the course of E. Leichty's cataloguing of the Babylon Collection.
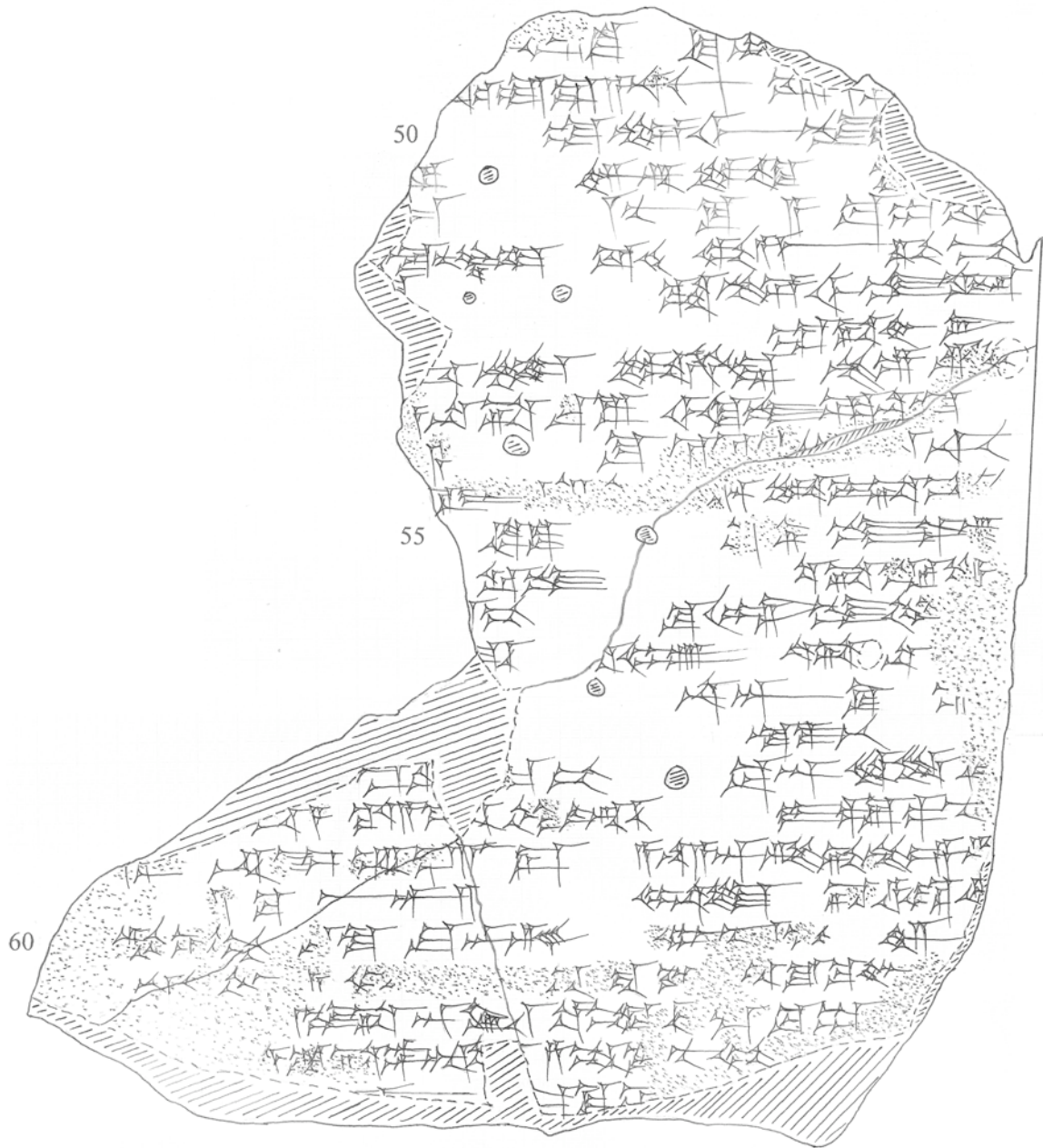
Figure 1: BM 38876 obverse (copy M.J. Geller)

Figure 2: BM 38896 reverse (copy M.J. Geller)

BM 38896 = *LUGALE* 48–62

Obverse

48   [ur-saĝ a-a-zu-še$_3$ en$_3$ mu-e-ši-tar]
            [*qar-rad ana ab-bu-ti-ka iš-tal-lu$_4$*]
        [O hero, they have made inquiries about your father],

49   [dumu ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ en a$_2$ ma]ḫ-˹zu˺-še$_3$ ki m[u-e-ši-ib$_2$-kin]
            [*ma-ri ^{d}MIN be-lu ana e-mu-qí-k*]*a ṣi-ra-a-ti iš-te-né-*[ʾ*u*]
        Lord, son of Enlil, they have been investigating your superior power,

50   [lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ kala-ga-zu-še$_3$] ad mu-e-ši-ib$_2$-g[i$_4$]
            [*be-lí ana da-na-ni-k*]*a im-tal-li-ku-k*[*a*]
        my Sovereign, they take advice about your being (so) strong.

51   [^{d}nin-urta za$_3$-zu ur-sa]ĝ-diš nu-tuš-a ba-ab-˹du$_{11}$˺
            [^{d}MIN *u*]*l-la-nu-uk-ka iš-tin ul a-šib iq-bi*
        (It is) said: 'Ninurta, except for you, not one (hero) is present'.

52   [teš$_2$-ga-ru-še$_3$] a$_2$ mu-e-ši-ib$_2$-ag$_2$
            [*mit-ḫa-riš*] *um-ta-ʾ-ir*
        By each one he was ordered:

53   [ur-saĝ nam-lugal-zu tu]m$_2$-mu-de$_3$ en$_3$-tar-tar mu-un-ĝal$_2$
            [*qar-ra-du šar-ru-ut-ka*] ˹*a*˺-*na ta-ba-lu ši-tul-tu$_4$ šak-na-*˹*at*˺
        O Hero, a council was held to take away your rule.

54   [^{d}nin-urta me abzu]-˹a˺ šu-˹si-si-ba ĝiskim˺-[... i]m-ti
            [^{d}min *par-ṣu-ka šá ap-si-i ana qa-ti-šú mu*]*l-li-i ta-*˹*ta-ti*˺
        O Ninurta, you discovered that your divine powers of the Apsû were to be handed over (to Asakku).

55   [igi im-sig$_3$-sig$_3$] ki-tuš ba-ni-ib$_2$-kur$_2$-˹re˺
            [*pa-na mu-nar-ri-iṭ*] *šub-tu$_4$ ut-ta-nak-*˹*kar*˺
        He *scowls* as he always changes location,

56   [a$_2$-sag$_3$-e u$_4$-šu$_2$-uš-e ki-sur-ra] ˹a$_2$˺-bi mi-ni-ib$_2$-k[u$_4$-ku$_4$]
            [*a-sak-ku ki-sur-ra-a ana i-d*]*i-šú u$_4$-mi-šam ut-ta-na-*[*ar*]
        each day Asakku turns the boundary to (his) control.

57   [^{giš}rab dingir-re-e-ne] na-an-dur$_2$-˹ru˺
            [*rap-pi* DINGIR.MEŠ] *la áš-bat*
        There's no neck stock for gods here!

58   [dara$_2$-an-na kur umbi]n$^?$-bi ba-an-si$_3$-si$_3$-k[e]
            [*ta-ra-aḫ ^{d}a-nim š*]*a šá-da-a* ˹*i-na*˺ *ṣu-up-ri-šú i-sap-pa-nu*
        O Mountain-goat of An who tramples the mountain under his hooves,

59   [^{d}nin-ur]ta en dumu ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ a-na-am$_3$ zi-ga mu-un-g[i]
            [^{d}MIN *be-l*]*u ma-rù ^{d}MIN mi-na tu-*˹*uš*˺-*ḫa-ra-a*[*r*]
        Lord Ninurta, son of Enlil, why are you silent?

60   [a$_2$-sag$_3$] ˹zi-ga-bi šu˺ la-ba-an-gi dugud-˹da-bi˺ im-[gu-ul]
            [*a-sak-ku*] ˹*ti-bu*˺-[*s*]*u u*[*l im*]-˹*maḫ-ḫar ka*˺-[*ab*]-˹*ta*˺-*su ma-ʾa-*[*dat*]
        Cannot the Asakku's rise be opposed, is his weight so excessive?

61 [ugnim-bi-ta k]a ib₂-ta-an-tum₃ erin₂-bi-še₃ igi ⌜la⌝-ba-ab-[te-ĝa₂]
     [*um-ma-ni*] *pi it-ta-nab-bal* [*a-n*]*a ṣa-bi-šú i-nu ul* [*i-teḫ-ḫi*]
    Of (his) army it is always said that no eye can *approach* his troops,

62 [ur₅-ra kala-ga-bi sag im-ĝa₂] ᵍⁱˢtukul-e [ĝiš la-ba-ab-kin]
     [*ki-a-am dan-nu-us-su up-pu-qa-at-ma kak-ku* ...]
    and likewise is his might so solid that no wood can ... the weapon.

(The reverse is too broken to reconstruct the Akkadian adequately.)

NOTES

48 This line has been restored in full because it introduces the dialogue preserved in this extract.

49 See Angim 162, šu maḫ (var. usu maḫ) // *e-mu-qa-an ṣi-ra-ti*.

51 This may be a proverbial statement or standard epithet, cited here and adapted to the *Lugale* context. Note that Sumerian ur-saĝ 'hero' remains untranslated in the Akkadian version of the line, which might be a more exact rendering of the original statement, that 'apart from you, no one is present'. For the meaning, cf. CAD A/2 390, *ul áš-ba-ku*, 'I was not present'. A somewhat similar statement appears in Udug-hul XVI 40 (= CT 16 20: 98–9); see now Geller (2007: 179):

    [ge₆-u₄-z]al-ni in-su-mu-ug-ga ki-tuš nam-en-na nu-tuš
      [*mu-ši u*] *ur-ra a-dir ina šu-bat be-lu-ti-šú ul a-šib*
    (Sin is) darkened day and night, not present in the seat of his rule.

52 Van Dijk reads UR.GA-ru-še₃, as does ETCSL, and the late duplicate in van Dijk's edition reads teš₂-b[i] // *mit*-[*ḫa-riš*]. This may suggest reading the OB text as teš₂-ga-ru-še₃, which may relate to the lexical equation in Izi V 158 (= MSL 3 165) ga-ru = *maḫāru*. Another relevant expression occurs in *Lugale* 490, with the bilingual text reading teš₂-a-ra-ke₄ (var. teš₂-a-se₃-ga) // *mit-ḫa-riš* (see Seminara 2001: 170–1; 339 n. 685), while the OB version reads teš₂-ba ri-a-ga₂. The various combinations suggest that *mitḫāriš* would probably have corresponded adequately to the expression teš₂-ga-ru.
    a₂ mu-e-ši-ib₂-ag₂ // *um-ta-ʾ-ir*: the Sumerian literally reads, '(they) instructed you', which is translated in the Akkadian as a narrative note rather than as part of the dialogue.

54 For *atû* corresponding to giskim, see Diri II 104 = MSL 15 124.

55 See *Lugale* 45. The expression sig₃-sig₃ is treated here as parallel to Akkadian *narāṭu*, with the restoration based upon a single MS which only preserves]-*iṭ*. The expression is seen as a compound verb with igi = *pānu*, the evidence for which is sparse but based upon Nabnitu XX 138 (MSL 16 183), igi-sig₃-sig₃-ge // (*na-tu-ú*) *šá pa-ni*. A similar idiom occurs in Nabnitu XXI 1212 (MSL 16 182) // *rapāsu* 'to strike the face'. See also Alster (1974: 89), citing Dialogue 2, ka-hul igi-sig₃-sig₃, '(you) with an evil mouth, insulting face'.

56 ku₄ is phonetic for gur // *târu*.

57 The Sumerian verb had been read as dab₅, which served as the basis for an incorrect restoration of the Akkadian as [*ta-ṣab*]-*bat* (van Dijk 1983: ii 46′; Seminara 2001: 61)*,* but the Akkadian suggests that Sumerian KU is to be read dur₂ rather than dib/dab₅. Jacobsen's (1987: 239) translation comes closest to our text: '(O you), the gods' (restraining) yoke, may you not sit (idly by)!'. The noun *rappu* is unattested elsewhere in the feminine.

59 Although Seminara (2001: 63) restores the Akkadian line incorrectly (following van Dijk), his note on this line suggests a restoration that agrees with our text (Seminara 2001: 234).

62 We would tentatively suggest restoring the end of the Akkadian line as [*ul i-maḫ-ḫar*], 'no wood can match (his) weapon', with kin here being phonetic for gi₄, with the restoration based upon a parallel to the preceding line.

NUANCES AND PRECISION IN TRANSLATION
The few lines cited above from a fragmentary late manuscript of *Lugale* make a small but valuable contribution to our knowledge of the text. In some cases, the Akkadian translation offers a subtler meaning of the Sumerian. For example, the Akkadian verbal forms in lines 48–50 show a progression between Gt preterite, Gtn preterite, and Gt present (*ištallū, ištene'ū, imtallikū*). In other cases, we have a clearer translation of the Sumerian, such as in line 54, in which the expression giskim ti corresponds to Akkadian *atû* 'discover', with the subject of the verb being Ninurta. Line 52 turns out to be much simpler than previously thought, as part of the narration introducing a speech to Ninurta. In line 57, the Akkadian line now reads *áš-bat*, suggesting the Sumerian verb should be read as dur$_2$. The correct restoration of the Akkadian of line 59 shows it to be a simple question addressed to Ninurta.

SUMERIAN GRAMMAR OF BILINGUAL TEXTS
The Sumerian grammar of late texts is usually considered to be unreliable when compared to the grammar of earlier periods. Late bilingual texts often differ considerably from earlier duplicates, especially in the prefixes, infixes and suffixes of their verbal forms, and nor can these forms be easily explained by the Akkadian translations. The suspicion is that those who translated the Sumerian in late periods had no real understanding of Sumerian grammar, or simply chose to ignore it. This may well support the idea that late texts are *spät und schlect* and grammatical forms were distorted in the course of transmission.

For example, even in such a short passage of *Lugale* we see grammatical discrepancies. Lack of agreement between 2nd and 3rd person verbal forms is a common characteristic of bilingual translations, and in our line 59 a-na-am$_3$ zi-ga mu-un-g[i] // *mi-na tu-uš-ḫa-ra-a*[*r*], the Sumerian pre-radical /n/ corresponds to the 2nd person singular of the Akkadian translation.[3] The same verbal structure also occurs in line 53: en$_3$-tar-tar mu-un-ĝal$_2$ // *ši-tul-tu$_4$ šak-na-*⌈*at*⌉, which translates the Sumerian verbal form with a 3rd person feminine stative, also leaving the /n/ before the root unexplained; this latter verbal pattern, however, is reflected in line 57: na-an-dur$_2$-ru // *la áš-bat*.

Nevertheless, there is another point of view. Like any good translation, Akkadian translations of Sumerian literature had to be cast in idiomatic Akkadian, which often makes it difficult to match the Akkadian and Sumerian texts grammatically. This question has been studied in detail for *Lugale* by Seminara (2001), whose approach was to separate OB and later editions of the Sumerian and to translate the Sumerian and Akkadian texts independently, in each line (Geller 2005). Following Seminara's important study, each new bilingual manuscript of *Lugale* offers another opportunity to return to the question of how far late scribes understood the Sumerian they were translating.

The patterns of Sumerian and Akkadian verbal forms in *Lugale* are not entirely arbitrary, as can be seen by the verbs in our passage:

48   en$_3$ mu-e ši-tar // *iš-tal-lu$_4$* (Gt intransitive)
49   ki mu-e-ši-ib$_2$-kin // *iš-te-né-'u* (Gtn transitive)
50   ad mu-e-ši-ib$_2$-gi$_4$ // *im-tal-li-ku-ka* (Gtn with suffix)[4]
52   a$_2$ mu-e-ši-ib$_2$-ag$_2$ // *um-ta-'-ir* (Dt intransitive)
55   ba-ni-ib$_2$-kur$_2$-re // *ut-ta-nak-kar* (Dtn transitive)
56   mi-ni-ib$_2$-k[u$_4$-ku$_4$] // *ut-ta-na-*[*ar*] (Dtn transitive).

Similar examples in *Lugale* of Sumerian forms conforming to Akkadian Gt, Gtn, Dt, and Dtn forms have been collected by Seminara (2001: 474–7).

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[3] See other examples of this in *Lugale*, as listed by Seminara 2001: 485–6. This point has been noted by Zólyomi 2005b: 29–30 and n. 46.
[4] Although one could consider the Akkadian form to be intransitive, the presence of the suffix suggests that the grammatical (rather than semantic) form of the verb could be transitive with an accusative suffix.

Within the present brief passage of *Lugale*, all transitive forms are marked with the /b/ object-marker. It further appears that the presence of pre-radical /b/ as an object-marker could also create the conditions in which a transitive or even factitive Akkadian form could be used to translate the Sumerian. Hence in line 48, the Sumerian compound verb lacking /b/ corresponds to an intransitive Akkadian Gt form. The presence of /b/ in the following line (49) does not necessarily trigger a D-form in the Akkadian translation perhaps because the D-stem of the verb *še'û* is relatively rare (see CAD Š/2 362). In line 52, however, the Sumerian verb with /b/ is translated by a passive Akkadian Dt form.[5] In lines 55–56, the forms ba-ni-ib₂-kur₂-re // *ut-ta-nak-kar* and mi-ni-ib₂-k[u₄-ku₄] (for /gur-gur/) // *ut-ta-na-*[*ar*] both correspond to Akkadian D-stems and both show pre-radical /b/-pronoun identifying the transitive object of the verb. The question is whether /b/ might serve as a general marker of transitivity in verbal forms without specifice reference to a direct object.

Gábor Zólyomi (2000 [2005]) recently published an article analysing Akkadian influences on the grammar of OB Sumerian, one of the features being the appearance of a marker for causative or factitive verbs in Sumerian. In certain types of evidence quoted by Zólyomi, a relatively high proportion of incidences of the Sumerian forms which look causative or factitive have the /b/ impersonal subject-object marker before the root. This pattern is particularly easy to spot in bilingual texts quoted by Zólyomi, such as bi₂-ib₂-gu-la-aš // *mu-šar-bí-ù* (50), mi-ni-ib-gal // *ú-šar-bí* (51), while other examples can be found particularly in his listing of OB Sumerian forms for šu si corresponding to Akkadian *ana qāti mullû* (Zólyomi 2000 [2005]: 344–6). Nearly half the examples cited by Zólyomi (nos. 27, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 39, and 40) contain pre-radical /b/.[6]

Zólyomi (2000 [2005]: 353–7) also charted the distribution of Akkadian causal (Š) forms within Old Babylonian grammatical texts (OBGT) to see what patterns in the Sumerian verb might condition causal forms in the Akkadian translations. He did not consider, however, the distribution of the /b/ subject-object marker as a possible factor in the equation, but again the presence of pre-radical /b/ might simplify the argument. There are a large number of instances of pre-radical /b/ in OBGT corresponding to Š stems in the Akkadian translation column. This is particularly apparent in the evidence gathered by Jeremy Black (1984/1991) in his discussion of OBGT forms with causative meanings,[7] and virtually every Sumerian form cited by Black contains pre-radical /b/, although Black gathered the evidence on the assumption that an infix -ni- was the morpheme conditioning causality.[8] Not all Sumerian forms with pre-radical /b/ correspond to Akkadian

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[5] The literal meaning of the Dt is passive-factitive, e.g., 'to be made to go', 'to be sent', etc.

[6] The forms are šu-ni-še₃ bi₂-ib-si-si-in (27), šu ... si-bi₂-ib (31–2), ḫu-mu-ra-ab-si (34), šu-ni-še si-bi-ib (36), šu-zu-še₃ ḫe₂-bi₂-ib-si-si (38), šu-mu ga-am₃-mi-ib-si (39), šu-be₂ ḫa-ba-da-ab-si (40). It is somewhat surprising to find so many instances of /b/ as an object-marker when the subject of the clause is usually personal; it is the personal subject /n/ which one usually expects in this position. Moreover, in some cases the object of the verb is personal (erim₂-ĝal₂), which is the logical object of the verb with /b/-object marker (38), or again (saĝ-gig) is the object with is to be put into the ruler's hand (27).

It is difficult for this particular argument to use the evidence presented by Claus Wilcke (2000 [2005]) in his article in the same journal. Wilcke's data is pre-OB and we do not have the benefit of Akkadian translations to test hypotheses against ancient translations. Nevertheless, some of the forms Wilcke cites may be relevant to our case, e.g., Lipit-Eštar C (Wilcke 2000 [2005]: 293; ETCSL 2.5.5.3) line 41, where Wilcke translates dul₄ zi ḫu-mu-ra-ab-si-sa as 'truly walked straight for you under the yoke' but also gives a literal (transitive!) translation as 'made the true yoke straight for you'. He correctly notes uncertainties in interpreting these forms, such as Šulgi C (ETCSL 2.4.2.3), line 36: šu-ĝu₁₀-u₃ gi-ku₃-ga si mi-ni-ib₂-sa₂, which he translates as a one-participant clause, 'my hand went straight to the pure stylus' (Wilcke 2000 [2005]: 284) or alternatively as a two-participant clause, 'my hand directed the pure stylus at it' (Wilcke 2000 [2005]: 282). We would be tempted to translate, 'my hand was directed towards the pure stylus', as if equivalent to Akkadian *šutēšuru*.

[7] See especially Black 1984/1991: 26 (forms cited from OBGT VI, VIII, IX, and X), 28 (forms cited from OBGT VIII), 32 (OBGT VI, right hand column), 34 (OBGT VIII) and 39 (OBGT VI).

[8] Black 1984/1991: 30, 34 and similar forms in *Lugale*. It may be relevant that for the few verbs in *Lugale* in which the infix /ni/ corresponds to an Akkadian Š stem, the verbal forms can show variants having either

causatives, but a high proportion certainly do. The question is why we have an impersonal subject-object marker within grammatical paradigms at all, since there is no context from which to decide whether such a marker refers to a subject or object of the verb.[9]

We would argue that the presence of an object marker (pre-radical /b/) could be an easy or even logical way for ancient grammarians to indicate transitivity, since the understanding is that a transitive verb ought to have an object., as in English, 'I walk' versus 'I walk the dog'.[10] Although Sumerian has no verbal morphology with an easily identifiable factitive or causal form corresponding to an Akkadian Š or D stem, nevertheless it may have been possible in later Sumerian to mark transitivity with /b/, and this form could optionally be used to correspond to transitive Akkadian forms in bilingual translations. There are also numerous examples in *Lugale* and elsewhere of Akkadian Š or D stems translating Sumerian verbs lacking pre-radical /b/, which means that the choice of marking transitivity is a matter of nuance rather than meaning; the author has chosen to emphasis the transitivity of the Sumerian verbal form.

CONCLUSION

Although it is often difficult to isolate the grammatical rules behind the Akkadian translations of a Sumerian Vorlage, the Akkadian translations often appear to be more systematic than ad hoc. One reason for our difficulty in identifying translation rules is that we have no competing translations, equivalent to a Summachus and Theodotion in Septuagint studies which offer choices between more literal or more literary translations of the Hebrew text. On the other hand, the idiomatic nature of the Akkadian translations does not mean that they should be ignored.

The late Thorkild Jacobsen was fond of saying that no matter how much Sumerian we think we know, we will never know as much as the ancient scribes. Jacobsen's dictum applies to first-millennium BCE scribes as well as to their predecessors.

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infix /n/ or pre-radical /b/, or both (Geller 2005: 124).

[9] This same question was posed by Black 1984/1991: 31–2. Even in cases where verbal forms in OBGT correspond to an Akkadian suffix, why should OBGT mark the object with /b/ rather than with /n/? It is difficult, for instance, to distinguish between such forms as bi₂-ib₂-ĝar and mi-ni-in-ĝar, both of which correspond to Akkadian *ú-ša-aš-ki-in* (OBGT VI 106 and 109; Black 1984/1991: 42). Furthermore, in a significant number of examples in OBGT we have pre-radical /b/ without any suffixes: see Black 1984/1991: 34 (VIII 7 and 10), 36 and 39 (X 21-22), 41 (VI 227), 42 (VI 106–9); and see OBGT VI 4–6.

Zólyomi 2000 [2005]: 356 poses a similar question regarding the presence or absence of object suffixes in corresponding Akkadian forms in OBGT: 'Without textual context, it is difficult to see what difference in meaning between the forms with suffix and those without suffix was intended by the compilers'. He suggests as one possibility that 'forms without suffixes were meant to be causitives without an explicit cause'. We would concur, since he refers explicitly to OBGT VI 7–9 and 10–12, in which the latter forms have both infix /ni/ and pre-radical /b/ corresponding to Akkadian Š forms. Also interesting in this regard are forms in OBGT VI 4–6: ĝar-bi₂-ib₂ = *šu-uš-ki-in*, ga-bi₂-ib₂-ĝar = *lu-ša-aš-ki-in*, ḫe₂-bi₂-ib₂-ĝar = *li-š[a-aš-ki-in]*, noting Akkadian Š-stem forms without suffixes translating Sumerian forms with /b/, but lacking infix /ni/.

[10] The supposition is that transitivity is a sliding scale upon which verbal forms can be more or less transitive, rather than absolutely transitive or intransitive.

BILGAMES AND THE BULL OF HEAVEN: CUNEIFORM TEXTS, COLLATIONS AND TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

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In 1997 the late Jeremy Black initiated at the University of Oxford his project on the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL). Since that time it has developed, as he envisaged, into a highly useful tool for those researching and teaching Sumerian literature and into an important resource for those interested in literature generally. The speed with which more than three hundred compositions have been put online in transliteration and translation has been astonishing. To maintain such a pace the project has necessarily relied heavily on existing printed editions. As these editions are revised, improved and replaced, so also the online text will need to be updated. This article makes a slim contribution to the reconstruction of the poem šul-me₃-kam 'Hero in Battle!', known to modern scholars as *Bilgames (or Gilgameš) and the Bull of Heaven* or, for short, *GBH*.[1]

    GBH was first edited on the basis of Heinrich Zimmern's fine handcopy of a single manuscript in Berlin, the irregularly written VAS 10 196, supplemented by Arno Poebel's unsurpassable copy of the sole Nippur fragment known at that time (PBS 5 27). Two editions were put out more or less simultaneously by scholars working independently: Father Maurus Witzel and Stephen Langdon (Witzel 1931; Langdon 1932). Witzel's edition was good for its time but Langdon completely misunderstood most of the text, as Witzel demonstrated in a second article (Witzel 1933). Even his edition soon became obsolete, however, as more fragments from Nippur belonging to the text were published in cuneiform by Edward Chiera in 1934 (SEM 26) and Samuel N. Kramer in 1944 (SLTNi 49). In the middle decades of the twentieth century Kramer and his students identified several more Nippur fragments of *GBH* in Philadelphia and Istanbul. The Istanbul pieces were published in cuneiform by Muazzez Çığ and Hatice Kızılyay in 1969 (ISET 1) and by Kramer in 1976 (ISET 2). On the basis of all the manuscripts of *GBH* then known, Mark G. Hall prepared a transliteration for the files of the Philadelphia Sumerian Dictionary, but it was never published.

    Knowledge of the text of *GBH* was vastly improved by the publication of the tablets from Me-Turan (modern Tell Haddad) by Antoine Cavigneaux and Farouk Al-Rawi, which for the first time allowed a full understanding of the poem's narrative and plot (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993). At the same time Cavigneaux took the opportunity to re-edit the previously published material and to complement it with previously unpublished fragments from Nippur. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi's publication is the work on which the edition of *GBH* in ETCSL (1.8.1.2) is based. It also provided the essential text for subsequent translations by myself, Douglas Frayne and Herman Vanstiphout (George 1999: 166–75; Frayne 2001: 120–7; Vanstiphout 2001: 184–94).

    Since 1993 the work of refining the current understanding of the text has continued, chiefly in the matter of the episodes in which Inanna proposes to Gilgameš that he become lord to her lady (George 2003: 471–2); and in which An finds his daughter spurned and weeping, and she pleads with him to give her the Bull of Heaven (George 2002). A problematic line that occurs in *GBH* and

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in other Sumerian poems of Gilgameš has attracted two very different elucidations (George 2003: 10 n. 29; Marchesi 2001).[2]

The purpose of the present contribution is threefold: first, to make available cuneiform copies of Nippur manuscripts now in the University Museum in Philadelphia, most of which have hitherto been published in transliteration only; second, to note where I read traces on these pieces differently from Cavigneaux; and third, to offer alternative reconstructions of two passages by combining manuscripts that he transliterated separately or in other combinations. These are matters of detail and in no way detract from Cavigneaux's magnificent achievement in providing the field for the first time with a definitive edition of the text of *GBH* in a substantially complete form.

CUNEIFORM COPIES

There are currently eighteen fragments of *GBH* from Nippur: one of Ur III date, booked as ms. Na in Cavigneaux's list of sigla (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 101), and seventeen Old Babylonian pieces (Cavigneaux's Nb–Nr). The other extant witnesses are ms. A (VAS 10 196) and the two tablets from Me-Turan (Ma and Mb), which all present the text in non-standard orthography. Of the Nippur manuscripts seven had already been published in cuneiform by 1993 (Na, Nb, Nd, Ng, Nj, Nk, Nm), along with one fragment that was subsequently joined to three uncopied pieces (Ni). In addition, cuneiform copies of mss. Nn and Np had been already made by the late Aaron Shaffer, partly from casts, but they remained unpublished, as did a copy of ms. Nl by Claus Wilcke. Copies of mss. Ni, Np and another fragment (No) were published by me as witnesses to the episode of Inanna's weeping (George 2002: 146–7). In the winter of 2004–5 I continued the work of copying the cuneiform of *GBH*, and made copies of all the remaining manuscripts in Philadelphia (Nc, Nf, Nh, Nl, Nn), as well as a new copy of the piece previously published in cuneiform by Chiera as SEM 26 (Nj). These appear here as Figs. 1–7.

This does not complete the publication of *GBH* in cuneiform. Three Nippur fragments from the thirteenth campaign were identified by Miguel Civil and communicated to Cavigneaux in transliteration (Ne, Nq, Nr from the 13 N-T collection). I have not seen these, either in cast (in Chicago) or in the original (Baghdad).[3]

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[2] i$_3$-a LUM.LUM u$_3$-luḫ-ḫa su$_3$-su$_3$, which I translated 'Ho, hurrah! Tall-grown sapling'. Gianni Marchesi's exposition, that this difficult line means 'O oil-glistening one, adorned with the staff of command', is attractive, though Miguel Civil (2003b: 83) has meanwhile reasserted his view that u$_3$-luḫ-ḫa means not 'sceptre' but 'offshoot'. A further difficulty is the inordinate number of variant writings of i$_3$-a LUM.LUM: i$_3$-a-lu$_2$-ulu$_3$, i$_3$-a-lul-lu-un, ia-lu$_2$-ulu$_3$, ia$_4$-LUM-LUM, ia$_4$-a-LUM-LUM, ia$_4$-LUM, a-LUM-LUM, all documented in George 2003: 10 n. 29. This variation demonstrates that ancient scribes often failed to understand the epithet and sought other etymologies; as one of these possibilities I would still propose an ululation *yalulu* related to Akk. *yarūru* (for the phonetic rendering of ululations in Sumerian see Krecher 1966: 148–9; Civil 1976: 90; Attinger 1993: 559). The proposed epithet 'oil-glistening' at the opening of the paean to Gilgamesh is a prominent attribute of the hero as king of Uruk. This begs the question of whether anointment with oil played a part in coronation in Mesopotamia. Biblical and other sources suggest the anointing of kings was predominantly a Levantine and Anatolian practice, perhaps borrowed from Egypt, where vassals and other subordinates were bound to pharaoh's service by anointment (e.g., de Vaux 1973: 102–7). Amorite kings of Mari were anointed on accession, as is clear from Adad of Aleppo's oracle to Zimri-Lim: *šamnam*(I$_3$) *ša nam-ri-ru-ti-ia ap-šu-uš-ka* 'I anointed you with the oil of my splendid brilliance' (Durand 1993: 45, 4′–5′). Here again the anointment binds the anointed in the service of the anointer. Evidence for the anointment of kings is lacking for southern Mesopotamia, however (Durand 1993: 53), a lack that undermines Marchesi's proposal.

[3] A further manuscript, now in the Schøyen Collection, is expected to appear in a volume of Sumerian literary tablets (see for the moment George 2003: 967 sub SC 2652/2). Another tablet in the Schøyen Collection, MS (= SC) 2652/3, was formerly identified as an Old Sumerian source for *GBH* but without justification (see George 2003: 6). Unfortunately, early misinformation put out on the collection's website has contaminated Bendt Alster's (2004: 33–4 n. 15, 35 n. 20) discussion of the literary history of *GBH*.

3 N-T 917, 387
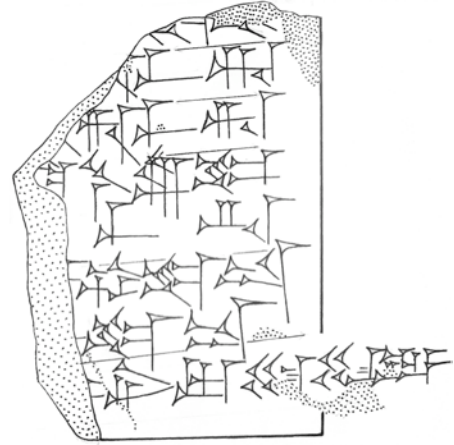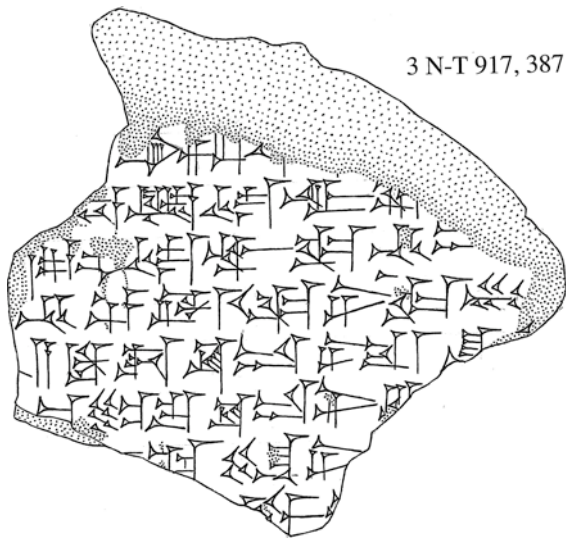
Figure 1: Ms. Nc
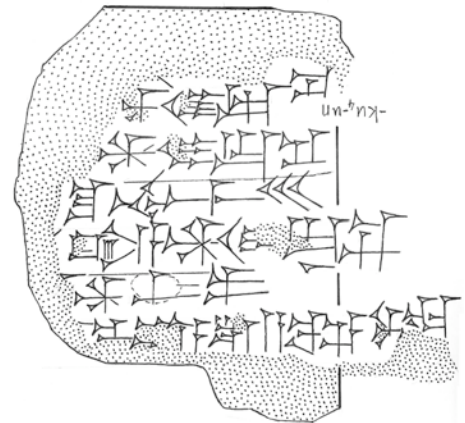
Figure 2: Ms. Nf obverse and reverse

Figure 3: Ms. Nh

CBS 11350

Figure 4: Ms. Nj

obv.   rev.

CBS 10391

centimetre rule
0 ——————— 1
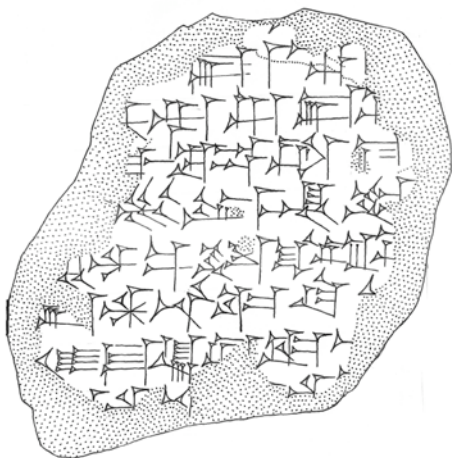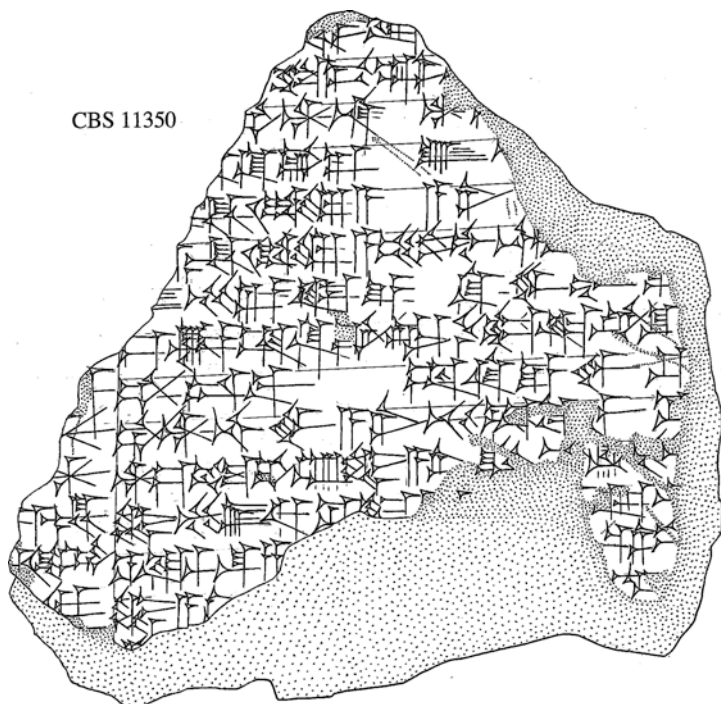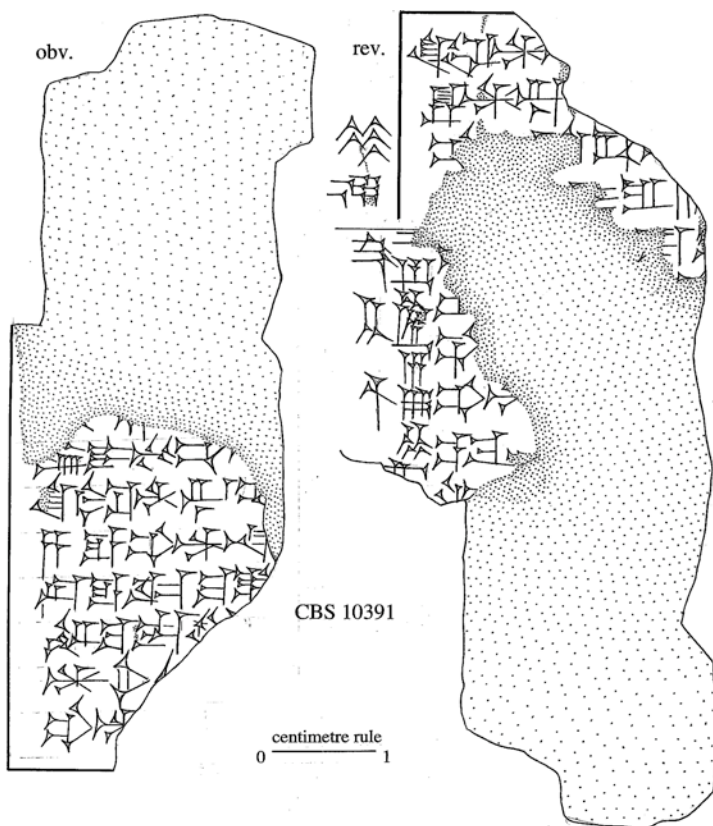
Figure 5: ms. Nl obverse and reverse

COLLATIONS

Collations of mss. A, Ni, No and Np of *GBH* have previously been offered in George 2002 and 2003: 11 n. 47. Further collations of ms. A and notes on the six newly copied pieces follow.

A. VAT 6281

VAS 10 196 (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 112–21). Col. i 12′ and 13′: tur$_3$-zu and amaš-zu, as in the parallel lines of the Gudam poem (Römer 1991: 367, A rev. 31–2; Alster 2004: 25, 36–7 [= ETCSL 1.3.4]); end of i 14′: ga-an-dug$_4$-e : ga-<bi$_2$-zu>; i 16′: g]u$_3$ ⌜ba-an-de$_3$⌝; i 17′–18′: [… ^{d}GIŠ.G]A.BIL$_2$-mes za-e ma-i-ra-an-dug$_4$, [… ^{d}GIŠ.G]A.BIL$_2$-mes za-ra-ra ma-an-dug$_4$; ii 5′: uš-bi du[g-šakar-gin$_7$ …] (// No rev. 6′); ii 18′ end: an-nu-rug-gu$_3$-bi[4] for an-ur$_3$-ra u$_2$-gu$_7$-bi-(im) (// Nm obv. 2 // Np ii 10′); iii 30′: ša$_3$-ba!(ZU) nu-te-te-en; iii 31′ end: im-si-mu-e; iii 38′: i$_3$-na$_8$-na$_8$-e [… ; iv 15: mu-un-<da-ni-re$_7$>-eš

Nc. 3 N-T 917, 387

Figure 1 (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 104). In l. 5′, where Ninsun appears to be instructing Gilgameš to bathe in the river, id$_2$-da e$_{11}$-ni saḫar šu x […] is parallel with the Me-Turan manuscript's saḫar-ta a-ni-[x] id$_2$-da naga-NE (Ma 7). The trace allows šu x […] to be read ŠU.N[AGA, i.e., t[u$_5$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$] 'wash'.

Nf. 3 N-T 902, 94

Figure 2 (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 113–14). Perhaps part of the same tablet as Nh. The first line has traces which read not -r]i-bar-re (like ll. 2′ and 3′) but -me-e]n-⌜de$_3$-en⌝. Lines 1′–2′ thus combine into one line of poetry: [en ^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes am-mu lu$_2$/mu-lu-me-e]n-de$_3$-en $^{2′}$ [šu nu-r]i-bar-re (l. 2′ indented). Lines 6′–7′ read in Emesal [^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes za-e u$_3$-mu-u]n-bi de$_3$-men$_3$ $^{7′}$[ga$_2$-e ga-ša-an-bi] de$_3$-men$_3$ (see below). Line 8′: the sign NI is clear. Rev. 6: b]a-an-{PA ras.}-pa-{ras.}.

Nh. 3 N-T 906, 227

Figure 3 (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 111–13). Perhaps part of the same tablet as Nf. Line 3′ end: the scribe accidentally omitted the sign LA$_2$ before ⌜e⌝.

Nj. CBS 11350

Figure 4. SEM 26 (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 117–18). This is a surface flake from the reverse of a tablet probably of four columns. The right-hand column is thus col. iii; the line-ends on the left-hand column are still unplaced (iv 1′–6′). Rev. iii 1′–2′ reads [i$_3$-na$_8$-na$_8$-e]n ⌜i$_3$-na$_8$⌝-[na$_8$-en en-še$_3$ i$_3$-na$_8$-na$_8$-en] $^{2′}$ [en ^{d}b]il$_3$-ga-mes i$_3$-n[a$_8$-na$_8$-en en-še$_3$ i$_3$-na$_8$-na$_8$-en]. These lines are also partly preserved on Ni iii 4′–5′ // A iii 38′–9′ (see further below). Nj iii 6′: the last preserved sign is probably i[b$_2$; iii 7′ end: im-su$_{13}$-⌜e⌝.

Nl. CBS 10391

Figure 5 (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 116–18). Obv. 1′ has traces that read [e]n ⌜^{d}⌝[bil$_3$-ga-mes en ga-mu-un-ug$_5$-ga]. Rev. traces are as expected: l. 3: gud [unu]g⌜^{ki}⌝-ga u$_2$⌝ [mu-un-gu$_7$-e]; 4: [id$_2$-a]g$_2$-⌜i⌝-lu ⌜a i$_3$⌝-[na$_8$-na$_8$]; 5: ⌜u$_2$⌝ [mu-un-g]u$_7$-⌜e⌝ [ki …].

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[4] Cavigneaux read an-nu u$_2$-ku$_2$-bi, but the third sign is as copied and nothing like U$_2$; it is a good match for ŠEN. According to the reference lists, the sign ŠEN is not otherwise found with the Akkadian-derived value *rug* before the Middle Babylonian period, but many signs occur with Akkadian-derived values earlier than this.
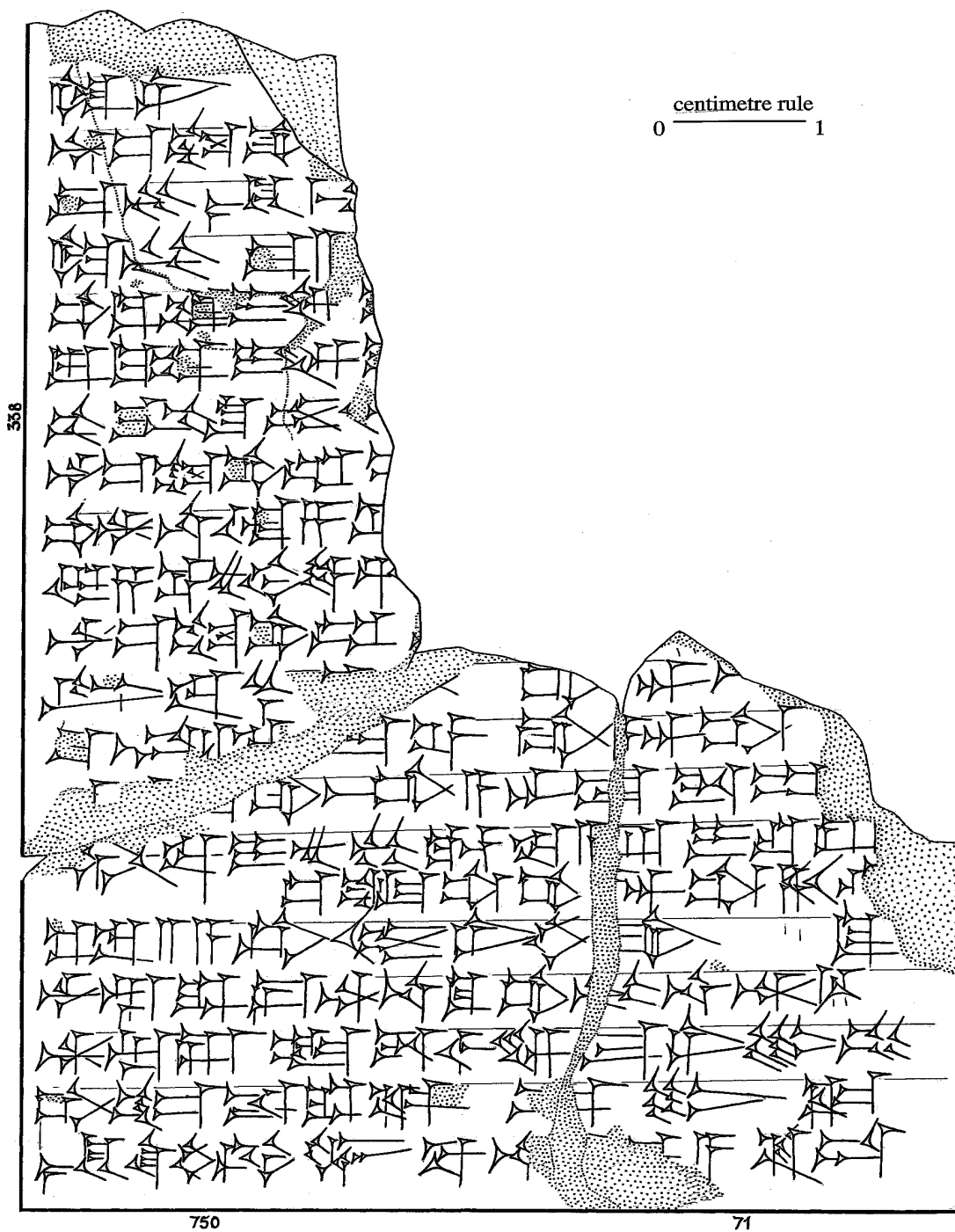
3 N-T 750 (IM 58678) + 3 N-T 902, 71 + 3 N-T 916, 338 obv.

Figure 6: Ms. Nn obverse

3 N-T 750 (IM 58678) + 3 N-T 902, 71 + 3 N-T 916, 338 rev.
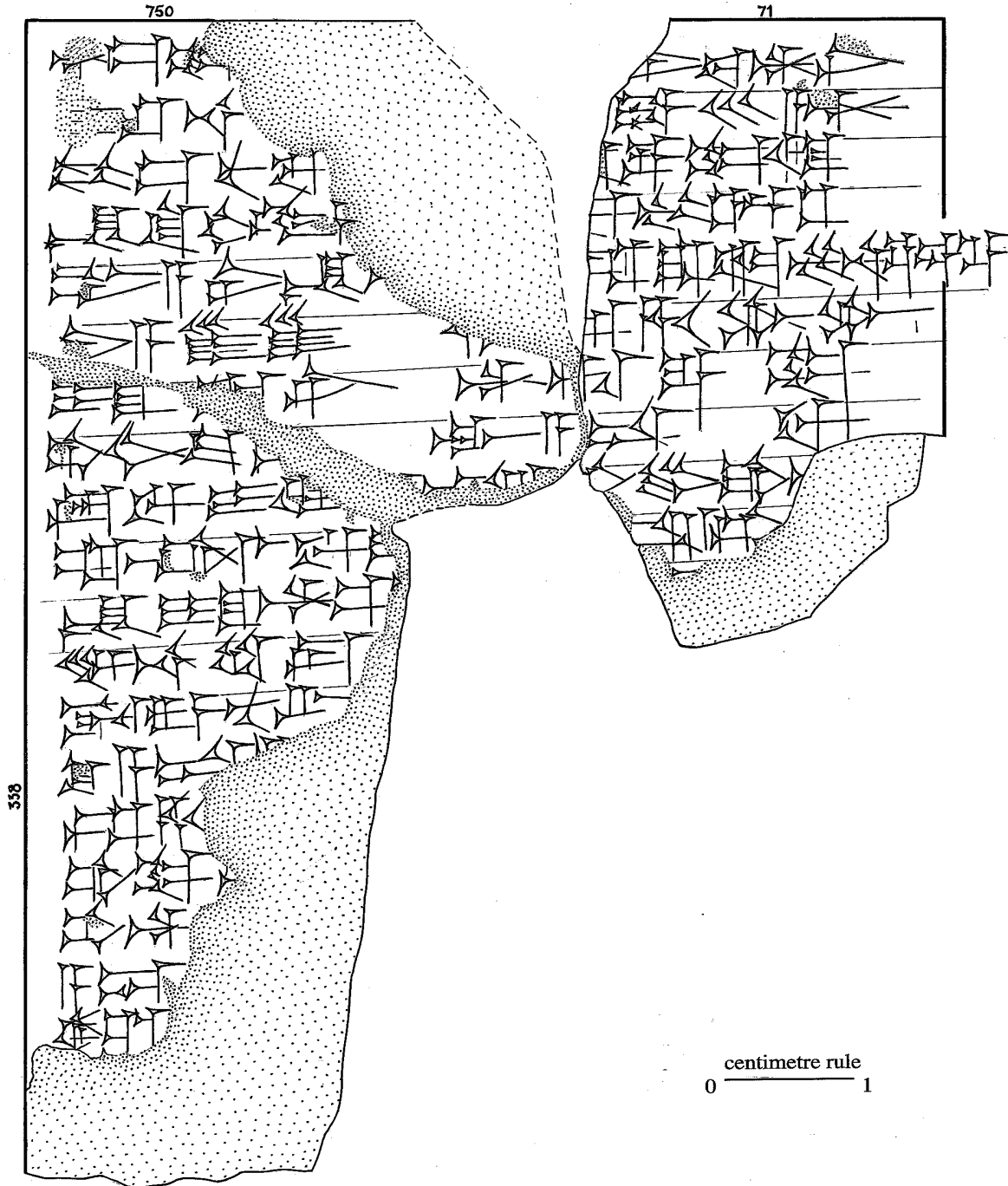
Figure 7: Ms. Nn reverse

Nn. 3 N-T 750 (IM 58678) + 3 N-T 902, 71 + 3 N-T 916, 338.
Figures 6–7; the Baghdad fragment was copied from a cast kept in Philadelphia (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 119–21). Obv. 3′: the trace favours reading EN.ME.L[I = ens[i; 12′: traces of s[i-g]a are visible. Rev. 9: there seems only space for u_3-[t]u; 11: en dumu-gir_{15} ^{d}bi[l_3-ga-mes …].

TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION
Like many Sumerian narrative poems, the text of *GBH* is repetitious. This makes the work of placing small fragments hazardous, since it is not always clear whether the fragment in question witnesses the first appearance of such a passage or a subsequent one. Two repetitious passages of *GBH* pose particular problems of textual reconstruction for the editor: the episode of Inanna's proposal and that of Gilgameš's drinking bout. These are examined in turn. Philological comments are appended at the end of the section.

Inanna's proposal
The Me-Turan manuscript shows that a repetition occurs in *GBH* in the passage where Inanna proposes to Gilgameš and he reports what she said to his mother, Ninsun (Ma 22–27 // 34–39). The repeated lines are a speech that begins am-mu-lu-mu im-ma-ni-[ta] and ends with the proposal that the two of them form a pair. The speech can be fully restored in conventional orthography from the several Nippur fragments that are also witness to it:[5]

33 // 45 am-mu mu-lu-me *de_3-*me-en (tablets: me-en-de_3-en) šu nu-ri-bar-re-en
34 // 46 en ^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes mu-lu-me *de_3-*me-en (tablets: me-en-de_3-en) šu nu-ri-bar-re-en
35 // 47 e_2-an-na-ka di-kud-de_3 šu nu-ri-bar-re-(en)
36 // 48 mi-par_3-ku_3-ga_2 ka-aš-bar-re šu nu-ri-bar-re-(en)
37 // 49 e_2-an-na e_2 an-e ki-ag_2-ga_2 di-kud-de_3 šu nu-ri-bar-re-(en)
38 // 50 ^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes za-e [u_3-mu-u]n-bi de_3-men_3 ga_2-e ga-ša-an-bi de_3-men_3

'O my wild bull, *may you be* our man, I shall not let you go!
O lord Bilgames, my wild bull, *may you be* our man, I shall not let you go!
To pass judgement in the E-anna I shall not let you go,
to render verdicts in the holy Gipar I shall not let you go,
to pass judgement in E-anna, the house beloved of An, I shall not let you go!
O Bilgames, may you be its lord, let me be its lady!'

On ms. Ma the speech and its repetition are separated by a fragmentary passage of narrative and direct speech in which Gilgameš goes to his mother and tells her that something happened at the city wall (Ma 28–33). After the repetition of the speech Ninsun begins to answer (Ma 40–41) but her response is lost as the tablet becomes lacunose.

The manuscript published by Zimmern (ms. A) covers the same episode and holds its continuation, and is therefore important for the poem's reconstruction. However its text is deceptive at this point (as in many other respects), for it collapses the two identical speeches of the episode into a single one. Its narrative describes how the celestial Inanna emerges from the palace of the Abzu, i.e. rising as Venus from below the horizon, and gazes on something (A i 1′–2′).[6]

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[5] *GBH* 33–8 (Nd 6′–8′ // Ne 7′–12′ // Ng 6′–10′ // Nh 4′–8′ // A i 3′–8′) // 45–50 (Nf 1′–5′ // No obv. 6′–11′ // MS 2652/2 1–6), cf. George 2003: 471–2. The sequential line-numbering of this and other passages of *GBH* given here is derived from a transliteration made for personal use and is cited for orientation only.
[6] The something is the enigmatic e_2-la_2. Those Nippur sources for this passage that have been published in cuneiform distinguish between the signs (a) E_2 and (b) KID = LIL_2 and unambiguously offer the reading e_2-la_2 (see Nd 3′–5′ // Ng 3′–5′ // Nh 1′–3′). They discount Thorkild Jacobsen's lil_2-la_2 'spirit' (1989: 275). The expression e_2-la_2 in this passage is sometimes understood to refer to an awning or similar (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 109 'auvent', ETCSL 'canopy', Vanstiphout 2001: 185 'baldakijn'). In cosmic terms the object of Inanna's gaze should be no architectural detail but all the habitations of men on earth.

Thereby she evidently catches sight of Gilgameš (though his name does not occur at this point), who is freshly groomed, as in the Babylonian version of the story.[7] Inanna's speech of proposal to the hero immediately follows (A i 3´–8´), next is Ninsun's warning to him not to get involved (A i 9´–10´), and finally come Gilgameš's words on his next encounter with Inanna (A i 11´–14´) and her reaction (A i 15´ ff.). This manuscript of *GBH* lacks Gilgameš's reaction to Inanna's proposal and his repeating of it to Ninsun (// Ma 28–41).

Whether or not the scribe of ms. A telescoped the text deliberately or by mistake is not the issue here, though one may remark that, like many other manuscripts of *GBH*, ms. A omits lines and longer pieces of text throughout the poem, often, it seems, at random. Repetition being a stylistic feature conspicuous in Sumerian narrative poetry, it can be assumed that as a piece of living literature the poem held the full extent of Inanna's proposal both on the occasion that she spoke it and when Gilgameš reported it verbatim to his mother. In reconstructing *GBH* (and any other Sumerian poem) as a work of literature, one must set aside the abbreviations of individual manuscripts and, without ignoring the separate existence of variant versions, seek to establish as full a text as possible. In this passage ms. Ma gives the lead. The problem confronting an editor is where to place the small fragments from Nippur that are witnesses to Inanna's speech: in its first appearance or in the reportage.

Both manuscripts Nf and No include lines spoken by Inanna to Gilgameš in her attempt to make him lord to her lady. However, they were wrongly placed by Cavigneaux in the speech's first appearance. This can be seen by placing correctly the lines of each fragment that are adjacent to the speech. The opening five lines of ms. No, before Inanna's speech, run parallel, as Cavigneaux suggested, to the five lines ms. Ma 29–33 (or perhaps 30–33). For clarity they are given here in synoptic style:

41	No obv. 1´	[^{d}bil$_3$-g]a-mes$^{!?}$-[e ^{d}nin-sun$_2$-na-ra gu$_3$ mu-na-de$_2$-e]
	Ma 30	^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes ^{d}nin-sumun$_x$(EŠ$_2$)-x[… …]
42	No obv. 2´–3´	[x (x) x]x uzu du […] / [x (x) x n]a/k]i ka sa[g … …]
	Ma 31	ama-ugu-mu en$^?$-gin$_7$ uzu x[… …]
43	No obv. 4´	[x (x) x] ka$_2$-gal x[… …]
	Ma 32	^{giš}ig ka$_2$-gal-ke$_4$ x[… …]
44	No obv. 5´	[x (x) x]x-gin$_7$ [… …]
	Ma 33	muš$_3$ bad$_3$-ke$_4$ […] gar-gar […]
45	No obv. 6´	[am-mu l]u$_2$ me-e[n-de$_3$-en šu nu-ri-bar-re-en]
	Ma 34	am-mu lu-mu im-ma-ni-[ta$^?$ … š]u nu-mu-ni-bar-re

Bilgames [spoke to] Ninsun,
'O mother who bore me, like a *lord* … […]
At the door of the city gate [… … ,]
by the base of the city wall, setting […] like [… *she said*:]
"O my wild bull, *may you be* our man, I shall not let you go!"'

Broken as they are, these are identifiably the lines of narrative in which Gilgameš tells his mother that he chanced upon Inanna by the city wall. This time the encounter is not conceptualized mythically but cast on a more human level, with Inanna portrayed as a loose woman dallying near

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[7] The first episode of *GBH* tells how Gilgameš, following his mother's instructions, washed in the river, visited a juniper grove and had himself shaved in the *gipar* (Ma 7–17 and parallels). All this would seem to effect a ritual purification; in narrative terms, it is the counterpart of the hero's washing and donning of regalia in the later telling of the story (SB Gilgameš VI 1–5, ed. George 2003: 618).

the city gate on the lookout for clients. The city gate was the place where prostitutes customarily plied their trade (e.g., SB Gilgameš VII 117, and George 2003: 480 n. 122). Such a detail is bound to incite Ninsun's disapproval, but her reaction is also informed by conventional motifs of folklore: the mother jealous of a woman romantically interested in her son, and the enfeeblement of the heroic male in a woman's company. Following the location of the encounter in the mundane world comes Inanna's speech. ms. No obv. 6´ ff. is therefore not a source for Inanna's overture to Gilgames (*GBH* 33–8) but for the repetition of her words by Gilgameš to Ninsun (*GBH* 45–50).

The place of ms. Nf is similarly fixed in the repetition of Inanna's proposal rather than in its first instance because, following her speech (Nf 1´–5´), the fragment continues not with Gilgameš visiting Ninsun, i.e., the passage just quoted, but with lines that report Ninsun's warning to Gilgameš, his words to Inanna on their next encounter and, finally, her reaction. Before breaking off at the turn of its first column, the big tablet from Me-Turan offers two lines of narrative which are not present in the other manuscripts. Restored after Cavigneaux, these bridge the transition between Gilgameš's report and Ninsun's response and can be interpolated accordingly:

51   Ma 40   ama-ugu-ne-ra ur$_5$-[gi]n$_7$ mu-un-na-ab-be$_2$-ᴦak$^?$�besᴦ-[ka$^?$]

52   Ma 41   ama u[gu-ni ^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes-ra (inim) mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$]

53   Ne 13´   [… ^{d}]ina[nna … … …]
      Nf 6´   [… ^{d}inanna mi-par$_3$-zu-še$_3$ nam-b]a-ni-ib-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-un
      A i 9´   nig$_2$-ba ᴦdᴦinanna mi-par$_3$-zu-še$_3$ nam-ba-ni-ku$_4$-ku$_4$

54   Nf   om.$^?$
      A i 10´ ^{d}nin-e$_2$-gal a$_2$ nam-ur-sag-ga$_2$-ke$_4$ tug$_2$ nam-bi-ᴦdul-eᴦ

55   A i 11´ ^{d}inanna nin$^?$ e-sir$_2$-mu za-e nam-ba-in-kud
      Nf 7´   [… … … …]

56   A i 12´   gud kur-ᴦraᴦ ga-an-KA ᴦtur$_3$-zuᴦ ga-bi$_2$-su$_2$
      Nf 8´   [… … … … ga-a]m$_3$-mi-ib-si

57   A i 13´   udu kur-ra ga-an-KA amaš-ᴦzuᴦ ga-bi$_2$-su$_2$
      Nf 9´   [… … … … ga-a]m$_3$-mi-ib-si

58   A i 14´   ᴦku$_3$ᴦ na$_4$-gug NI GAR I sur-sur-meš ga-an-dug$_4$-e : ga-ᴦbi$_2$-su$_2$ᴦ
      Nf 10´   [… …] ŠE$_3$$^?$-šir-me-eš / […] ga-am$_3$-mi-ib-si
      Ni i 1´   [… … … -m]e-eš / [… … ga-am$_3$-m]i-ib-si

59   A i 15´   [in]-nin-e gu$_3$ ba-an-de$_2$ KA-ni ba-an-pa-an
      Nf 11´   [… … … … … b]a-an-{PA ras.}-pa-{ras.}
      Ni i 2´   [… … … … … ba]-an-pa-ᴦanᴦ

              After he had spoken like this to the mother who bore him,
              the mother who [bore him replied to Bilgames:]
Ninsun: 'You must not permit the gift (of) Inanna to enter your chamber,
              Ninegalla must not cover with cloth a warrior's might!'
Bilgames: 'O Inanna … , you must not block my path!
              Let me *catch* mountain bulls to replenish your folds!
              Let me *catch* mountain sheep to replenish your pens!
              Let me fill the … with silver and carnelian!'
              The queen spoke, *she uttered a snort* …

The transition from Ninsun's warning to Gilgameš's second encounter with Inanna is very abrupt as the text is currently reconstructed. The Ur III manuscript has a fragmentary version of ll. 53–4 in which the second-person pronouns are replaced with first-person pronouns. This detail suggests that in the poem's fullest telling the transition was smoother, with Gilgameš repeating Ninsun's advice to Inanna when he rebuffed her (Na edge i–ii; cf. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 102):

[… gi$_6$]-par$_3$-ra-/[mu-še$_3$? …]-ku$_4$-ku$_4$
[^{d}nin-e$_2$-gal-la a$_2$ na]m-ur-sag-/ga$_2$-mu / tug$_2$ nam-i$_3$-dul-e
'[O Inanna, I shall not let your gifts] enter [my] chamber,
[Ninegalla] shall not cover with cloth my warrior's [might!]'

In his translation Frayne (2001: 123) expands the text accordingly. Here again, it seems that ms. A has telescoped a repetition; this time the contemporaneous Nippur tradition, represented by ms. Nf, does the same.

Gilgameš's drinking bout
Spurned by the man of her desire, Inanna is found weeping by her father, and persuades him to give her the Bull of Heaven, intending so to wreak vengeance on the 'great bull' of Uruk (A ii 1´–iii 25´ and duplicates). Bull will thus be pitted against bull, celestial versus human. Some of the editorial and philological problems in this episode have been addressed in a previous article (George 2002). The Bull of Heaven duly arrives outside Uruk, where its fiery presence is terrible in effect and terrifying to behold (A iii 26´–34´ and duplicates). At this point begins a passage, very broken in ms. A and the Nippur manuscripts, concerning Lugalgabangal, Gilgameš's minstrel (A iii 35´ nar-a-ni), and the Bull of Heaven. Thereafter the lines describing the destruction wrought by the Bull of Heaven in Uruk are repeated (A iii 40´–44´ // 27´–31´). When the Me-Turan manuscript resumes, Gilgameš is telling Lugalgabangal to play on while he continues drinking (Ma 86 ff.).

The editor's problem is how to reconstruct a text bridging the interval between the description of the bull and its repetition, and then the lines immediately following, from the paltry fragments of lines surviving on mss. A iii 35´–44´, Np iii 16, Nl 17–18, Nj ii, Nk rev. and Ni iii, all given separately in the printed edition (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 118–19).

A provisional reconstruction was given in my translation for Penguin Classics (George 1999: 172). There I saw that ms. Ni iii 6´ ff. held traces of lines repeating the description of the havoc caused by the Bull of Heaven in Uruk, and thus matched ms. A iii 40´ ff., and that the right-hand column of ms. Nj, placed by Cavigneaux in the first instance of this description, belonged instead in the repetition. The key to this reconstruction was realizing that the traces in ms. Ni iii concerned first drinking and then the Bull of Heaven's destructive presence, and also that ms. Nj iii 1´–2´ did not fit where Cavigneaux placed them (with the laconic acknowledgement 'différent'), but were better matched with mss. Ni iii 4´–5´ // A iii 38´–39´. The reconstructed translation allowed for a gap between mss. A iii 37´ and Ni iii 2´, but a further manuscript came to light subsequently to show that there is instead an overlap (A iii 35´–37´ // Ni iii 1´–3´). The drinking bout can now be fully recovered as follows.[8]

115–16		[ud-bi-a e$_2$ dingir-ra-na kaš i$_3$-na$_8$-na$_8$]
		[en ^{d}bil-ga-mes-e e$_2$ dingir-ra-na kaš i$_3$-na$_8$-na$_8$]
	A	om.
	Nl 18´	ud-ba e[n$^?$ ^{d}bil$_3$-ga-mes … …]
	Np iii 16	[… … … .]x-še$_3$ k[aš$^?$ x x x x]
117	A iii 35´	nar-a-ni [… … … … …]
	Ni iii 1´	[… … … … … li]l$_2$-še$_3$ im-t[a-x x]
	Nl 19´	n[ar-a-ni lugal-gaba-gal$_2$ ze$_2$-a-ni sur-ra-a-ni lil$_2$-še$_3$ im-ma-ra-e$_3$-a]

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[8] The first seven lines are restored from the unpublished tablet (MS 2652/2, ll. 44–50, courtesy M. Schøyen).

118   A iii 36′   igi il₂-a-ni [… … … … . .]
       Ni iii 2′   [igi il₂-la-ni gud-an-na i]gi im-ma-ni-[in-duḫ]

119   A iii 37′   gurum-gurum-ma-ni [… …]
       Ni iii 3′   [gurum-gurum-ma-ni] ⌜e₂⌝-še₃ ba-ni-[in-ku₄]

120   A iii 38′   i₃-na₈-na₈-e [i₃-na₈-na₈-e en-še₃ i₃-na₈-na₈-e]
       Ni iii 4′   [… … . . -n]a₈-na₈-en en-[… …]
       Nj iii 1′   [… . -e]n ⌜i₃-na₈⌝-[… … …]

121   A iii 39′   en ᵈbil₃-ga-[mes i₃-na₈-na₈-e en-še₃ i₃-na₈-na₈-e]
       Ni iii 5′   [… … . .] i₃-na₈-na₈-e[n … …]
       Nj iii 2′   [en ᵈb]il₃-ga-mes i₃-n[a₈- … … . .]

122   A iii 40′   ᵈinanna gud-an-na [… … …]
       Ni iii 6′   [… … … … a]n-ta ⌜im⌝-x[…]
       Nj iii 3′   [ku₃ ᵈinanna-ke₄ g]ud-an-na an-t[a im-e₁₁-de₃]

123   A iii 41′   gud unug^ki-[… … …]
       Ni iii 7′   [… … … …] ⌜u₂⌝ m[u- …]
       Nj iii 4′   [gud unu]g^ki-ga-ke₄ u₂ m[u-gu₇-e]

124   A iii 42′   id₂-a-gi₆-lu [… … …]
       Ni iii 8′   [… … … … … .]
       Nj iii 5′   [id₂-e]n-gig-lu-a a i₃-[na₈-na₈]

125   A iii 43′   id₂-a-gi₆-lu danna-t[a-am₃ … …]
       Ni iii 9′   [… … …]-bi […]
       Nj iii 6′   [i]d₂-en-gig-lu-a gaba danna^na i[b₂-si ša₃-bi nu-si-si^?]

126   A iii 44′   u₂ mu-⌜gu₇-e⌝ x[… …]
       Ni iii 10′   [… …]-e ⌜ki⌝ […]
       Nj iii 7′   ⌜u₂⌝ mu-un-gu₇-e ki im-su₁₃-⌜e⌝

127   Ni iii 11′   [… … … …] al-k[ud- …]
       Nj iii 8′   ^gišgišimmar unug^ki-ga al-kud-de₃ ka-bi-še₃ [i₃-gur-gur]
       Nk rev. 1′   [… … … …]x x x x

128   Ni iii 12′   [… … . .] unug^k[ⁱ …]
       Nj iii 9′   gud gub-ba unug^ki-e im-si
       Nk rev. 2′   [… … … …]x-si

129   Nj iii 10′   gud-an-na ni₂-a-ni kul-⌜aba₄^ki im⌝-si
       Nk rev. 3′   [… … … . kul-a]ba₄^ki ⌜i₃⌝-im-si

130   Nj iii 11′   ᵈbil₃-ga-mes nar-a-ni lugal-⌜gaba-gal₂ mu⌝-n[a- … …]
       Nk rev. 4′   [nar-a-ni lugal-ga]ba-gal₂ / [ᵈbil₃-ga-me]s-e mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄

131   Nj iii 12′   nar-mu sa-zu si-⌜bi₂-ib⌝ [a ga-a]n-na₈-n[a₈⌜-an]
       Nk rev. 5′   [nar-mu lugal-gaba-g]al₂ sa-zu! si-i₃-ib a ga-an-na₈-na₈-an
       Ma 86   nar-mu lugal-gaba-gar en₃-du-zu da-ga-ab sa-a-z[u si₃-bi-ib]

115   At that time [he was drinking ale in the house of his god,]
       the lord [Bilgames was drinking ale in the house of his god.]
       His minstrel, [Lugalgabangal, who had gone out] into the open [puking his bile,]

lifting his eye, [caught] sight of [the Bull of Heaven.]
Crouching down very low, he [went back] inside.
120   'You drink, you drink, how [long will you drink?]
O lord Bilgames, you drink, [how long will you drink?]
[Pure] Inanna has brought the Bull of Heaven [down] from the sky!
In Uruk the bull is [devouring] the grass,
in the Angilu canal it [is drinking] the water,
125   one league [*it reached*] *along* the Angilu canal, [its appetite was not sated.]
It devours the grass, it lays the earth bare,
it snaps the date-palms of Uruk, [bending them] to its mouth.
The bull, just standing there, fills (all of) Uruk,
the bull, on its own, it fills (all of) Kullab.'
130   Bilgames answered Lugalgabangal, his minstrel:
'O my minstrel, strum your strings, I'll go on drinking!'

Gilgameš's reaction to his minstrel's report falls in with the folklore motif of the hero who while at leisure receives news of a terrifying assault and, amid the panic of others, pays it no attention until he has finished enjoying himself. Another example is Sir Francis Drake, who according to legend continued a game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe as the Spanish Armada hove into view. It remains to observe that the man whose life and work are commemorated in this book was equally unflappable in a crisis and, like Gilgameš, would certainly prefer, over a precipitant response, calm reflection aided by music and beer.

Comments on lines of passages quoted above

33–34 // 45–46. Mss. A, Ne and Nh have lu_2 for ES mu-lu. For the interpretation of mu-lu-me-en-de_3-en given here (corrupt for *mu-lu-me de_3-men_3, with the possessive pronoun in the 'plural of ecstasy') see George (2003: 472 n. 100). Thorkild Jacobsen (1989: 275) read mu-lu me-en ne-en, etc., and translated 'such I am not relinquishing to you'; he supposed that Inanna was turning down Gilgameš's prior request for 'jurisdiction over Eanna', but now more of the text has come to light his exegesis is no longer tenable. Instead it seems that Inanna waylays Gilgameš, wanting to keep him all to herself, with the result that he will not be able to go about his official duties. ms. Ma has perhaps 'O my wild bull, O my man', then corrupt.

44   Others have taken $muš_3$ to be part of the wall's superstructure (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 122 'creneaux(?)', Frayne 2001: 122 'crest', Vanstiphout 2001: 191 'de top van de stadsmuur', ETCSL 'crenellations', reading $suḫ_{10}$ with Attinger 1992: 129 n. 10). I think it more suited to Inanna's role in the episode that she be waiting for clients in the lee of the wall, rather than standing on its parapet. For $muš_3$ 'base' see the *Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns* 23 and *passim*, where the word denotes the emplacement on which a temple stands. As such it is discussed by Åke Sjöberg in Sjöberg and Bergmann (1969: 55–6); note in addition the equation of $muš_2$ ($MUŠ_3$-*gunû*) and *uššu* as the 'base' of a structure grounded in the Apsû in a bilingual liturgical text (quoted by George 1992: 318).

56–7   Bendt Alster (2004: 34) reads these lines on ms. A as gud kur-ra ga-an-du_{11} tur_3-ba ga-bi_2-lu, etc., taking du_{11} as phonetic for TUKU = du_{12} 'to provide' and lu as 'to make numerous', following the parallel lines of the Gudam poem [ETCSL 1.3.4] 37–8 (ed. Alster 2004: 25):

gud kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-$šum_2$ ⌈tur_3⌉-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu
udu kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-$šum_2$ amaš-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu

To my eyes the last signs on ms. A i 12´ and 13´ were correctly copied by Zimmern on VAS 10 196 and are better ZU than LU; I therefore take them as phonetic for the Nippur tradition's clear si 'to fill'. In the absence of evidence from Nippur the first verb of these

lines is less certain and I have translated ad hoc; Douglas Frayne (2001: 123) renders it as 'I myself will call'. The *Gudam* poem offers ga-mu-ra-ab-šum₂ 'let me present to you'. Finally, Cavigneaux and Alster both read tur₃-ba and amaš-ba; in both cases there is damage and, since the animal pens are Inanna's, better sense is obtained by reading the pronouns in the second person, tur₃-zu and amaš-zu (as in *Gudam* 37–8).

117   The reading lil₂-še₃ is assured from the unpublished source. The translation of lil₂ is not a matter of consensus: the meanings usually proposed are (a) phantom, (b) haunted place, (c) wind and (d) 'nothingness', i.e., something intangible (for discussion see, inter alia, CAD Z 60, Krecher 1966: 179–80; Michalowski 1989: 98; Jacobsen 1989; Attinger 1993: 709–10; Tinney 1996: 129–30; Michalowski 1998: 240–1; Steinkeller 1999: 114 n. 36; Edzard 2003b). This understanding relies heavily on equations in lexical texts with Akkadian *šāru*, the ordinary word for 'wind', and *zaqīqu*, which signifies variously 'puff of air', 'phantom' and the god of dreams. The scholarly debate has been much concerned with the etymology and meaning of the name of Enlil; but I shall not be diverted here, where the aim is to determine what is meant by lil₂-še₃—e₃ in the line under comment.

It is not widely acknowledged that the noun lil₂ also conveys the notion of 'open air', 'outdoors'. This is most clearly seen in the compounds ub-lil₂-la and tug₂-lil₂-la₂. The former, translated by Akkadian *ibratum*, was unquestionably a simple shrine open to the street and can be rendered literally as 'niche of the open air' (George 1992: 369; Edzard 2003b: 181). A tug₂-lil₂-la₂ was a warm rug for use outdoors, typically made of felt. In Urra XIX 276–7 it is glossed with Akkadian *taḫapšu* (literally 'felt'), a blanket typically used on horses, and accompanied by tug₂-an-dul₃ = *taktīmu* 'wrap' (see recently Postgate 2000: 216; Edzard 2003b: 181); tug₂-lil₂-la₂ can be rendered literally as 'outdoor blanket'. The meaning of lil₂ in these compounds and elsewhere is given formal expression in OB Proto-*Lu* 824–5 (*MSL* 12 63), where lil₂ is glossed *ṣe-ru-um* 'open country, "steppe"', as well as *zi-qi₄-qum*, and in *A* IV/4 195 (MSL 14 387), where ᵍᵃ²⁻ˡⁱˡ²⁻ˡᵃ²GA₂×LIL₂+LA₂ 'house of the lil₂' is translated *bīt*(E₂) *ṣe-ri* 'tent'. In connected context note the description of the nomad in a hymn to Išme-Dagan (*Enlildiriše* 271–2, Sum. after Römer 1965: 53 [= ETCSL 2.5.4.01] 266–7): mar-du₂ e₂ nu-zu uruᵏⁱ nu-zu lu₂ lil₂-la₂ ḫur-sag-ga₂ tuš-a 'the Mardu, who knows neither house nor town, a man of the open air who lives in the uplands'. The late Dietz Otto Edzard (2003b: 180) rightly observed of this line: 'Hier ist wohl nicht Gespenstiches impliziert', though he translated with slightly different nuance: 'der aus der Leere, der im ansteigenden Land wohnt'.

The present line, read from the unpublished source, describes how Lugalgabangal is taken ill at a drinking party: the verb sur means 'to squeeze out', of juice and other liquids. It is new with ze₂ 'bile' but occurs with another bodily fluid in a—sur(-sur) 'to pass urine; expel semen' (PSD A/1 167; see further *Urra* X 335 (MSL 7 94): dug-a-sur-ra = *karpat šīnāti* 'chamber pot' and in LB commentaries the explanations sur = *šitennu* 'to keep urinating' and sur = *tabāku ša šīnāti* 'to pass urine', quoted in CAD Š/1 409); the phrase ze₂—sur thus means literally 'to expel bile', i.e., 'to vomit'. Thus impelled by nature's urge, Gilgameš's minstrel went out lil₂-še₃, saw the Bull of Heaven wreaking havoc in the midst of Uruk and, still bent double, staggered back inside to alert his king. Here lil₂ will hardly mean a 'haunted place', even less a 'phantom'; it simply means 'outdoors, the open air'. The expression lil₂-še₃ is thus close in meaning to bar-še₃ 'outside'. The difference between lil₂ and bar is that the latter is the tangible surface of an object or being; lil₂ is empty space. Nevertheless, the two words appear in parallel in a line of the *Uruk Lament* that describes the god's departure from the city (2, 26′, Sum. from Green 1984b: 268 [= ETCSL 2.2.5 Segment D 26]): ḫur-sag-ga₂ bar im-ma-an-dab₅(var. dib)-be₂-eš edin-lil₂-e ba-ab-[…] 'they went outside into the uplands, [*fleeing*] to the open plain'.

The influential idea, that lil₂ with reference to 'nothingness' and deserted localities (e.g., 'haunted place') derives from a meaning 'phantom' (e.g., CAD Z 60), to my mind has the

matter the wrong way round: the semantic evolution was more probably nothingness →
open air → uninhabited waste → abandoned place → haunted place. Looking at the
bilingual evidence again, where in lexical texts lil₂ is commonly equated with Akkadian
šāru 'wind' and *zaqīqu* 'puff of air', one notes that both Akkadian words are metaphors for
'nothing, emptiness'. The metaphorical uses of lil₂ and *zaqīqu* for the ghosts of men, a
demonic wraith (Akk. *lilû*), and a god responsible for bringing dreams, are explained by the
fact that spectres and dreams are empty air, neither seen nor grasped.

There are many instances in Sumerian literature where lil₂-la₂ (i.e., lil₂.ak) has been
translated 'haunted' but would just as well be served by a translation from the other end of
the word's semantic range. Accordingly, the common expression edin-lil₂-la₂ can be rendered
'open plain'; as the fate of many a city in lamentations this means an uninhabited waste.
Similarly the sug/ambar lil₂-la₂ where nets are stretched out in *Uruammairrabi* XXI 34 (ed.
Volk 1989: 197) is 'empty marshland' visited only by huntsmen. A more specific and
instructive example is a line of the hymn *Inninšagurra*: ki i[b₂-dug₄?-ga?-n]i-še₃ uruki du₆-du₆-
da e₂ ⌈e₂?⌉-lil₂-la₂-[še₃] uzug e₂-ri-a-še₃ i₃-gal₂ 'Wherever she [*gives the command*,] cities
become ruin mounds, houses become empty shells, sanctuaries become ruinfields' (Sum.
after Sjöberg 1975: 178 l. 16 [= ETCSL 4.07.3]). The parallelism of du₆, e₂-lil₂-la₂ and e₂-ri-a
in this passage speaks for itself (and occurs in other texts, e.g., the *Lamentation over the
Destruction of Sumer and Ur* 346–9, ed. Michalowski 1989: 58 [= ETCSL 2.2.3]). Haunting
seems an inessential embellishment.

131 Ms. Ma 86 can be translated 'O my minstrel, *sing* your song, [strum] your strings!', with
Cavigneaux. As Cavigneaux noted, the line is closely related to *Gudam* 15 [= ETCSL 1.3.4
Segment C 9]: nar-e en₃-du-a šu i-ni-in-gi₄ sa šu-na bi₂-in-šub, on which see now Alster
(2004: 32).

ASSYRIA AT BISITUN AND THE UNIVERSAL KINGSHIP
OF DARIUS I OF PERSIA

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The Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great of Persia is well known in Assyriology, being the vehicle for the decipherment of cuneiform in the nineteenth century.[*] It has long been understood that the inscription carries certain difficulties of historical interpretation, and that it contains topoi common to Mesopotamian royal ideology. In this essay we will examine the Bisitun inscription in light of its Assyrian precursors and discuss the possible employment of bilingual Aramaic scribes who may have carried knowledge of Assyrian ideology to the nascent Persian court. We will then consider one aspect of Assyrian ideology that may have been particularly useful to Darius's propaganda: the idea of universal victory.

HISTORICAL PROBLEMS AT BISITUN

Darius the Great's Bisitun inscription, carved high on a rock face on the road to Ecbatana in Iran, provides an account of the circumstances surrounding his tumultuous accession to the Persian throne in 522–521 BCE, both his defeat of the usurper-king Gaumata, and the crushing of numerous rebellions which broke out afterwards. At first glance, it is this historical facet of Bisitun that seems the most compelling about the monument, but there are problems in using Bisitun for historical inquiry.[1]

First, considering the similarity between Bisitun and Herodotus regarding the Gaumata episode, it is interesting that the Greek historian himself does not make much of the revolts, and nor do the other Classical authors (see Young 1988: 53).[2] He notes only a Babylonian revolt (III.150–9) and alludes to the revolt of the Medes (I.130). Second, it is clear that although the countries that Darius lists as rebellious encompassed the entire empire, the inscription concentrates on certain fronts, particularly Persia, Media and Babylonia. Egypt, for example, though enumerated in the list of rebellious countries, does not feature in the narrative (DB §21: II 5–8). Some countries, Armenia for example, do not appear from the inscription to have been comprehensively defeated.

There is also a discrepancy between the presentations of the rebellion in the inscription and in the relief. The inscription envisages the conquest on a *regional* basis, moving from west to east: Elam and Babylonia (16–23); Media, Armenia and Sagartia (24–34); Parthia-Hyrcania (35–7), Margiana (38–9); Persia (44), Arachosia and Sattagydia (45–51). By contrast, the order of the liar kings on the relief appears to be *chronological*:[3] Gaumata (Persia), Açina (Elam), Nidintu-Bel (Babylonia), Fravartish (Media), Martiya (Elam), Ciçantakhma (Sagartia), Vahyazdata (Persia), Arkha (Babylonia), Frada (Margiana), Skunkha (Scythia).[4]

These discrepancies are not difficult to explain once we understand Darius's intention in producing the monument at Bisitun.[5] The setting of the monument is vital, as Darius certainly did

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[*] Thanks are due to Jerrold Cooper and Adam Maskevich for their input on this paper. It is hoped that Jeremy, who was as comfortable conversing on the Parthians (see Black 1984) as he was on Sumerian grammar, would have appreciated this glance to the East.

[1] For a historiographical discussion of Bisitun studies see Dandamaev 1976: 1–22; for historical problems see Briant 2002: 114–15.

[2] For discussion of Herodotus and Bisitun, see Balcer 1987.

[3] In this the relief follows the summary of DB §52: IV 2–31, which also follows a chronological order contrary to the rest of the inscription.

[4] For historical reasoning and references see Briant 2002: 116, notes pp. 899–900.

[5] For detailed discussion see Wiesehöfer 1978.

not choose the site randomly. First, Bisitun mountain had religious significance and was already known in the Achaemenid period as *bagastana ('place of the gods').[6] Second, the caravan route from Babylonia to Iran, later known as the Silk Road, ran by the mountain. This would have made the monument visible to passing traffic. Third, it was near the site in Media where Darius had succeeded in killing the usurper Gaumata, the central event of the Bisitun propaganda. Fourth, one of the models for Darius's relief (that of a Lullubian king at Sar-i Pul) was in the same region. Thus the site of Bisitun provided religious meaning and historical context for Darius's message, and was situated in the very region where the rebellion had had its centre and where numerous travellers would see it. Wiesehöfer (1996: 13) rightly states that the inscription is 'doubtless a form of royal self-portrayal and propaganda', and makes a comparison with the *res gestae* of Augustus.[7] This comparison is not without merit, as it reminds us of the inscription's *raison d'être*: to advertise the legitimacy of the new regime. Indeed Darius's legitimacy is contrasted with the alleged *illegitimacy* of others whose crime is one of impersonation: like Gaumata, a further four kings arise claiming to be someone they are not (according to Darius).[8] Copies of the inscription (like the *res gestae*) were distributed to be read (or listened to) across the empire. This was important, as the inscription at Bisitun, being 60 metres up a mountain, could not have been read, even by the literate. We have fragmentary versions of the inscription in Akkadian from Babylon[9] and in Aramaic from Elephantine.[10] In Babylon a piece of relief has also been found, showing that some of the copies of the text had a visual complement.

BISITUN'S LITERARY AND ARTISTIC ANCESTRY

In interpreting Bisitun as a piece of royal ideology rather than history, we must compare the monument and its inscription to its precursors in ancient Near Eastern royal propaganda. We have already mentioned Sar-i Pul, and Darius must certainly have had this local monument in mind when he envisaged Bisitun (see Root 1979: 196–201). In Mesopotamia, the symbol of the victorious king goes back to the Uruk period, and the image of the oversized king standing over defeated enemies reminds us of Naram-Sin's victory stele. As for the use of language on the inscription, Olmstead (1948: 120–8) pointed out what he saw as points of commonality in Darius's inscriptions and the Code of Hammurabi. Other similarities could be provided, but for the purposes of this essay we will concentrate on the Persian empire's *immediate* precursors.

Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions focus almost exclusively on the building works of kings and not on their military conquests, the latter being the main narrative thrust of Bisitun. Similarly, there was no Persian tradition of military compositions. The Bisitun text is the only Old Persian inscription that contains information on political events; the others are simply statements of royal power without much historical detail. For a chronologically close literary and monumental ancestor we must then turn to Assyria.[11] When comparing Bisitun with Assyrian royal inscriptions and reliefs we can see the following characteristics:[12]

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[6] According to Ctesias (cited by Diodorus II.13.2), Bisitun was dedicated to Zeus. When Alexander visited the site he was reportedly impressed by the gardens surrounding the mountain (Diodorus XVII.110, 5).

[7] Briant 2002: 110 describes it as Darius's 'founder legend'.

[8] Nidintu-Bel (Babylon) = Nebuchadnezzar, Martiya (Elam) = Ummannish, Fravartish (Media) = Xshathrita, Arakha (Babylon) = Nebuchadnezzar. One senses a topos here. Is there perhaps one impersonator too many for us to take this seriously?

[9] Von Voigtlander 1978; Seidl 1976.

[10] Probably a student copy from the reign of Darius II, proof perhaps of the text's importance (Greenfield and Porten 1982).

[11] This paper will concentrate on Assyrian influences on Persia. For an important discussion of Elamite influence on Persian ideology see Henkelman 2003. Root 1979: 194 notes, however, that Elam has yielded no prototypes for the Bisitun victory motif. For a brief discussion of Assyrian influence on Persia see Dandamaev 1995.

[12] According to Root 1979: 184, the 'uniqueness of the Behistun relief as an imperial Achaemenid victory monument' makes it worthy of comparison with the art of other cultures. It is now becoming popular to speak of a 1st millennium 'intellectual koinè' of sorts (see Pongratz-Leisten 2000: 215).

Artistic[13]

The 11th-century Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala shows the king standing before two pairs of foreign captives.[14] Above the scene, two hands reach out towards the king from a rayed disc. The whole scene commemorates in one tableau victories over peoples that in fact occurred at different times (Root 1979: 202–3). The 7th-century twin stelae of Esarhaddon (at Zinjirli and Til Barsib) have a similar configuration.[15] On Assyrian palace reliefs we often find the king facing a line of officials, sometimes a prostrate enemy leader, and the captives of a fallen city. Behind the king stand one or more attendants. Examples include reliefs from Assurnasirpal II,[16] Shalmaneser III,[17] Tiglath-pileser III,[18] Sargon II,[19] Sennacherib,[20] and Assurbanipal,[21] although in general they tend to be more 'complex' and often more violent than Bisitun's relatively simple form.

The motif of the king with attendants/weapon bearers standing behind him dates to the 9th century BCE in Assyria.[22] In later periods it is more common for the king to be shown standing in a chariot, or enthroned, but there are exceptions (e.g., Assurbanipal's lion-slaying from Nineveh).[23] Regarding the attendants at Bisitun, Root (1979: 209) has noted that:

The appearance here of the king's mortal helpers brings the Behistun relief out of the realm of semi-mythical heroism which we encounter in the third millennium (e.g. at Sar-i Pul)[24] and into the domain of historical activity—a domain in which the representation of the king's relationship to specific loyal court personages is significant.

The similarity between the winged disc of Ahuramazda and that of Assur is obvious.[25] The message in both traditions is that the god has enabled the king's victory in battle. The anthropomorphic Assur symbol as a participant in the victory of the king is found no later than the ninth century in Assyria;[26] in glyptic art, however, the figure of the winged Assur survives through to the end of the Neo-Assyrian period.[27] Other Assyrian-Bisitun similarities include hairstyle and facial characteristics, the bows carried by the attendants, and the type of robes worn.[28]

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[13] The relationship between Mesopotamian and Persian art has recently been discussed by Westenholz 2000.

[14] Börker-Klahn 1982: #131; RIMA 2 A.0.89.7

[15] Zinjirli: Börker-Klahn 1982: #219; Til Barsip: Börker-Klahn 1982: #217, 218.

[16] E.g., the throne room of the NW palace at Nimrud (Root 1979: pl. 54b). Assurnasirpal faces right to greet an approaching official; a captive leader kisses his feet; two attendants stand behind him; bound prisoners march toward him.

[17] Balawat Gates (Barnett 1960: pls. 157–60). The king receives officers who announce the arrival of bound prisoners.

[18] The relief shows him standing on the neck of a fallen captive (Root 1979: pl. 54a).

[19] Room VII at Khorsabad (Root 1979: pl. 53b). Sargon faces a kneeling prisoner, with two bound captives close behind.

[20] An enthroned Sennacherib receives prisoners (Root 1979: pl. 42).

[21] Assurbanipal's triumph over Shamash-shum-ukin (Root 1979: pl. 55a).

[22] For discussion see Reade 1972: 87–112.

[23] Root 1979: pl. 55b. The king is shown larger than his attendant.

[24] Also Naram-Sin's victory stele (Börker-Klahn 1982: #31).

[25] Root's discussion (1979: 169–76, 210–13) is useful in summarizing the evidence. In question is whether the Persian winged-figure is Ahuramazda, an idea rejected by the orthodox Zoroastrian community who do not believe in making images of their god (and who assume that this was always the case). Also, Herodotus (I.132) states that the Persians did not make images of their gods. Root (with clear reasoning) rejects these notions, as does Briant 2002: 126, who notes that Ahuramazda is the only individual with whom Darius establishes a dialogue in the inscription, a relationship mirrored by the winged-figure offering the ring to Darius. This is a classic investiture scene and the inscription affirms that it is to Ahuramazda that Darius owes his kingship.

[26] The 11th-century Broken Obelisk of Assur-bel-kala has two hands emerging from a rayed disc reaching towards the king. In form, however, the Bisitun figure resembles more closely the iconography of the 9th century (e.g., from Assurnasirpal's NW palace at Nimrud: see Root 1979: pls. 45a–b, 46a–b).

[27] See Root 1979: 172 and *passim*.

[28] See Root 1979: 215–7.

Literary

Darius sums up his achievements by stating that what he did, he did 'in one and the same year' (DB IV 4, 41, 45, 52). Because of this, scholars have often tried to cram Darius's victories into one year, but as Nylander (1994: 58) points out, they have been 'chasing the wrong fox'.[29] Tadmor (1980: 16) has stated that in Assyrian royal inscriptions a 'central, ideologically conditioned motif is that of a warrior-king who performs mighty deeds in a single year, which has to be his first "term of office"'. The idea, of course, goes back as far as Naram-Sin who was victorious 'in nine battles in one year'.[30] It is, as Tadmor states, an 'epic-heroic convention'. Darius himself shows awareness of this tradition (and claims to improve upon it):

Says Darius the king: those who were the former kings, as long as they lived, by them was not done thus as by the favour of Ahuramazda was done by me in one and the same year. (DB §59: IV 50–2)[31]

This is reminiscent of Tukulti-Ninurta I's victory over Katmuhu (ARI 1 #689a), where the author of the inscription 'intended to convey the impression that Katmuhu, as well as the lands from Kashiari to Alzi, all introduced by *ina šattima šiāti*, were all conquered very shortly after the conquest of Uqumani: to wit, in the first year of reign' (Tadmor 1980: 15).

Darius was not shy in doling out gruesome punishments to the rebels. Fravartish the Mede was particularly unfortunate:

I cut off his nose and ears and tongue, and put out an eye; he was kept bound at my palace entrance, all the people saw him. Afterward I impaled him at Ecbatana; and the men who were his foremost followers, those at Ecbatana within the fortress I (flayed and) hung out (their hides, stuffed with straw). (DB §32: II 73–8)

Such extreme punishment is, of course, reminiscent of Assyrian custom in dealing with rebels. It should be noted, however, that Persian *art* tends to avoid the explicit depiction of violence (see Root 1979: 226).

As we have seen, the Bisitun inscription's narrative order seems to follow geography and not chronology, contrary to the relief.[32] Similarly, Neo-Assyrian palace inscriptions normally arrange events according to geographical and not chronological order. These are 'Display Texts with Military Conquest' (Grayson 1980: 153) and were intended for public display. The inclusion of military events, Grayson (1980: 154) reminds us, was 'a distinctively Assyrian feature' and was intended to proclaim royal achievements either in the palace, or (in the case of stelae and rock inscriptions) 'on the field.' One of Esarhaddon's texts (Borger 1956: §27) is a good example of this geographical ordering of conquest, and shares many other features with Bisitun (including his controversial rise to power and his claim to legitimacy via genealogy):

1. Esarhaddon lists his epithets and genealogy.
2. He gives an account of the rebellion of his brothers and his victory over them.
3. He enumerates his piety: with the help of the gods he rules from east to west.
4. He describes how numerous vassals rebel against Assyria. Chronology is unimportant, the rebellions simply taking place 'in those days' *(ina umēšuma)*. Esarhaddon restores order over the various states/peoples of the empire either through direct intervention, or through renewed tribute obligations and alliances.
5. Esarhaddon enriches the cultic sites of Mesopotamia, enlarges Nineveh, and holds a grand festival.

Here the emphasis is on Esarhaddon's universal kingship, not on any chronological ordering of

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[29] For an example of the kind of mental gymnastics required to fit the events of Bisitun into one year, see Poebel 1938. Hallock 1960 realised the futility of taking Darius at face value on this matter.

[30] Frayne 1993 nos. E2.1.4.9–13.

[31] DB translations from Kent 1953.

[32] A mismatch between text and art is also true for the siege reliefs of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, where 'the pictures of identified campaigns do not exactly follow the chronological sequence of the text' (Güterbock 1957: 68).

historical events. As in Darius's account, events begin at home then move geographically through the empire.

Pongratz-Leisten (2000) has recently studied the motif of the 'Lie' in Mesopotamia and Persia, tracing its use from Sargon of Akkad[33] to Darius and beyond. Sargon II, for example, uses the topos of the 'Lie' in the accounts of his military actions against rebellious princes.[34] At Bisitun, Darius explains the rebellion of the people under Cambyses in terms of the Lie (drauga):

When Cambyses had gone off to Egypt, after that the people became evil. After that the Lie waxed great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces. (DB §10: I 34–5)

In contrast to these 'lying kings', Darius's legitimacy is heralded at the beginning of the Bisitun inscription, with the establishment of his titulature, his ethnicity, his genealogy back to an eponymous hero, and the eternal nature of his rulership. These motifs of legitimisation are also present on the Zinjirli inscription of Esarhaddon, who, like Darius, acceded to the throne under less than ideal circumstances. Indeed,

all the rhetorical elements effectively composed by the scribes of Esarhaddon to mobilize the acceptance of his successors and the gods are used by Darius to create his own fiction of a legitimate kingship and to distinguish himself from the so-called lying kings. (Pongratz-Leisten 2000: 233)

The artistic and literary parallels between Bisitun and the works of Assyrian kings are striking. It must be noted, of course, that the Persians did not slavishly ape the art of other cultures, but subtly reworked the *Machtkunst* of others into a Persian style (see Nylander 1979). It will now be our task to discuss how the *Machtkunst* of an empire that was long dead when Darius took the throne made its way to Persia.

THE ELUSIVE PERSIAN-ASSYRIAN LINK
The 'Assyrianising' of Bisitun (in style and in ideological purpose) and of certain other examples of Persian art and writing raise an interesting question: as Persia was not the direct heir of the Assyrian empire, how did these ideas arrive at the Persian court? What was the 'channel of transmission' (Lanfranchi et al. 2003: 405)? Roaf (2003: 15) provides three possibilities:

1) Assyrian influence reached Persia before the fall of Nineveh
   This may have occurred as a result of Assyrian campaigns in Iran, a certain familiarity with Assyrian imports, booty and the minor arts (Root 1979: 283), or time spent in the Assyrian court by 'Persian' nobles, such as Cyrus I's eldest son, Arukku, who was sent together with tribute to Assurbanipal's court at Nineveh (Radner 1998: 135).

2) Direct observation of Assyrian monuments and inscriptions by Persians
   According to Dalley (1993), Assyrian palace decoration was not utterly destroyed during the sack of Assyria.[35] Roaf believes that Persians were influenced by regional Assyrian palaces in Media. As regards Assyrian inscriptions, we know of Cyrus's own interest in the work of his Assyrian precursors: he celebrated, for example, the finding of one of Assurbanipal's texts when he invaded Babylon (Berger 1975).[36]

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[33] Sargon C 9 43–7 (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 183)

[34] For example, the conspiracy of Amitashi of Karalla: 'he sent mendacious messages to Ada, untruthful words (*dabāb lā kitti*) to instigate hostility against me' (Fuchs 1998: 23 IIb/c 5).

[35] The post-612 BCE 'Assyrian' textual material from Dur-Katlimmu in Syria is also evidence for a continuation of Assyrian culture (see Radner 2002: 16–19).

[36] Yale fragment NBC 2504 joined to the Cyrus cylinder.

3) Assyrian influence was transmitted through another culture, probably Media

Roaf (2003: 16) considers Media to be 'the most plausible conduit through which Assyrian influence travelled to Persia'. This view is reliant on the image of Media as an empire in the classical sources.[37] Liverani (2003), writing in the same volume as Roaf, reminds us of a critical problem with this alleged Median conduit: there is a distinct lack of indigenous archaeological or textual evidence for a Median empire.[38] We are thus left with a rather large 'Median gap' or Dark Age in which the exchange between Assyria and Persia is supposed to have taken place. Liverani and Henkelman (2003) prefer to see Persia as the heir of Elam rather than Media (after all, Cyrus called himself king of Anshan, Susa became an Achaemenid capital, and Elamite was the language of Persian administrative documents).

As Roaf (2003: 15) suggests, a combination of the above is possible and none of them can be ruled out.[39] Assyria clearly left a cultural imprint on Persia, but exactly how this happened remains unclear. At this point I would like to tentatively and only briefly suggest another channel whereby Assyrian ideas reached Persia: the activity of scribes in Persia who were either Assyrian, or who inherited a certain sensibility for Assyrian culture.

We know that people designated as Assyrians lived and worked in Persia. A few tablets from Persepolis mention Assyrian workers (Kuhrt 1995: 242); delegations of Assyrians are shown bearing tribute at Persepolis (Briant 2002: 175); and throne bearers at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam are identified as Assyrian (Briant 2002: 174; Schmidt 1970: fig. 49, no. 17). We can imagine that such workers may have known something of Assyrian imperial art. Unfortunately we are never certain whether people labelled as 'Assyrian' are 'Assyrian' or 'Syrian', as the Persian satrapy of Assyria (VIII) covered both Assyria and much of Syria. We therefore need to look for Assyrians (i.e., people from the traditional Assyrian heartland) in more subtle ways.

As Aramaic became the lingua franca of the Persian empire, it was necessary to employ bi-(or multi-)lingual scribes (*sepīru*) to work in the chancelleries and temples. There are possible Assyrian links to the *sepīru*. An Assyrian (or descendant of Assyrians) may have worked as the *sepīru* (perhaps) of Cambyses (Ab-da-AN.ŠÁR; see Zadok 1984a: 12).[40] Zadok (1986: 287) has noted that Aramaic-speaking Assyrians migrated into Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenid periods following the collapse of Assyria.[41] At the same time, Aramaic dockets begin to appear in Babylonia. Zadok (1986: 287) argues that the Aramaic script was introduced into Babylonia by Assyrians (in their broadest sense). Coming from a background where Aramaic writing had become equal to if not dominant over cuneiform, Assyrians, or rather Assyrian scribes, may have been the only bureaucrats in Babylonia who were initially able to write in Aramaic. When Persia took control of Babylonia, there may have been a proportion of 'Assyrian' scribes who were employed to write in Aramaic for their new masters.[42]

We know that Mesopotamian scribes worked in Persia, although none are labelled as 'Assyrian'. The Fortification Tablets refer to 'Babylonian scribes writing on leather',[43] presumably referring to scribes of Aramaic. If we follow Zadok's argument, Aramaic scribes from Babylonia may have had Assyrian heritage. Thus we have another potential Assyrian-Persian 'channel of transmission'.[44] If

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[37] For a brief summary of the 'Median problem' see Liverani 2003.

[38] See Sancisi-Weerdenburg's seminal paper (1988) on the non-existence of the Median empire.

[39] The fact that east-west contacts did occur in the centuries preceding the Persian empire is demonstrated by the Aramaic Bukan stele from eighth-century Iran (see Fales 2003).

[40] Note, however, that the theophoric element of the name could be read ᵈŠÁR = Iššār (with aphaeresis) rather than Aššur (see Bongenaar 1997: 109 with references; also Parpola *apud* Radner 1998: xxv).

[41] On the subject of Assyrians and Assyrian culture in Babylon after the fall of Assyria see Beaulieu 1997.

[42] On the integration of Assyrian culture and the Aramaic language see Parpola 2004.

[43] PF 1808, 1810, 1947; PF-NN T-61, T-1255, T-1752, T-1775. See Stolper 1984: 305. In Stolper's article he discusses the existence of Babylonian scribes and Babylonian enclaves in Persia.

[44] That Assyrians 'survived' in Babylonia until the Persian period is the suggestion of Seidl 2000: 954, who notes that the two Babylonian 'liar-kings' who claim to be sons of Nabonidus are depicted as Assyrians on the Bisitun relief. Mayer 1998: 254, 260 believes that Adad-Guppi, the mother of Nabonidus, was an Assyrian (disputed by Schaudig 2001: 1011 n. 168).

Assyrian/Babylonian-Aramaic scribes had any hand in the construction of the Bisitun inscription (other than simple translation), it may also help explain some of the similarities and differences between the different versions of the text. This is not the place to become embroiled in the question of Bisitun text criticism,[45] but there does seem to be a consensus that the Aramaic and Akkadian texts are more closely related than they are to the Elamite and Persian versions. We can imagine that Aramaic scribes fashioned their own version of the Bisitun story (just as Iranians did for Elamite and Old Persian) where it was then promulgated throughout the Aramaic-speaking empire (see DB §70: IV 88–92). They also 'translated' it from Aramaic into Akkadian. The secondary nature of the Akkadian inscription might explain why its language has certain idiosyncrasies.

UNIVERSALISM AT BISITUN

The ideological theme of Bisitun, prominent also in Darius's tomb inscription and adapted from (amongst other sources) Assyrian norms, is of a legitimate king achieving *universal* victory over disorder. Simply put, it is a monument whose historicity should not be taken too seriously. That is not to say that there is no history at Bisitun, but is instead a reminder that we should proceed cautiously. As Tadmor (1980: 13) states with regard to Assyrian propaganda, 'the discrepancy between ideology, literary form and reality is blatant in cases of usurpation of the throne or irregular succession'. In Assyria, there were two ways in which historical events were made to conform to reality: one, a genealogical formula of legitimacy is provided, and two, military and pious events are heralded with much bombast but not always with a regard for chronology or accuracy. We have seen this with Esarhaddon, and Bisitun certainly belongs to this tradition.

Having established his legitimacy as rightful heir to the Persian throne, Darius goes on at Bisitun to claim that his victory was *universal*. *All* foreign (and potentially chaotic) lands are included in the inscription in order to stamp Darius's imperial ideology across the *whole* empire— from Egypt to the Indus—whether or not they participated significantly in any kind of rebellion (Egypt) or were indeed defeated (Armenia). Such is Bisitun's central concern, and attempts to see the portrayal of accurate history in the inscription miss the point. For example, Briant (2002: 116) explains the lack of a chronological flow in the inscription thus: 'because the military operations played out on several fronts at the same time, the compilers of the inscription did not follow a chronological plan'. But if we understand the Assyrian-style universalism inherent in Bisitun, who Darius conquered and when become less important.

In reality, the most dangerous rebellions were centred closer to home, either in Elam, Media, or Persia, or perennially insurgent Babylon.[46] Some of the other revolts described at Bisitun (and ignored by Herodotus) were low-key affairs with swift conclusions and low casualty figures (when given). Young (1988: 63) suggests that the sending out of loyal generals to these places was more a question of administrative overhaul than the suppression of revolt, whereas the revolts centred on Media have the look of civil war among Iranian groups. Darius is anxious to paint Gaumata as a Magian and therefore a *Median* priest. The Babylonian version specifically labels Gaumata as a Mede, and Darius eventually slays Gaumata in a Median fortress, where he had taken refuge (DB §13: I 48–61). Herodotus reports that the Magi were, after the revolt, held in poor repute among the Persians (III.79) and even has the dying Cambyses plead that the Persians 'not tamely allow the kingdom to go back to the Medes' (III.65). Was this rebellion, in its essence, a story of Mede against Persian at a time only 28 years distant from Cyrus' defeat of Astyages? To paint Darius as the natural and legitimate heir to Cyrus is one of the Bisitun monument's prime functions.

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[45] Henkelman 2003: 187–8 has a brief but cogent summary of the arguments and the literature concerning the primacy of the Old Persian and/or Elamite versions (he settles on Elamite). Von Voigtlander 1978: 7 believes that the ur-text was dictated by Darius in one of the Old Iranian languages. Bivar 1998 argues for the primacy of the Aramaic version over the Akkadian based of a more accurate rendering of the toponym ʾlwk that is apparent in the Aramaic. We can imagine therefore the following evolution of the text: Old Iranian (oral) > Elamite, Aramaic > Old Persian, Akkadian. On the Old Persian version as a back-translation from Elamite (a process called alloglottography) see Gershevitch 1979.

[46] Even the Sagartian rebel claims to be a descendant of the Median king Cyaxares (DB 32).

At whom was this message of universal legitimacy aimed? Bisitun mountain's prominence placed its message within the public realm and seems to lay symbolic claim over the heart of the empire. Copies of the inscription within the satrapies also suggest the attempt to bring Darius's message 'to the people.' But in comparing Bisitun to Assyrian royal inscriptions we are reminded also that the audience of these inscriptions was not solely terrestrial. Many of the texts that expound Assyrian ideology were buried as building foundations, and those written on monuments, reliefs and colossi, must have been, as Van De Mieroop (1999: 56) states, 'incomprehensible to the large majority of, non-literate, people'. Thus a second, perhaps even primary, audience were the gods. Of course, the question of audience is difficult[47] but to ignore the genuine concern for divine approval is to ignore an important aspect of all Near Eastern rulers, whose primary concern, contrary to modern Orientalistic perception, was not simply power and domination.

In this regard we are reminded again that Bisitun was sacred ground, and the inscription on the monument, even to the literate, could not have been read. Was it then intended to catch the eye of the divine and thus bring approval upon Darius? By placing Darius's victory in a worldwide setting Bisitun certainly intended to convince the empire of Darius's primacy, but it also invoked the religious power of *bagastana*, the holy mountain at the frontier of Persia, to make and keep Darius's victory universal.

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[47] See Van De Mieroop 1999: 57–9 and *passim* for a summary of the question of audience.

UN FESTIVAL NIPPURITE À L'ÉPOQUE PALÉOBABYLONIENNE

Fabienne Huber Vulliet—Munich

Les deux tablettes d'Istanbul Ni 2426 (A) et Ni 2436 (B) dont la translittération est ajoutée en annexe de cet article ont été éditées par M.I. Çığ en 1992. Ces documents administratifs offrent une excellente illustration de la richesse que peut receler un acte comptable à première vue rebutant. Je dédie leur étude à la mémoire de Jeremy Black.[1]

CONTEXTE

Les tablettes proviennent de Nippur et sont datées du second mois de la vingt-et-unième année de Rim-Sin, le dernier roi de la première dynastie de Larsa (1822–1762). D'après ses noms d'années attestés à Nippur, il avait perdu le contrôle de la ville dans sa neuvième année et le récupérait entre sa dix-neuvième et vingtième année. Les deux listes enregistrent les dépenses destinées aux représentants des principales institutions nippurites, religieuses et civiles. Le second mois (iti gud-si-su) était celui du festival en l'honneur de la divinité poliade Ninurta et, bien que la rubrique ne mentionne pas explicitement cette occasion ($izim_x$[2] gud-si-su), les dépenses pourraient être liées à son festival. La tablette A porte la date du seizième jour (iv 21),[3] trop tard pour la célébration de la pleine lune ($eš_3$-$eš_3$ u_4-15) (Sallaberger 1993: I 46–7), mais elle précède de quelques jours le début du festival.[4] Le libellé des deux tablettes indique que la viande devait encore être apprêtée: (gud udu ḫi-a) e_2-e gu_7-u_3-dam, 'boeufs et moutons variés, à manger au temple'.[5] Parmi les sacerdoces énumérés, les mieux représentés appartenaient au clergé de Ninurta et la présence de six musiciens-tigi de Ninurta sur la seconde tablette indique que les festivités incluaient des louanges au dieu (B iii 14).

Ces listes sont exceptionnelles à plus d'un titre. La présence de l'échanson royal (sagi lugal, A i 17, B ii 8) confirme que Rim-Sin possédait à nouveau ses entrées dans la capitale religieuse.[6] L'institution émettant ces décomptes n'est pas identifiée, mais la rubrique $ša_3$ nibru^{ki}, « à Nippur » (A iv 12, B i 3) indique qu'elle centralisait les dépenses à destination non seulement des temples, mais également des autorités de la ville et d'un palais. À qui appartenait-il ? Au roi de Larsa, à son plénipotentiaire dans la région, au gouverneur ? Ces deux listes n'apportent aucune réponse. L'existence d'une institution suprarégionale durant l'époque paléobabylonienne a plusieurs fois été évoquée, mais les informations pour la localiser font toujours défaut (Robertson 1984: 152–5, 157). Relevons toutefois que cette organisation n'est pas sans évoquer le système de redistribution mis en place par les rois d'Ur III à la fin du troisième millénaire (abattoirs royaux de Puzriš-Dagan).

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[1] Je remercie Walther Sallaberger qui a gracieusement accepté de relire cet article. Ses remarques judicieuses ont nourri ma réflexion.

[2] Les lectures qui ne suivent pas MZl (Borger 2004) sont basées sur les propositions de lecture de Pascal Attinger. Qu'il soit remercié ici de m'en avoir fourni la liste. Entre-temps a été édité le syllabaire *aBZL* (Mittermayer et Attinger 2006) où on trouvera les lectures définitives.

[3] Au lieu de l'habituelle notation u_4 16-kam, le chiffre 16 est inscrit sur la tranche, après le mois et l'année. Il ne fait cependant aucun doute qu'il fait référence au jour et non aux dépenses.

[4] La fête gudsisu était célébré du 22ème au 24ème jour (Sallaberger 1993: I 114–15). Voir aussi Cohen 1993a: 86–9.

[5] Dans les textes d'Ur III, l'expression $niĝ_2$ gu_7-a en contexte cultuel désigne les denrées distribuées directement au personnel du temple ou aux participants de la cérémonie et non pas les offrandes adressées aux divinités (MVN 19 108; HSS 4 108; BBVO 11 265, 5 N-T 435).

[6] Pour le rôle politico-religieux de Nippur durant la période paléobabylonenne cf. Sallaberger 1997: 157–63.

A et B sont deux listes de dépenses destinées à l'ensemble des hauts dignitaires de la ville. Elles offrent ainsi un aperçu de la composition de l'élite locale, y compris les membres influents des clergés de la ville. On notera aussi que les hauts sacerdoces des temples nippurites étaient en majeure partie occupés par des femmes.

PRÉSENTATION DES ENREGISTREMENTS

A et B sont deux tablettes à quatre colonnes qui consistent en listes de dépenses de gros et de petit bétail. Il manque en B les trois premières lignes de la première colonne où figuraient le total et le motif des dépenses. Les destinataires sont enregistrés par groupes et une majeure partie d'entre eux est présente dans les deux textes. A est un décompte destiné à un entrepôt de viande (e_2-uzu)[7] daté du seizième jour du mois, avec destinataires, total et libellé. B est un bilan structuré sur le modèle saĝ niĝ$_2$-gur$_{11}$-ra / ša$_3$-bi-ta / ib$_2$-taka$_4$, en termes comptables l'actif, les déductions et le reste (Sigrist 1984: 26–7). La différence entrait dans les comptes du palais (e_2-gal-še$_3$). Les deux tablettes enregistrent des sorties de viande de boeuf et de mouton. En A, la viande de boeuf était divisée en parts appelées uzu gud;[8] d'après le total, une portion de boeuf équivalait approximativement au dixième de l'animal.[9] B détaille les carcasses en portions appelées *mālakum* (i 5);[10] le *mālakum* de boeuf équivaut au sumérien uzu gud utilisé en A et pèse également un dixième de l'animal. L'équivalence repose sur la quantité de viande distribuée aux récipiendaires selon le système des deux tablettes. L'intitulé du bilan (B i 5: gud udu *ma-la-kum ma-la-kum* / gud udu-me) indique comment interpréter des chiffres inscrits dans les quatre subdivisions de la première colonne.[11] Les parts de mouton étaient reportées dans la quatrième section (i 15, i 27, iv 5).

À l'origine de ces décomptes se trouvent vraisemblablement les célébrations nippurites en l'honneur de la divinité poliade Ninurta, mais certains points distinguent les deux textes :

- Contrairement à A, B enregistre des parts (*mālakum*) de mouton.
- Les quantités varient entre les deux décomptes: est particulièrement problématique le fait que les dépenses reportées sur le bilan (B) sont parfois inférieures à celles du décompte A.
- La liste des récipiendaires du bilan B ne reflète pas toujours celle des participants enregistrés en A. La fonction des destinataires est un des éléments à partir desquels on peut inférer le motif des dépenses. Les changements survenant entre les deux groupes des chantres et musiciens sont significatifs puisque le répertoire de ceux-ci était lié à la divinité qu'ils servaient; ainsi la présence des chanteuses de Ninlil en A *versus* celle des musiciens de Ninurta en B.
- Certaines dépenses de B concernent des rituels absents en A.

Excepté les quantités, la nature des dépenses est identique dans les deux documents. Les différences ne concernent que les participants et les évènements enregistrés. Il semble donc que les tablettes A et B se rapportent à deux journées distinctes des festivités locales.

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[7] On retrouve l'e_2-uzu dans quelques textes paléobabyloniens de Nippur publiés par Van De Mieroop 1986 nos. 24–31. Deux types de viande entraient dans l'e_2-uzu, du bélier non débité (udu nita) et du mouton rôti ou grillé (al-šeĝ$_6$-ĝa$_2$).

[8] La qualité des parts de viande n'est pas précisée, il s'agit uniquement d'un décompte quantitatif qui ne fournit pas d'indication sur la préparation de la viande. Une archive assez similaire est aussi connue par les textes de Mari, cf. Durand 1983: 64–74.

[9] 16 gud et 64 uzu gud pour un total de 23 gud ḫi-a dans le texte A, donc 7 boeufs équivalent à 64 parts.

[10] Dans les textes paléobabyloniens mariotes, le mouton était débité en dix et le boeuf en sept *mālakum* (Durand 1983: 67).

[11] En suivant l'intitulé de B, la 1ère subdivision correspond aux boeufs, la 2ème aux moutons, la 3ème aux parts de boeuf (*mālakum* <gud>), et la 4ème aux parts de mouton (*mālakum* <udu>). Les parts de boeufs en B sont ainsi enregistrées après les moutons contrairement à A. Nous suivons donc dans la transcription de B le système adopté par le scribe: les entrées vides sont indiquées par un zéro.

LE DÉROULEMENT DES FESTIVITÉS

Les récipiendaires sont enregistrés par groupes et les deux textes ne contiennent aucune indication permettant de restituer en détail le déroulement des événements. Dans les deux cas se déroulaient un banquet (kaš de$_2$-a),[12] des rites dans le temple ainsi qu'une procession. Tout ou partie des festivités était ponctuée de chants et de louanges. Toutefois, A et B faisant référence à deux journées différentes, il est possible de restituer grossièrement la nature des festivités. En comparant le contenu de ces deux documents avec ce que nous savons du calendrier religieux du deuxième mois à l'époque néosumérienne, il est probable que A enregistre des événements antérieurs à ceux rapportés en B:

- La tablette A datant du seizième jour, elle devrait consigner le début du festival, voire des cérémonies préliminaires.[13]
- Une partie des célébrations ont lieu dans l'Ešumeša puisque A enregistre deux portiers du ki lukur-ra (« le lieu des prêtresses lukur », A iii 20).[14] Ils sont absents de B ce qui pourrait indiquer que nous nous trouvons hors du temple de Ninurta.[15]
- B enregistre des rations pour le surveillant des pêcheurs (B iv 6: ugula ŠU.HA). Les offrandes de poissons marquaient sous Ur III le point culminant du festival, au troisième et dernier jour (Cohen 1993: 88; Sallaberger 1993: I 117).
- L'ultime enregistrement de B est le sacrifice d'un mouton sur le bateau d'Utu (et de?) Nergal (de) Larsa: il évoque indéniablement le départ de l'embarcation pour Larsa. La délégation de Larsa quittait peut-être Nippur en même temps.

La reconstitution suivante est une tentative de marier les indications succinctes contenues dans ces deux documents avec les informations fournies par les textes administratifs d'Ur III et les textes littéraires.[16]

Célébrations préliminaires ou premier jour du festival gudsisu (A)

Ainsi que nous l'avons mentionné, l'enregistrement des participants par groupe masque l'enchaînement des célébrations de la journée. Elles sont donc présentées ici en suivant l'enregistrement comptable, sans faire prévaloir une succession chronologique. Les célébrations comprenaient trois aspects importants: le banquet public, les cérémonies dans l'Ešumeša et probablement une procession.

'Banquet de la ville', kaš de$_2$-a iri^{ki} (A i 1–4)

iri^{ki} étant un génitif ('de la ville'), nous savons tout au plus qu'il avait lieu en présence des citoyens nippurites. Il n'était donc pas réservé exclusivement au personnel du temple de Ninurta. Le nombre et l'identité des participants sont inconnus, mais cinq boeufs et trente moutons sont dépensés à cette occasion. Se déroulait-il hors de l'Ešumeša mais dans le quartier religieux? Dans les textes A et B, ces banquets célébraient Ninurta, mais ils honoraient également ses prêtresses lukur.[17] Elles

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[12] Voir RlA 10: 99–100, Opfer, 'libation de bière', 'banquet'.

[13] Pour l'existence de telles liturgies (e$_2$ ku$_6$ nu-gu$_7$ durant Ur III), voir Sallaberger 1993: I 117. Un texte administratif datant du règne de Hammurabi atteste le déroulement de travaux préparatoires (placage de la table de Ninurta) effectués par les orfèvres dans l'Ešumeša jusqu'au seizième jour du mois (OIC 22 10, 11 N-T 28). Les célébrations en l'honneur de Ninurta pouvaient commencer dès le jour suivant.

[14] Pour le ki lukur, voir Sigrist 1984: 163.

[15] Sous Ur III, les rituels célébrés durant les deux premiers jours du festival paraissaient se dérouler avant tout dans l'Ešumeša. Au troisième jour, Ninurta et Nuska se rendaient dans leur cella située à l'intérieur du complexe de l'Ekur (Sallaberger 1993: I 118).

[16] Les sources administratives et les textes littéraires sont discutés par Cohen 1993: 83–9 et Sallaberger 1993: I 114–22.

[17] La discussion sur le statut de la lukur (prêtresse ou non) est toujours en cours. Dans le temple de Ninurta aux époques néosumérienne et paléobabylonienne, elle présente toutes les caractéristiques d'une personne religieuse: elle est prise en charge par et vit dans le temple où elle assume des fonctions religieuses (prière, offrandes régulières), voir RlA 10: 619–20, § 5.7. Étant l'épouse secondaire terrestre du dieu (comparer lukur

étaient enregistrées collectivement en tête du premier groupe de chaque liste. Le rapport entre ces femmes et les deux repas est aussi avéré par les dépenses des textes A et B: dans les deux cas, et bien que les prêtresses lukur soient plus nombreuses lors du second festin (trente en A *versus* quarante en B), le nombre de moutons et de boeufs déboursés pour chaque banquet est toujours proportionnel à ce que reçoivent les femmes.[18]

Le banquet public marquait supposément le début des célébrations. Le gu₂-en-na et un ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil (ab-ba KA₂ ᵈen-lil₂-la₂) accompagnaient les prêtresses lukur de Ninurta (A i 2–3). Ils sont également mentionnés dans la seconde tablette et la signification qu'il faut accorder à leur présence sera discutée ultérieurement.

Le groupe énuméré à la suite des dépenses pour le banquet est uniquement constitué d'officiels et de représentants des corporations de la ville, de la délégation de Larsa et des grandes prêtresses de Su'en et de Nergal (i 5–27). Participaient-ils au banquet ou se présentaient-ils dans l'Ešumeša avec des offrandes pour Ninurta ?

Cérémonies dans le(s) temple(s) (A ii 1–17)
Un fait remarquable dans ce texte est le nombre extraordinaire de prêtres participant aux festivités. Sont attestés les clergés des principaux temples et sanctuaires de la ville.[19] Le clergé de Ninurta est comme attendu le mieux représenté: prêtres purificateurs (isib, bar-šu-ĝal₂) et desservant (gudu₄) auxquels sont associés le brasseur (LU₂.ŠIM), le grand chantre (nar-gal) et l'éminent gala (gala-maḫ). Il est probable que ce clergé n'était pas là pour festoyer. Les textes administratifs néosumériens documentent à foison des dépenses de bétail pour les dieux à l'occasion de banquets, mais non pas pour leur personnel.[20] Les prêtres gudu₄, habituellement responsables de la table du dieu, se chargeaient vraisemblablement de présenter à Ninurta les offrandes qu'il recevait à cette occasion. Bien qu'ignorant la nature des rituels se déroulant en marge du banquet, on déduit de la présence du prêtre isib la pratique de rites de purification dans l'Ešumeša. Il est peu plausible que les membres des autres clergés nippurites étaient rassemblés dans l'Ešumeša en tant que convives.[21] Ils étaient sans doute actifs dans leur propre temple où la divinité qu'ils servaient recevait comme Ninurta des offrandes.

Procession (A ii 18–26)
Le groupe suivant est comme les autres rassemblé par profession. Il conserve toutefois une certaine lisibilité puisque les textes A et B associent les portiers et le haleur (ma₂-gid₂) avec les grands chantres, les chanteuses, les musiciens et les prêtres gala-maḫ.

L'existence d'une procession est déduite des dons de viande aux chanteurs a-u₃-a,[22] aux portiers et aux haleurs, mais sa destination est incertaine. Les deux décomptes enregistrent des sacrifices sur le bateau d'Utu (et de?) Nergal (en B de Larsa, voir ci-dessous): il peut s'agir de la destination de la procession comme du lieu d'où elle provenait. Le grand chantre de Nergal, récipiendaire dans

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versus nin comme titre des épouses royales durant Ur III), elle vit donc au côté (et au service) de l'épouse divine, ici Nin-Nibru. À Lagaš, les lukur de Ninĝirsu étaient considérées comme les soeurs de BaU, selon une conception strictement anthropomorphe des relations entre les dieux (Gudea Cyl. B xi 3–11).

[18] En A, trente moutons et dix boeufs aux lukur, trente moutons et cinq boeufs pour le banquet (B: 40/40 et 6/3).

[19] Et peut-être de divinités secondaires appartenant au cercle de Ninurta (Sigrist 1984: 140).

[20] Nombreux exemples chez Sallaberger 1993: II 200.

[21] Un tel rassemblement n'est, à ma connaissance, pas attesté.

[22] Dans les listes lexicales, l'a-u₃-a est regroupé soit avec les bateliers, soit avec les chanteurs et musiciens (Sigrist 1984: 169). Les a-u₃-a sont effectivement présents lors de processions ou plus généralement dans le contexte du voyage d'une divinité (PSD A/1 199–200). Connus à Nippur dans les textes administratifs depuis Ur III (BBVO 11 278, 6 N-T 364), la tradition littéraire les place parmi le personnel de Nanna à Ur (*Lament over Ur* line 355, ETCSL 2.2.2) et ils étaient chargés des célébrations (izimₓ du₁₀) dans la 'cour de la fête' de Nanna (kisal izimₓ-ma). Dans les listes de l'Ešumeša, ils servaient Nuska, Ninurta et Nanna, ainsi que des personnes dont la profession n'est pas connue et peut-être les lukur (Sigrist 1984: 85, 169).

le texte A, était sans doute actif lors de cette procession, voire sur le bateau. La présence de la grande prêtresse de Nergal accompagnée du ša$_3$-tam de Larsa (A i 25, 27) est certainement en rapport avec ce bateau.

Tableau 1

A ii 18–26	B iii 9–16
	(muš-laḫ$_5$ (...), i$_3$-du$_8$ gal, i$_3$-du$_8$ e$_2$)
2 udu a-u$_3$-a-me	0 2 0 0 a-u$_3$-a-me
1 udu nar-gal Enlil	0 1 0 0 nar-gal Enlil
1 udu nar-gal Ninlil	0 1 0 0 nar-gal Ninlil
2 udu nar-gal Ninurta	0 2 0 0 nar-gal Ninurta
1 udu nar-gal Nuska	0 1 0 0 nar-gal Nuska
1 udu nar-gal Nergal 3 udu nar-MUNUS Ninlil	0 6 0 0 tigi$_2$ (LUL.BALAĜ) ^{d}nin-urta-me
1 udu gala-maḫ Enlil	0 1 0 0 gala-maḫ Enlil
1 udu gala-maḫ Ninurta	0 1 0 0 gala-maḫ Ninurta
(2x i$_3$-du$_8$ [...], muš-laḫ$_5$, (...) lu$_2$ ma$_2$-gid$_2$)	(lu$_2$ ma$_2$-gid$_2$)

L'accompagnement musical devait illustrer le caractère de ces solennités. Comme dans le cas des prêtres du groupe précédent, on peut supposer qu'une partie de ces chants accompagnait des rituels ou le repas des divinités dans leur temple. Un temps devait être consacré aux lamentations: A enregistre un mouton pour des lamentations ou pour la récitation d'eršemma[23] qui étaient probablement conduites par les prêtres gala-maḫ.[24] Étaient présents à la fois le gala-maḫ d'Enlil et celui de Ninurta: sous la supervision du premier on peut certainement ranger le grand chantre d'Enlil et les chanteuses de Ninlil et sous celle du second les grands chantres de Ninurta et de Nuska.

Sacrifices sur le bateau d'Utu (et de$^?$) Nergal (A iii 18)
La seule rubrique explicite des tablettes concernant cette embarcation ne mentionne pas un voyage, mais un sacrifice sanglant à bord (1 udu ma$_2$ ĝar-ra ^{d}utu ^{d}nergal); le scribe a précisé sur la tablette B, ^{d}utu ^{d}nergal larsam^{ki} (B iv 8).[25] Ces dieux visitaient probablement Ninurta dans l'Ešumeša et sans nul doute ce déplacement était accompagné d'une procession. La ville de Larsa est encore mentionnée à deux reprises dans le texte A (A iii 8, 13) et il semble que ses représentants aient été particulièrement actifs durant cette partie des festivités. Deux mentions méritent d'être soulignées: à la suite du groupe dans lequel se trouvent notamment l'échanson royal, l'homme de Larsa et un ancien du roi (A iii 3–11), sont regroupées des offrandes pour les prémices (nisaĝ)[26] et peut-être pour (ou lors de) l'oracle / le message$^?$ de Larsa (⌜kiĝ$_2$$^?$⌝ larsam^{ki}).

La suite des entrées est obscure. Les représentants de la ville d'Ur, des temples d'Enki, d'Inana et deux prêtresses reçoivent des parts, ainsi que les dépendances de grandes prêtresses.[27] Aucun banquet ou rituel n'est mentionné à cette occasion, cependant tous, excepté l'homme d'Ur, sont récipiendaires en B: faut-il y voir les prémices des festivités du (sur)lendemain? La ration finale est

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[23] ir$_2$-šem$_5$$^!$(AB$_2$.KID$_2$), A iii 14.

[24] La viande grillée/rôtie (*terṣum*, pour ce mot voir commentaire) enregistrée à la ligne suivante est qualifiée en B iii 24 de 'chose à prendre' par les prêtres gala. L'offrande *terṣum* est aussi mentionnée dans le cadre de rites funéraires: offrande pour Nergal et pour la 'grande lamentation' (ir$_2$ gu-la, AOAT 25: 229 et pl. ix*, UM 29-13-357+, Rvii 12´, Nippur, paléobabylonien).

[25] Un seul mouton est sacrifié ce qui exclut a priori une offrande pour deux divinités distinctes. L'association de Nergal avec Utu/Šamaš est par ailleurs connue par les formules épistolaires des lettres provenant de Larsa et de Sippar. Tous deux possédaient leur temple à Larsa (Von Weiher 1971: 25, 47).

[26] Les offrandes pour les prémices sont en général associées à Enlil (Sallaberger 1993: I 154–5).

[27] La succession est parallèle à celle du groupe des serviteurs dans le texte B (urdu$_2$ ḫi-a Enlil, Ninurta, *nakamtum*, e$_2$-sikil, Nuska et Nintinuga, B i 20–5).

destinée au 'régisseur de la charrue' (ensi₂ $^{\text{ĝeš}}$apin, iv 9); elle s'accorde avec les fonctions de Ninurta (le laboureur d'Enlil) et la symbolique du festival (célébration de la première inondation),[28] mais elle ne permet pas de conclure à la célébration de rites agraires.

LE DERNIER JOUR DES FESTIVITÉS (B)

Aussi loin qu'on puisse en juger, les événements que nous discernons en filigrane des enregistrements de la tablette B ont un caractère plus festif et mettent l'accent sur la glorification de Ninurta. Malheureusement il subsiste de nombreux points obscurs.

Banquet dans/au lieu de … ? (B i 6–18)

La première section enregistre les parts distribuées aux prêtresses lukur et à la grande prêtresse de Ninurta, ainsi qu'à quatre autres grandes prêtresses. À la suite de ces femmes se trouvent à nouveau le gu₂-en-na et l'ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil. La série se conclut par les dépenses pour le banquet. Il est malheureusement impossible de restaurer le lieu où il se déroule, mais les traces ne permettent pas de lire iri$^{\text{ki}}$, confirmant qu'il ne s'agit pas de la même occasion qu'en A.

L'ensemble de l'interprétation de ce passage est problématique. Les deux lignes précédant les dépenses pour le groupe des femmes ne sont pas étrangères à ce fait. Sont attendus en tête du groupe des grandes prêtresses les hauts sacerdoces du clergé d'Enlil, la grande prêtresse en. En lieu et place, deux fois six moutons sont déboursés pour un motif inconnu, peut-être pour plusieurs personnes.[29] La quantité est proportionnelle aux six boeufs attribués aux lukur à la ligne suivante: ces trois enregistrements sont sans doute liés.[30] À nouveau, les lukur paraissent tenir une place prépondérante lors de cette journée, mais la cause ne peut pas être établie. On pense bien sûr à l'intronisation de nouvelles prêtresses de Ninurta. Durant l'époque paléobabylonienne à Sippar, les nouvelles *nadītu* de Šamaš entraient dans le cloître au terme du festival en l'honneur du dieu (Harris 1964: 112–13). Malheureusement, les informations à ce propos nous manquent.[31]

Les allocations sont différentes du premier banquet, y compris celles du gu₂-en-na et de l'ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil. De trente prêtresses lukur, elles seraient maintenant quarante. L'augmentation est considérable, trop peut-être pour signifier que dix nouvelles femmes avaient été consacrées ou entraient dans le temple de Ninurta à l'occasion de son festival. L'implication de ces changements est donc difficile à interpréter.

Le groupe suivant est constitué des fileuses,[32] des serviteurs (urdu₂) des temples de Ninurta (et de ses dépendances), d'Enlil, de Nuska et de Nintinuga (i 19–25), peut-être pour avoir officié à ce moment. Suit une longue liste de récipiendaires (i 26–ii 18), majoritairement des employés du temple, de ses dépendances et leurs responsables (šabra, um-mi-a, ugula muḫaldim, etc.). La présence d'un saĝĝa, d'un šabra et d'un sagi dans ce groupe nous incite à considérer ce personnel comme appartenant à l'Ekur. Ce sont typiquement des fonctions qui étaient rattachées au culte d'Enlil sous la troisième dynastie d'Ur.[33]

Cette série se conclut sur les distributions aux quatre principaux responsables de l'intendance des temples de Ninurta, d'Enlil et du quartier des femmes (nu-ge₁₇ gal, voir ci-dessous).

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[28] Sallaberger 1993: I 120–1 (avec références littéraires).

[29] B i 6–7: 6 (udu) × AB NU E₃, 6 (udu) geme₂ SIG₅ AŠ. La lecture abzu(ZU:AB) nu-e₃ ne fait guère de sens.

[30] Mais également proportionnelle aux parts des ĝiri₃-se₃-ga d'Enlil (six moutons, B ii 24).

[31] Un des rares témoignages sur le déroulement de l'intronisation d'une lukur est fourni par une liste de dépenses émise à l'occasion de l'entrée d'une *nadītum* dans le cloître du temple de Šamaš à Sippar. Le dernier jour du festival du dieu (u₄$^{\text{-um}}$ ⌜x⌝ AB.E₃.A *ša na*⌜-di⌝-*a-tim*, 'le jour … des *nadītu*') se déroulait un banquet au cours duquel les jeunes filles des *nadītu* (*ṣuḫarātū-ša*) buvaient de la bière (Harris 1964: 111, PBS 8: ii 40–2). Le parallèle avec notre texte B est loin d'être évident, mais le banquet et la présence des jeunes filles (*versus* des servantes, geme₂, en B) dans les deux documents est troublante.

[32] Probablement à titre de servantes des lukur, avec lesquelles elles sont associées (Sigrist 1984: 171); de même à Sippar (Harris 1975: 199).

[33] Liste chez Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 98–105.

Rites dans l'Ekur? (B ii 21–iii 6)
Excepté l'utilisation du terme ĝiri-se$_3$-ga à la place de gudu$_4$, la section suivante est parallèle à la seconde colonne de A (tableau 2); elle doit refléter les rites ou célébrations qui se déroulaient dans le temple de Ninurta en A. Le personnel d'Enlil est cette fois plus nombreux, confortant l'hypothèse qu'une partie des festivités avait lieu dans le complexe de l'Ekur. Il vient s'y ajouter, pour des raisons qui m'échappent, le personnel de deux déesses-guérisseuses Gula et Nintinuga. Les rituels en rapport avec leur participation devaient revêtir une importance particulière puisque leur personnel était presque aussi nombreux que celui d'Enlil.

Procession (B iii 7–18)
Elle est à nouveau délimitée par les dépenses destinées aux portiers et au haleur enregistrés respectivement au début et à la fin du groupe de chantres et musiciens divers (tableau 1). Bien que le décompte n'en fasse pas mention, il faut déduire de l'augmentation considérable du personnel de Ninurta (six musiciens-tigi dirigés par deux grands chantres) qu'elle célébrait plus particulièrement cette divinité. La seconde procession n'avait plus le même caractère: le chantre de Nergal n'y participait plus, de même les chanteuses de Ninlil. Ninurta était glorifié par des chants appropriés qui faisaient partie du répertoire des chanteurs et des musiciens de son temple.

Célébration du retour de Ninurta dans son temple? (B iii 19–27)
Le contenu de ces festivités nous échappe en grande partie, mais certaines rubriques pourraient faire référence au cycle mythologique de Ninurta. Elles se divisent en deux parties, la première se concluait par les parts destinées aux prêtres gala (iii 24, niĝ$_2$-dab$_5$ gala-me) et la seconde partie se terminait sur celles attribuées aux estafettes(?) (iii 30, niĝ$_2$-dab$_5$ ⸢kaš$_4$?⸣-me).
    Les libations à Dumuzi[34] et Enki à l'en-cas (zu$_2$ gub) lors des banquets respectivement de Dumuzi et d'Enki. Les festivités comprenaient le sacrifice de deux moutons (au) gaba-ri-a ^{d}nin-urta (iii 20), puis d'un mouton pour 'présenter (litt. faire apparaître) le lapis-lazuli' (za-gin$_3$ e$_3$-de$_3$). Le texte A mentionnait un lu$_2$ za-gin$_3$ e$_3$ (iii 21), la personne qui accomplit l'action dans ce passage. Finalement un su-si-ig (équarisseur)[35] reçoit un mouton. Les gala étant les derniers protagonistes de cette section, il est certain qu'elle comprenait des chants ou des récitations en rapport avec Ninurta.
    Le thème mythologique prépondérant du cycle de Ninurta était sa lutte contre le démon Asag. Une fois vaincu, Asag lui céda la souveraineté sur les territoires montagneux, source des richesses qui permettait à Sumer de vivre et de prospérer (*Lugale, Angim*). Après cette victoire, Ninurta fixa le sort des pierres, enfants d'Asag (*Lugale*). Une fois ces hauts faits accomplis, le dieu entreprit son retour glorieux, non sans devoir confirmer sa suprématie auprès d'Enki (*Le voyage de Ninurta à Eridu*, version différente dans *Ninurta et la tortue*). Arrivé à Nippur, Ninurta se rendit auprès de son père Enlil qui lui accorda la royauté. Dans *Le voyage de Ninurta à Eridu* (iii 23´–24´), les richesses de la montagne (niĝ$_2$-gur$_{11}$ ḫur-saĝ-ĝa$_2$) étaient symbolisées par l'argent et le lapis-lazuli que le dieu avait rapporté de son périple pour les présenter à son père.
    S'agissait-il ici d'une mise en scène du mythe de Ninurta ? L'offrande gaba ri-a (+ ND) est une tournure administrative désignant un don pour saluer la divinité.[36] Dans ce contexte, gaba ri-a pourrait-il être interprété au sens d'adversaire, d'opposant et représenter alors le rival (vaincu) de Ninurta (Asag) ? La 'présentation' du lapis-lazuli paraît quant à elle être une allégorie du cadeau de Ninurta à Enlil, voire symboliser les richesses de la montagne. *Le voyage de Ninurta à Eridu, Angim, Ninurta A* étaient des ser$_3$-gid$_2$-da ('long chant') et, ainsi que leur nom l'indique, ils faisaient partie du répertoire des chanteurs (Falkenstein 1972: 20–1). D'autres compositions telles que les tigi ('chant accompagné à la harpe', *Ninurta D*) pouvaient être chantées par les musiciens-tigi de Ninurta et les prêtres gala qui recevaient des parts de viande immédiatement à la suite de ces

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[34] La libation à Dumuzi s'accorde avec la célébration du retour de Ninurta, la renaissance de Dumuzi comme le retour du dieu étant associés au renouveau de la végétation.
[35] Je ne trouve aucune explication à la présence de cet équarisseur.
[36] Expression connue durant Ur III, cf. Sallaberger (1993: I 91, 200).

entrées.[37] Le festival gudsisu était le temps adéquat pour chanter Ninurta et réciter les compositions le glorifiant.[38] Dans ce contexte, la libation à Enki trouve une explication: le dieu était remercié d'avoir reconnu Ninurta et permit son retour triomphal à Nippur.

La seconde partie des célébrations est trop obscure pour que nous puissions restituer un enchaînement satisfaisant.[39]

Le dernier enregistrement est celui du sacrifice d'un mouton sur le bateau d'Utu (et de[?]) Nergal (de) Larsa (B iv 8). Nous l'avons interprété comme l'acte précédant le départ du bateau, et donc le retour d'Utu (et?) Nergal à Larsa. L'embarcation emmenait peut-être à son bord la grande prêtresse de Nergal qui reçoit des parts en compagnie du ša₃-tam de Larsa (A i 25, 27),[40] ainsi que l'échanson royal (sagi lugal, A i 17; B ii 8).

LES PARTICIPANTS AUX CÉLÉBRATIONS

Imputable au fait que les deux tablettes documentent deux journées différentes des célébrations, certains participants ne figurent que sur un décompte; d'autres apparaissent sous une appellation nouvelle. L'ordre dans lequel sont enregistrés les récipiendaires subit des variations, seule la section réservée aux prêtres et à leurs assistants reste stable. Globalement, A est plus représentative de la participation de la population nippurite aux festivités. Son contenu est donc résumé brièvement.

A

i 1–3	le gu₂-en-na, les prêtresses lukur, l'ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil
i 4–23	les autorités politiques, les administrateurs, les responsables institutionnels et les représentants de corporations
i 24–7	les ša₃-tam de Nippur et de Larsa, les prêtresses de Su'en et de Nergal
ii	les prêtres et leurs assistants
iii 1–5	les portiers, l'échanson royal et les employés du temple (de Ninurta)
iii 6–19	le batelier; divers participants, l' 'ancien' du roi; les intendants des temples d'Enlil et de Ninurta; l'homme d'Ur
iii 20–5	les portiers du ki lukur-ra; les surveillants des temples d'Enki et d'Inana, les prêtresses de Diĝirmaḫ et de ... (?)
iii 27–iv	la nu-ge₁₇ gal « nu-ge₁₇ en chef »,[41] le personnel et les dépendances des grandes prêtresses

En B, toutes les grandes prêtresses sont enregistrées entre les lukur et le gu₂-en-na. Ce décompte comprend quelques additions ou suppressions qui seront discutées en parallèle à la première liste.

Sous l'angle du clergé nippurite, ces tablettes permettent plusieurs constatations. Les catégories sacerdotales sont systématiquement distinguées, les prêtres officiants et leurs assistants d'un côté, les grandes prêtresses, les prêtresses lukur et leurs dépendances de l'autre. À part encore de ces groupes se situe la nu-ge₁₇ gal. L'organisation de ces femmes et leur fonction durant le festival méritent d'être examinées. Un dernier point qui retiendra notre attention est l'étonnante mention de titres de prêtresses, qui, si ils étaient connus, n'étaient pas attendus à Nippur.

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[37] Voir aussi Krecher 1966: 35–6, 41–51 pour le répertoire des gala.

[38] Voir également Sallaberger 1993: I 121 pour un témoignage tardif sur cet aspect du festival.

[39] Comprenait-elle des rites exorcistiques ou un bain rituel (x ⌜mu₇-mu₇?⌝, iii 25)? Comparer les rites de purification au troisième jour du festival sous les rois d'Ur III (Sallaberger 1993: I 118). L'entrée suivante (iii 26) doit peut-être être lue 'un mouton à la table des lukur' (ĝeš⌜bansur⌝ lukur(SAL.ME!)-re).

[40] Également présente dans le texte B (B i 12). En A i 25–7, elle est mentionnée avec le ša₃-tam de Larsa dans un groupe dont l'ordonnance paraît claire: ša₃-tam Nibru / ša₃-tam Larsam / ereš-diĝir Su'en / ereš-diĝir Nergal.

[41] Cette fonction est traduite par l'akkadien *qadištum* « (femme) tabouisée, consacrée » et appartient au personnel cultuel, voir en dernier lieu RlA 10 633: § 5.7.

Les prêtres officiants et leurs assistants
Le noyau central des enregistrements (A ii) est constitué du personnel cultuel des temples et sanctuaires de la ville.[42] Il se divise en deux groupes, les prêtres officiants d'un côté, les grands chantres, les musiciens et les prêtres gala-maḫ de l'autre. Contrairement aux autres participants, l'énumération subit peu de variations d'un décompte à l'autre. Excepté la préséance prévalant dans le groupe Enlil, Ninlil, Ninurta et Nuska, le texte B modifie l'ordre des enregistrements sans qu'il soit possible de l'expliquer de façon satisfaisante. Le nombre de moutons distribués passe de quinze pour les prêtres nu-eš$_3$ et gudu$_4$ à vingt-deux pour les ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga.[43] Le prêtre gudu$_4$ de Nin-Isina est remplacé par les ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga de Nintinuga et Gula.

Tableau 2

A ii 1–12	*B ii 24–R iii 3*
3 udu nu-eš$_3$ Enlil	0 6 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Enlil
2 udu gudu$_4$ Ninlil	0 2 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Ninlil
2 udu gudu$_4$ Ninurta	0 2 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Ninurta
(LU$_2$.ŠIM Enlil, Ninlil et Ninurta, isib et baršuĝal Ninurta, isib Enki)	
1 udu gudu$_4$ Nuska	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Nuska
1 udu gudu$_4$ Nin-Isina	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Su'en
1 udu gudu$_4$ Diĝirmaḫ	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Nintinuga
1 udu gudu$_4$ Utu	0 4 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Gula
1 udu gudu$_4$ Iškur	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Enki
1 udu gudu$_4$ Su'en	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Diĝirmaḫ
1 udu gudu$_4$ Enki	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga ⌈Iškur?⌉
1 udu gudu$_4$ Inana	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Utu
	0 1 0 0 ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga Inana
	(isib et baršuĝal Ninurta, isib Nuska)

Le rédacteur du texte B a remplacé les titres gudu$_4$ et nu-eš$_3$ par le terme ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga, alors que les purificateurs, le prêtre(?) bar-šu-ĝal$_2$ et les brasseurs (LU$_2$.ŠIM) enregistrés avec ce groupe reçoivent toujours leur ration nominativement.

ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga n'était pas connu durant la période paléobabylonienne pour désigner les prêtres officiants, mais les documents administratifs néosumériens indiquent clairement qu'il s'agit d'une appellation générique désignant de personnel (ponctuellement?) détaché de son lieu de travail pour être placé au service d'une autre institution, de dignitaires, de prêtres ou du roi. Les prêtres gudu$_4$ et gala-maḫ pouvaient être inclus sous cette appellation, mais seulement lorsqu'ils étaient enregistrés en compagnie de personnel non cultuel.[44]

À l'époque paléobabylonienne, ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga pouvait désigner un seul individu (Sigrist 1984: 166). Dans le cadre du culte de Ninurta, il est possible de définir quand le terme était employé.

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[42] Dans l'ordre de leur enregistrement en A: Su'en et Nergal; Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Nuska, Nin-Isina, Diĝirmaḫ, Utu, Iškur et Inana; Nintinuga. B ajoute Gula et Dumuzi. Excepté Enlil, Ninlil et Gula, ce sont des divinités qui apparaissent régulièrement dans les archives de l'Ešumeša (Sigrist 1984: 140).

[43] De ĝiri$_3$ se$_3$ 'placer en tant qu'employé / suivant(e)', voir Sallaberger 1993: I 177 n. 831.

[44] Le gudu$_4$ apparaît sous cette rubrique avec diverses professions: cuisinier, brasseur, pêcheur (NYPL 367); potier, 'charmeur de serpent' et flûtiste (TCL 5 6038 iv); gala-maḫ, potiers et 'charmeur de serpent' (AnOr 1 88 ii). D'après OLP 8 24, 21 (Umma, ŠS 4), les rubriques récapitulatives du personnel des sanctuaires d'Umma répartissaient les récipiendaires en deux catégories, selon qu'il s'agissait de prêtres seuls (NPP, gudu$_4$ DIEU/TEMPLE-me) ou de personnel divers, avec ou sans gudu$_4$ (NPP (gudu$_4$ + NPP), ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga DIEU/TEMPLE-me). A Lagaš (RTC 401, IS 2), le terme désignait les prébendiers travaillant dans de petits sanctuaires. Comme à Umma, les prêtres officiants étaient les gudu$_4$ et ils étaient toujours inscrits en tête de liste (comparer RlA 10: 521, Pfründe).

Bien que les prêtres gudu₄ de Ninurta soient attestés durant la période paléobabylonienne,[45] ils ne sont pas documentés dans les archives de l'Ešumeša. En revanche, les ĝiri₃-se₃-ga y sont régulièrement enregistrés avec la grande prêtresse et le purificateur de Ninurta (5 N-T 90 Ri 25′– 7′).[46] Cette distinction prévaut également dans nos deux textes: en l'absence de la grande prêtresse de Ninurta est actif le gudu₄ (A) et dans l'entourage de celle-ci le ĝiri₃-se₃-ga (B, archive de l'Ešumeša). Il est donc plausible que le ĝiri₃-se₃-ga qui accompagne la grande prêtresse soit simplement un prêtre gudu₄ détaché du culte quotidien pour l'escorter lors de ses déplacements.

Le choix du mot ĝiri₃-se₃-ga en B est imputable à l'intégration dans le groupe des prêtres de nouveaux récipiendaires, en particulier dans la première entrée qui paraît conditionner l'utilisation du terme pour l'ensemble de la série. Le personnel d'Enlil a doublé et on peut supposer que les prêtres nu-eš₃ sont enregistrés avec leurs aides. La plupart des entrées suivantes attribuent la même ration au ĝiri₃-se₃-ga en B qu'au prêtre gudu₄ en A. La situation est problématique lorsque B ne décompte qu'une part de viande. Il est peu probable que seul le subordonné du prêtre gudu₄ était enregistré: il aurait dans ce cas participé aux rituels sans être revêtu du sacerdoce. L'absence des prêtres gudu₄ serait également inexplicable, comme le fait qu'ils ne soient plus récipiendaires aux côtés des brasseurs ou de leurs coreligionnaires les purificateurs. Il faut donc comprendre que le scribe a suivi la logique des entrées et que le terme ĝiri₃-se₃-ga employé pour un seul individu pouvait désigné dans cet enregistrement un prêtre gudu₄.

Les modifications survenant d'un décompte à l'autre se produisent exclusivement dans le groupe des déesses-guérisseuses (Gula, Nin-Isina et Nintinuga).[47] Est particulièrement frappante l'augmentation de leur personnel en B.

Nintinuga était la déesse-guérisseuse nippurite, il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'elle soit la seule du groupe à figurer sur les deux listes.[48] Elle avait un culte dans les temples de Ninurta et d'Enlil et, sous Išme-Dagan, la tradition littéraire la faisait épouse de Ninurta. Dans l'Ešumeša, elle recevait des offrandes dans le groupe Damu-Ninšubur où elle alternait avec Nin-Isina, la mère de Damu et l'épouse de Pabilsaĝ (Richter 1999/2004: 110–12).[49] Nin-Isina n'apparaissait que dans le temple de Ninurta, il paraît donc cohérent de la trouver uniquement dans le premier décompte si celui-ci enregistre des célébrations se déroulant dans l'Ešumeša.[50]

Depuis Ur III, Gula avait un sanctuaire à Nippur (Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 247–8) et les archives paléobabyloniennes locales documentent encore son clergé (PA.E₂, gudu₄, Richter 1999/2004: 112). Elle était aussi honorée dans le temple d'Enlil, où il incombait aux prêtres nu-eš₃ d'approvisionner son culte en céréales (Van Lerberghe 1989: 179, CBS 7075: 2; 11), mais elle ne recevait pas d'offrande dans le temple de Ninurta, contrairement aux deux autres déesses. Ainsi, on comprend la présence de son personnel dans le texte B, si les célébrations auquel il participe se déroulaient hors de l'Ešumeša. La théologie complexe du culte des déesses-guérisseuses explique les changements intervenus parmi le personnel de ce groupe, mais la raison pour laquelle le personnel de ces déesses est autant représenté ne trouve pas de réponse. Aucun des deux textes A et B n'enregistre un rituel que l'on pourrait mettre en rapport avec leur culte.

Toujours regroupé avec les purificateurs dans nos deux décomptes se trouve le bar-šu-ĝal₂ de Ninurta. Dans les listes lexicales de professions, il était mentionné soit avant ou après le barbier (kinda, šu-i), soit parmi les prêtres (PSD B/2: 129–30).[51] Le titre était aussi porté par Ninkarnuna,

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[45] En plus du texte A, liste chez Renger 1969: 151–6.

[46] Sigrist 1984: 84 et les tablettes du même groupe pp. 86–7 (136, 147, 149, 150).

[47] Pour ces déesses à Nippur, voir Richter 2004: 108, 110–12.

[48] En A, elle apparaît indirectement dans l'enregistrement de dépenses pour ses dépendances (A iv 6). Elle clôt le groupe des divinités qui forment le cercle familial de Ninurta (Enlil et Nuska). En B, outre son ĝiri₃-se₃-ga, ses serviteurs reçoivent des parts de viande (i 25).

[49] À Isin, Pabilsaĝ était assimilé à Ninurta (RlA 9: 518 Ninurta §12).

[50] Le culte de Nin-Isina a été introduit à Larsa par Gungunum (construction du temple de la déesse célébrée dans sa vingt-quatrième année) et son temple est reconstruit par Warad-Sin (Richter 1999/2004: 360).

[51] Au premier millénaire bar-šu-ĝal₂ est traduit *mumassurû*, '?' (Lu I, 152a-c). Proto-Lu indique que cette

un dieu appartenant au cercle de Ninurta tardivement intégré dans sa famille en tant que frère de Ninurta.[52] Les textes administratifs d'Ur III documentent un bar-šu-ĝal₂ de Ninšubur à Nippur (NRVN 1 49, ŠS 6). À l'époque paléobabylonienne, il sert aussi Nintinuga (Sigrist 1984: 164). Dans les listes de rations de l'Ešumeša, le titre est attesté conjointement au barbier (šu-i et munus šu-i, Sigrist 1984: 171), mais à la différence de ce dernier, il fait toujours partie de la suite des prêtresses.[53] Sa présence avec le prêtre isib dans les textes A et B confirme que son activité était en relation avec les rites de purification.

Les prêtresses lukur, les nu-ge₁₇ et le gu₂-en-na

Le texte A (i 1–3) énumère successivement les parts attribuées au gu₂-en-na,[54] aux prêtresses lukur de Ninurta puis à l'ab-ba KA₂ ᵈen-lil₂-la₂ (ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil). En B (i 9–17) sont enregistrées les lukur de Ninurta, les grandes prêtresses, puis le gu₂-en-na et l'ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil. Ces deux officiels séparent chaque fois les prêtresses des autres participants. Les décomptes regroupant les dépenses selon la fonction des récipiendaires, il faut donc comprendre qu'il existe une relation entre les deux groupes.

Durant Ur III, la Porte-d'Enlil se trouvait dans le complexe de l'Ekur où elle séparait la première section du complexe de celle du temple d'Enlil à proprement parler (Sallaberger 1993: I 98–9). À l'époque paléobabylonienne, cette porte correspondait topographiquement à l'Ancienne-Porte-d'Enlil (KA₂ sumun ᵈen-lil₂-la₂, ainsi CBS 7075, Van Lerberghe 1989: 177). À ma connaissance, il n'existe aucune prébende de la Porte-d'Enlil :[55] selon toute vraisemblance, le titre ab-ba KA₂ ᵈen-lil₂(-la₂) recouvrait une fonction prestigieuse et non vénale. Faut-il alors comprendre que les dix-huit moutons (A i 3 : 1 gud 18 udu) étaient destinés à dix-huit anciens ou à l'ancien et à ses subordonnés ?

Le gu₂-en-na et l'ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil fonctionnaient de pair dans l'Ekur, le second avait la responsabilité d'un secteur qui s'étendait jusqu'à la Porte-d'Enlil se trouvant à l'intérieur du complexe de l'Ekur. La partie du temple située au-delà de cette porte était gérée par les prêtres nu-eš₃.[56] Aucune source ne permet de situer où commençait le secteur contrôlé par le gu₂-en-na.

La fonction du gu₂-en-na est mal connue (Robertson 1984). La tradition lexicale paléobabylonienne l'enregistre à la suite de différents envoyés et représentants locaux (de la famille royale) d'une part, avant les administrateurs de la ville et du temple d'autre part.[57] Cette position d'intermédiaire mérite d'être relevée puisqu'elle trouve un parallèle dans les sources administratives paléobabyloniennes et cassites.[58]

équivalence doit être située en contexte cultuel (PrLu 212–21: gudu₄ bala-a, isib, isib ki-gal-la, luḫšu, luḫšu kisal-luḫ, susbuᵇᵘ, šita eš₃-a, lu₂-maḫ, bar-šu-ĝal₂, ama-siki (...), NIN ᵈnin-urta).

[52] RlA 9: 441, Ninkarnuna. Les fonctions cultuelles endossées par les dieux sont en lien avec les techniques de purification et d'exorcisme, voir RlA 10: 619–20 §2.3.

[53] Sigrist 1984: 66, fragments 220, 221; .133 tab. 328, col. 'c'.

[54] Du sumérien gu₂-en 'salle du trône/de l'assemblée'. Pour un sens (lu₂) gu₂-en-na 'homme de la salle du trône' voir Civil *apud* Boese et Sallaberger 1996: 31 nn. 37–8.

[55] Pour la liste , voir RlA 9: 541, Nippur A.II.

[56] D'après CBS 7075 (Van Lerberghe 1989: 177) est attribuée aux nu-eš₃ la charge des statues dans l'Ekur, des trois portes (?), de Kalkal dans le temple, des statues et des symboles d'Enlil dans l'Ekura'igiĝal jusqu'à l'Ancienne-Porte-d'Enlil et les jardins sublimes d'Enlilda-kalaĝal (et) d'Aba-Enlilgin.

[57] OB PrLu 23–30 (MSL 12 33–4): ra-gaba, ra-gaba ki bad-DU (24a lu₂ kiĝ₂ ge₄-a, 24b MUNUS ra-gaba), pisaĝ-dub-ba, pisaĝ-dub-ba tuš-a, gu₂-en-na, ensi₂, saĝĝa, um-mi-a. Les cinq dernières professions sont enregistrées dans le même ordre en A, à l'exception du pisaĝ-dub-ba situé entre l'ensi₂ et le saĝĝa.

[58] Depuis l'époque cassite, le sumérogramme GU₂.EN.NA est employé pour écrire *šandabakku*, auparavant uniquement écrit ĜA₂.DUB.BA (Cole 1996: 46). En tant que représentant du roi dans la Nippur cassite, il incombait au *šandabakku* la gestion des ressources de la province. Son administration redirigeait les biens par l'intermédiaire de divers 'bureaux', parmi lesquels se trouvait la (maison de la) grande prêtresse (NIN.DIĜIR, Sassmannshausen 2001: 19).

D'après le corpus de textes paléobabyloniens publié par Robertson, le gu_2-en-na (ou sa maison, e_2) était fréquemment associé à des femmes parmi lesquelles se trouvaient une nu-ge_{17} (Inbatum) et une lukur (Duššuptum). Dans cette archive, un document nous indique qu'elles lui étaient administrativement subordonnées.[59] En tant qu'intermédiaire entre le gu_2-en-na et ces femmes fonctionnait une certaine Damiqtum, dont le titre n'est jamais précisé, mais qui pourrait être la nu-ge_{17} gal.[60] Elle était responsable d'acheter la bière pour les libations à Inana et les offrandes au temple de Ninlil, le poisson pour des rites ki se_3-ga ou effectuait elle-même des offrandes funéraires.[61] Selon CBS 7111 rev. 12, Damiqtum supervisait l'approvisionnement en céréales des nu-ge_{17} (Robertson 1984: 173). Elle était aussi régulièrement en relation avec la lukur Duššuptum (Robertson 1984: 157 et n. 23; 158). Parmi les attributions des nu-ge_{17} se trouvait la responsabilité d'héberger les caravanes (d'Isin, CBS 7625) dans leurs dépendances (ama_5).[62] La nu-ge_{17} effectuait en personne des voyages, mais le motif n'était pas précisé.[63] Le gu_2-en-na comme Damiqtum avaient chacun leur propre ama_5[64] et le premier accueillait également des caravanes et des représentants étrangers.[65] Cette organisation ressemblait fort à un ensemble de relais dans lesquels étaient logés divers hôtes. Malheureusement, aucun texte ne précise jamais la raison pour laquelle ces visiteurs se rendaient à Nippur. Les tablettes A et B enregistrent parmi les participants un échanson royal, ainsi que des délégations d'Ur et de Larsa: ils étaient sans nul doute hébergés dans les quartiers du gu_2-en-na. Il est fort possible que la grande prêtresse de Nergal, si elle venait de Larsa, était de son côté accueillie dans la résidence d'une nu-ge_{17}.

Il n'est pas sûr que dans le secteur contrôlé par le gu_2-en-na, se trouvaient des lieux de culte comme sous Ur III (Sallaberger 1993: I 99). En effet les statues des rois, de Kalkal, etc., qui étaient antérieurement érigées avant cette porte, étaient à l'époque paléobabylonienne dans la partie du temple administrée par les prêtres nu-$eš_3$ que les sources situent après la Porte-d'Enlil.

Jusqu'où s'étendaient les prérogatives du gu_2-en-na est incertain. Dans le temple d'Enlil fonctionnait aussi la maison du (de la) lagal administrée par un $ša_3$-tam (B iii 31).[66] On peut se demander si la partie du complexe de l'Ekur située au-delà de la Porte-d'Enlil n'était pas sous le contrôle de l'e_2 lagal.

En bref, le gu_2-en-na administrait un secteur s'étendant jusqu'à la Porte-d'Enlil dont la fonction la mieux documentée était de servir de relais caravanier et d'héberger des hôtes.[67] Le gu_2-en-na y possédait également sa propre maison. Dans une partie de ce secteur étaient actives en majorité des femmes dont les nu-ge_{17}, la nu-ge_{17} gal, et leur personnel domestique. Ces femmes étaient aussi en relation avec les prêtresses lukur, sans que nous puissions en définir la nature. Aucune source ne confirme qu'il s'agissait d'un quartier réservé aux femmes, mais une telle séparation paraît

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[59] Il s'agit de dépenses d'huile pour différents récipiendaires, successivement le gu_2-en-na, Damiqtum, Duššuptum (lukur), Inbatum (nu-ge_{17}), puis pour l'e_2 gu_2-en-na (Robertson 1984: 169, CBS 7625).

[60] L'existence du titre nu-ge_{17} gal était le signe d'une hiérarchie au sein de la fonction. Dans les sources nippurites, ce titre n'était jamais précédé d'un anthroponyme, signe qu'une seule personne exerçait cette fonction à la fois.

[61] kaš de_2-a er-$ṣe$-tum, Robertson 1984: 169 (UM 29-15-885).

[62] ama_5 est traduit par quartier des femmes, habitation, entrepôt. Dans ces dépendances était également actif du personnel domestique (Robertson 1984: 158).

[63] Inbatum elle-même reçoit deux agneaux pour un voyage (kaskal) à Nawar (CBS 7420, Robertson 1984: 157 n. 23).

[64] Du gu_2-en-na: CBS 7625 déjà cité; de Damiqtum: Robertson 1984: 170 (UM 29-15-885).

[65] CBS 7110 (Robertson 1984: 176). Le gu_2-en-na accueille le représentant de la grande prêtresse d'Iškur de Karkara.

[66] Toutes deux sont mentionnées conjointement en UM 29-15-855 (Robertson 1984: 179–80).

[67] Nous ne reprendrons pas ici l'étude menée par Robertson sur l'ensemble des activités de cet officiel qui ne s'arrêtaient pas à la gestion du quartier des femmes, voir pour ceci Robertson 1984: 160–8.

plausible. En faveur de cette répartition parle le fait que les dépendances du gu$_2$-en-na comme celles des nu-ge$_{17}$ accueillaient des voyageurs. L'accès à la zone était sous le contrôle de l'ancien de la Porte-d'Enlil, ce qui permet de conclure que ce secteur était rattaché au complexe de l'Ekur. Dans cet espace, la fonction de la nu-ge$_{17}$ s'apparente à celle d'une intendante ou simplement d'une matrone. C'est vraisemblablement pour cette raison que le texte B (ii 15–18) enregistrait leur supérieur, la nu-ge$_{17}$ gal, avec l'administrateur de Ninurta et les intendants d'Enlil et de Ninurta (PA.E$_2$ Ninurta, agrig Enlil, agrig Ninurta). À la différence de ceux-ci toutefois, elle ne paraît pas avoir été active dans le temple, ni même rattachée à un seul temple.[68]

Contrairement au gu$_2$-en-na, la nu-ge$_{17}$ gal est documentée dans les listes de rations de l'Ešumeša, peut-être à l'occasion des grandes célébrations nippurites, mais rien ne permet de dire pour quelle raison elle y participait.[69]

La position des prêtresses lukur de Ninurta dans cette structure est difficile à cerner.[70] Dans le corpus publié par Robertson, la lukur Duššuptum était souvent documentée avec Damiqtum et bien qu'aucun titre ne la distinguait de ses collègues, elle avait peut-être des responsabilités administratives qui justifiait sa présence parmi les nu-ge$_{17}$. Aucune lukur n'est connue pour posséder de dépendances (ama$_5$) dans le quartier des femmes, ce qui s'accorde avec les informations que nous possédons sur l'organisation des lukur nippurites. Elles vivaient en groupe dans un lieu appelé ki lukur-ra ('le lieu de la lukur'), qui consistait en un espace délimité possédant ses portiers et du personnel domestique (Sigrist 1984: 113; A iii 20).[71] Le ki lukur-ra était probablement identique au ki lukur ^{d}nin-nibru^{ki} documenté dans l'archive de l'Ešumeša (Sigrist 1984: 53). Rattaché au temple se trouvait un atelier de filage (e$_2$ uš-bar)[72] dont une partie du personnel (geme$_2$ uš-bar) semblait être détachée au service des lukur: ces fileuses recevaient des rations à leur suite (Sigrist 1984: 171) et en B (i 19), elles étaient mentionnées en tête de la liste du personnel des grandes prêtresses. Contrairement aux nu-ge$_{17}$, les lukur servaient dans le temple. Leurs activités religieuses semblaient être réparties dans et à l'entrée du ki lukur ^{d}nin-nibru^{ki}. Il existait en effet une ou plusieurs lukur d'Ennuge,[73] une divinité recevant des offrandes dans un lieu situé après la Porte-Monumentale;[74] la statue de ce dieu était érigée immédiatement à l'extérieur du ki lukur de Nin-Nibru (Sigrist 1984: 53, 5 N-T 430). À l'intérieur se trouvaient des statues divines (sept en 5 N-T 430) et il incombait selon toute probabilité aux lukur (de Nin-Nibru?) de s'en occuper et aux (ou à la) lukur d'Ennuge de s'occuper du culte de ce dernier. Au sein du groupe, leur statut variait selon des critères vraisemblablement identiques (rang social, âge) à ceux que nous connaissons ailleurs (Sigrist 1984: 129, tab. 326).[75]

Bien que nous observions dans les archives paléobabyloniennes les contacts entre les prêtresses lukur et le gu$_2$-en-na, les sources restent elliptiques. Les raisons de la présence des lukur de Ninurta

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[68] En A (iii 26), elle clôt le groupe des administrateurs d'Enki et d'Inana suivis de deux grandes prêtresses n'appartenant pas au clergé d'Enlil ou de Ninurta.

[69] Sigrist 1984: 60, 5 N-T 334; 122–3, 5 N-T 363; 124, 5 N-T 364; les dates ne sont pas préservées.

[70] De nombreuses études ont été consacrées aux prêtresses lukur/*nadītu*, voir RlA 10: 633 §5.7 avec littérature antérieure. À Nippur, elles sont essentiellement connues par leurs activités économiques (Stone 1982). Durant Ur III, ces femmes étaient issues de la famille royale et vraisemblablement des familles de dignitaires locaux (Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 164–6).

[71] Voir aussi KA$_2$ ki lukur-ra, Robertson 1984: 172 (CBS 7111).

[72] Les activités de cet atelier sont bien connues durant la troisième dynastie d'Ur, voir Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 167–9.

[73] Voir Sigrist 1984: 113, 163.

[74] KA$_2$.GAL-maḫ, Sigrist 1984: 68, 71, 96, 104, 110, 114.

[75] Ainsi pour les lukur de Šara durant Ur III (Umma): rations de deux, trois ou quatre litres d'huile pour respectivement 2, 33 et 21 lukur (AAICAB 1: I Ash. 1924.668). Les deux lukur recevant quatre litres était toujours en tête de groupe: il s'agissait donc des responsables. Étaient également enregistrées sous la rubrique lukur ^{d}šara$_2$ des anciennes (libir, ainsi en AAICAB 1: I Ash. 1911.480).

avec cet officiel dans les textes A et B ne trouve pas de réponse claire. Il reste l'hypothèse non confirmée que les prêtresses étaient sorties du temple et se trouvaient momentanément dans le secteur administré par le gu₂-en-na, soit pour les banquets, soit pour un autre motif.

LES GRANDES PRÊTRESSES

Au troisième millénaire de nombreux titres existaient pour désigner les grandes prêtresses. Les plus connus étaient en 'maîtresse',[76] ereš-diĝir 'dame, déesse (de tel et tel dieu)',[77] egi(₂)-zi(-maḫ) '?', NIN '(première) épouse',[78] dam 'épouse', zirru '?' (Nanna, Ur).[79] Avec le recul de la langue et de la culture sumériennes et la diffusion des traditions akkadiennes, le second millénaire en a vu disparaître un grand nombre. A et B démontrent cependant qu'à la fin de la période d'Isin-Larsa, une grande variété de titres de prêtresses étaient encore en usage à Nippur. Ils notaient des différences de statut entre les prêtresses locales (NIN versus ereš-diĝir) ou l'appartenance à une tradition sacerdotale spécifique (egi₂-zi-an-na, lal₃-e-ša₃-ga, a-tu).

Les attestations fournies par les textes A et B sont rassemblées ici avant d'en discuter les détails.

- (e₂) ⌈NIN⌉ ᵈ⌈en⌉-lil₂-la₂: A iv 1
- ereš-diĝir ᵈ⌈nin-urta⌉: B i 10
- ereš-diĝir ᵈn[uska?]: B i 12
- egi₂-zi-an-na: B i 13 // A iii 25
- lal₃-e-[ša₃-ga]: B i 14 // lal₃-e₂-ša₃-ga, A iii 24
- a-tu AN [...] (diĝir-[maḫ]?): B i 15
- ereš-diĝir Su'en: A i 26 ; B i 11[?80]
- ereš-diĝir Nergal: A i 27

La grande prêtresse d'Enlil

Dans les sources (pré)sargoniques sont mentionnés sans le nom du dieu l'en et le prêtre lagal[81] (ECTJ 74; ECTJ 120). Durant l'époque sargonique, Naram-Sin installa sa fille comme grande prêtresse d'Enlil.[82] Sous un roi de la seconde dynastie de Lagaš, est mentionné à Ĝirsu l'en d'Enlil.[83] À l'époque paléobabylonienne, le clergé d'Enlil est encore dirigé par la grande prêtresse en et sa suite.[84] Dans les archives du temple de Ninurta, comme dans les documents administratifs plus anciens, en et lagal étaient enregistrés sans théonyme (Sigrist 1984: 161).

Dans le texte A (iv 1),[85] le titre de la grande prêtresse d'Enlil est écrit ⌈NIN⌉ ᵈen⌉-lil₂-la₂. NIN était un titre nippurite traditionnellement endossé par la prêtresse de Ninurta (voir ci-dessous). L'utilisation de l'idéogramme NIN pour désigner la grande prêtresse d'Enlil est donc surprenante, mais non sans précédant: la graphie logographique NIN est employée sur un document sargonique

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[76] Sacerdoce des grandes prêtresses des divinités principales du panthéon sumérien.

[77] Utilisé pour les grandes prêtresses des divinités secondaires, mais pas mineures.

[78] Durant la troisième dynastie d'Ur, nin était également le titre porté par la reine, la première épouse, alors que lukur désignait les épouses secondaires du souverain; le clergé de Ninurta reflétait sans nul doute cette nuance. Pour la lecture ereš Ninurta, en dernier lieu Marchesi 2004: 186–9.

[79] Pour le troisième millénaire voir Steinkeller 1999; textes lexicaux et période paléobabylonienne, Renger 1967: 114–15, 134–49; aperçu d'ensemble et littérature, RlA 10: 626–8 §5.1.

[80] La lecture ᵈ⌈en⌉-[k]i est aussi possible; la restitution ereš-diĝir ᵈ⌈en⌉-[li]l₂ doit écartée, la préséance entre Enlil et Ninurta étant respectée dans les deux documents.

[81] Syllabique la-gal dans Gudea Cyl. A xx: 21.

[82] Voir Westenholz 1992: 302; Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 44–7.

[83] OIP 121 497: 2

[84] Pour l'en, discussion chez Renger 1967: 133–4; l'intronisation (ḫuĝ) du lagal d'Enlil est célébrée dans un nom d'années d'Enlil-bani (Isin I, Enba 7/d). Voir aussi Westenholz 1992); RlA 10: 637, §6.5.1.

[85] Non collationné.

provenant d' Umm-el-Jir, un site du Nord mésopotamien à proximité de Kiš (*in* 1 MU [N]IN ᵈen-lil₂-la₂).[86]

NIN ᵈen-lil₂-la₂ a toujours été corrigé en NIN.DIĜIR et de nombreuses théories ont vu le jour,[87] mais le seul exemple cité pour appuyer cette correction doit être rejeté.[88] Les trois titres portés par la grande prêtresse d'Enlil à l'époque sargonique sont NIN, logogramme pour le sumérien en, également féminisé en akkadien *ēntum*.[89] Dans le clergé d'Enlil, le dernier n'est plus documenté par la suite. Quelque soit l'explication à ce phénomène (rencontre de deux traditions, confusion avec les titres locaux?), il se produit également pour le sacerdoce NIN *versus* ereš-diĝir de Ninurta dans les sources depuis Isin I et celui de NIN Šamaš *versus* lukur Šamaš à Sippar (Stol 2000: 458–9).[90] La tradition lexicale du premier millénaire traduisait lukur ᵈutu par *ēnti* Šamaš. Le champ sémantique recouvert par les différents titres sumériens désignant les grandes prêtresses était peu différencié (épouse <terrestre> du dieu) et peut-être de moins en moins compris en dehors des chancelleries locales. Ceci ne signifie pas que les références socioculturelles de ces sacerdoces (rang social, affiliation religieuse) n'étaient plus perçues en dehors d'un cercle d'initiés.[91] À ma connaissance en effet, NIN n'était jamais employé pour désigner une grande prêtresse nippurite autre que celle de Ninurta et celle d'Enlil, c'est-à-dire les hauts sacerdoces des deux grandes divinités de Nippur.[92]

Les scribes du temple de Ninurta utilisaient de façon conséquente le titre en sans théonyme (Sigrist 1984: 161) pour désigner la grande prêtresse d'Enlil. ereš-diĝir notait indifféremment la grande prêtresse de Ninurta ainsi que celles des divinités secondaires.[93] Conservatisme ou simplification administrative, ceci permettait de distinguer rapidement la prêtresse d'Enlil dans les enregistrements. Le rang de l'ereš-diĝir de Ninurta ne prêtait certainement pas à confusion pour les scribes de l'Ešumeša.

La chancellerie qui a émis le texte A n'est pas localisée (Larsa ou Nippur), mais elle est située en tous les cas en Babylonie centrale. À la même période, NIN était également utilisé pour les désigner les prêtresses de Šamaš à Sippar (Stol 2000: 458–9). Il est donc possible que le titre NIN désignait la grande prêtresse d'un dieu poliade dans le centre et le nord mésopotamien dès le troisième millénaire.

La grande prêtresse de Ninurta

Ainsi que nous l'avons mentionné, le titre initial du sacerdoce de cette prêtresse était NIN ᵈnin-urta, mais dès l'époque d'Isin les scribes l'ont écrit tantôt ereš-diĝir, tantôt NIN (attestations rassemblées par Stol 2000: 457–8 ; B i 10).[94] Elle est documentée très épisodiquement depuis l'époque présargonique (NIN ᵈnin-urta: ECTJ 176 et Ur III, TuM NF 1/2 275).[95] Nous

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[86] ASJ 4 23, AIA 8; mentionné par Stol 2000: 459.

[87] Discussion et références chez Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 45–7.

[88] Le fragment de bol (*t*[*u-da-na-ap-šum*?] NIN.DIĜIR [ᵈen-lil₂] (RIME 2.1.4.19)) n'est guère utilisable; le document administratif paléobabylonien cité par Westenholz ne mentionne pas le temple d'Enlil (BE 13 61 vi 4´); la rubrique i 1–2 porte: dub šuku šu ge-[na] / ša e₂ ᵈ˹nin-x˺ (tablette des rations fixes dans le temple de Nin...). La lecture ᵈ˹en-lil₂˺ est exclue d'apres l'autographie (*pace* Westenholz 1992: 302).

[89] Nom d'années Naram-Sin ia/9 et RIME 2/1.4.2017.

[90] Lu iv 27 (MSL 12 129).

[91] Commentant une alternance de même nature dans les textes mariotes paléobabyloniens (DAM // NIN.DIĜIR.RA ᵈda-gan), J.-M. Durand *apud* Stol 2000: 459 n. 17 relevait que le premier semblait réservé 'à des personnalités religieuses de tout premier plan'.

[92] Pour NIN ᵈnin-urta: *ēnti* Ninurta, NIN.DIĜIR: *ēntum* ou *ugbabtum*, voir en dernier lieu Stol 2000 et Marchesi 2004.

[93] Pour la liste, voir Sigrist 1984: 162. Seules les listes de rations du règne d'Enlil-bani nous permettent de distinguer une hiérarchie entre les prêtresses ereš-diĝir: la grande prêtresse de Ninurta reçut cette année des rations très supérieures à celles des autres prêtresses.

[94] Lecture ereš Ninurta proposée par Marchesi 2004.

[95] ereš-diĝir Ninurta est peut-être attesté dès Ur III (MVN 18 102, ŠS 2/1/8).

'redécouvrons' cette prêtresse au début de la période d'Isin-Larsa, dès l'instant où les souverains d'Isin purent s'implanter parmi les clergés nippurites. La septième année d'Išbi-Erra célébrait l'installation de la grande prêtresse de Ninurta. On ignore si cette dernière était sa fille: l'usage était de faire introniser les princesses aux hauts sacerdoces féminins, mais aucun prédécesseur n'avait encore revendiqué l'installation d'une prêtresse de Ninurta.

La structure du clergé de Ninurta est bien attestée par les textes A et B (grande prêtresse, lukur, prêtres officiants [isib, gudu$_4$, bar-šu-ĝal$_2$?], gala-maḫ, grand chantre, musiciens-tigi), il demeure quelques points obscurs concernant le fonctionnement des lukur et celui de la grande prêtresse dans l'Ešumeša. Elles étaient enregistrées ensemble dans le décompte B (i 9–10), ce qui n'était jamais le cas dans l'archive de l'Ešumeša; la seule tablette sur laquelle elles étaient simultanément présentes ne mentionnait pas la grande prêtresse, mais sa suite (ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga, 5 N-T 363 i 2, Ri 24´ : Sigrist 1984: 122–3). Il est probable que cet état de fait est imputable au fonctionnement interne du temple. Administrativement, les lukur étaient regroupées avec les meuniers (kin$_2$-kin$_2$)[96] et les fileuses (geme$_2$ uš-bar), alors que l'ereš-diĝir était entourée d'un personnel cultuel constitué invariablement des ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga et du purificateur.[97] Les textes A et B attestent qu'en des occasions extraordinaires, comme le festival en l'honneur de Ninurta, les lukur et les grandes prêtresses étaient présentes avec leur personnel respectif. La résidence de la grande prêtresse de Ninurta dans le temple de Ninurta n'est pas localisée. Vivait-elle dans le ki lukur de Nin-Nibru où officiaient les lukur ou possédait-elle un quartier d'habitation indépendant (ĝepar) comme semblent l'indiquer ces attestations?[98] Signe de l'importance de la grande prêtresse, elle était entourée d'une suite impressionnante (ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga), vraisemblablement lors de ses déplacements:[99] deux tablettes de l'archive de l'Ešumeša enregistrent la suite de la prêtresse qui comptait, outre des personnes dont on ne connaît pas la fonction, le *rabi sikkatim*,[100] des conscrits du palais (e$_2$-gal tuš) et une escorte royale (aga-us$_2$ lugal).[101] Le montant des rations perçues par les conscrits n'est pas conservé, mais dans les comptes de l'Ešumeša, il variait de deux cents vingt-deux à six cents vingt litres: en admettant qu'ils avaient tous le même rang et qu'ils recevaient deux litres chacun, ils étaient entre cent dix et trois cents dix conscrits.

Le clergé de Diĝirmaḫ / Ninḫursaĝ à Nippur

Avant d'examiner le clergé de la déesse-mère à Nippur, il paraît indispensable de rassembler les nombreuses sources, administratives, littéraires et lexicales, qui le documentent en différents lieux.

Dans l'archive de l'Ešumeša, il est une figure divine (outre Enlil et Ninlil) qui est singulièrement absente, celle de la déesse-mère sous quelque hypostase qu'elle puisse être honorée.[102] Il s'agit en effet de la mère de Ninurta et on s'attend à ce qu'elle y reçoive des offrandes

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[96] Comprendre les meunières?

[97] Cette composition, si elle n'était pas constante, se retrouvait pour l'ereš-diĝir de NinEZEN, voir Sigrist 1984: 76–7, tab. 123, 109, 120, 102, 100, 97.

[98] Le seul indice que nous possédions militant en faveur de l'existence d'un ĝepar (le nom attribué à la résidence des grandes prêtresses) est fourni par l'onomastique: parmi sa suite (ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga) se trouvait une femme nommée Ninĝepara (Sigrist 1984: 127). Pour Ur III, peut-être BBVO 11 256, 4 N-T 191 rev. ii 6–7.

[99] Ni l'évènement à l'origine de ces dépenses ni la date ne sont conservés; l'enregistrement de la nu-ge$_{17}$ gal dans les deux tablettes après la rubrique ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga ereš-diĝir peut également être l'indice d'un voyage de la grande prêtresse (5 N-T 363 rev. i 25´; 5 N-T 364 rev. 19´).

[100] Dans l'archive du temple, il est seulement attesté sous Sin-iqišam; il s'agissait d'un haut dignitaire (rations identiques à celles de la prêtresse en); il est considéré par Sigrist comme un délégué du roi à Nippur (Sigrist 1984: 167, 173). Sur les deux tablettes les entrées se suivent, aussi est-il possible qu'il dirige les conscrits du palais. Le palais ici peut aussi bien être celui du gouverneur et le *rabi sikkatim* serait dans ce cas à son service.

[101] La suite de la prêtresse en 5 N-T 363 Ri 14´-24´ (ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga NIN ⌜d⌝ [...] ou ereš-d[iĝir ...]), mentionnée avant est identique à celle en 5 N-T 364 R 8´-18´.

[102] Au côtés de Ninḫursaĝ, la principale figure de ce groupe, se trouvaient Nintur, Aruru, Ninmaḫ, Diĝirmaḫ;

régulières (RlA 9: 513–14, Ninurta). Durant le festival néosumérien de gudsisu, Ninlil et Ninḫursaĝ recevaient des offrandes dans le complexe de l'Ekur (Sallaberger 1993: II Tab. 9a, Tab. 35). À l'époque paléobabylonienne, le culte local de Ninḫursaĝ est supplanté par celui de Diĝirmaḫ (Richter 1999/2004: 144–5); ceci semble également confirmé par la présence de son clergé durant les célébrations en l'honneur de Ninurta (A ii 12 et B ii 32). À Larsa, Diĝirmaḫ et Ninḫursaĝ recevaient toutes deux des offrandes, mais seul le clergé de la première y était attesté (Richter 1999/2004: 384–5).[103]

Tableau 3

ED Lu C ix 66s. (Fara, lex.):	TU, a-tu
Hymne à Keš 108–9 (Abu-Salabikh):	en, a-tu, [...]
Hymne à Keš 108–11 (paléo-babylonien):	en, a-tu (šibir šu bi$_2$-in-du$_8$), TU, lal$_3$-e/a-ša$_3$-ga (ki ku$_3$-ga am$_3$-mi-in-tuš)
OB Proto-Lu 226–31 (lex.):	a-tu, a-tu, lal$_3$-e/a-ša$_3$-ga (šibir šu du$_7$) egi-zi, egi-zi-an-na[104]
Adab A 965+ (présargon.):	TU, a-tu, lal$_3$-la
Adab A 714 (sargon.):	lu$_2$-maḫ, TU, a-tu
Erm. 14738 (Š 44, non publié):[105]	zabar-dab$_5$, TU ^{d}nin-ḫur-saĝ, a-tu ^{d}nin-ḫur-saĝ
NYPL 240 (Š 48, Puzriš-Dagan):	lu$_2$-maḫ ^{d}nin-ḫur-saĝ, lal$_3$-la, zabar-dab$_5$
A iii 24–5 (RS 21):	lal$_3$-e$_2$-ša$_3$-ga, egi$_2$-zi-an-na
B i 13–15 (RS 21):	egi$_2$-zi-an-na, lal$_3$-e-ša$_3$-ga, a-tu AN [x] (diĝir-[maḫ?])[106]

La relation entre Enlil, Diĝirmaḫ / Ninḫursaĝ et Ninurta est documentée par les textes administratifs à Adab et à Nippur au troisième millénaire. Diĝirmaḫ (le nom sous lequel Ninḫursaĝ était honorée à Adab)[107] est attestée au plus tard au tournant du vingt-quatrième siècle à Nippur où elle recevait des offrandes à la suite de Ninurta (Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 234–5; ECTJ 33). Il en était de même sous les rois d'Ur III (BBVO 11 270, 6 N-T 106, BBVO 11 294, 6 N-T 618). Elle y possédait un sanctuaire, malheureusement non localisé, jusqu'à l'époque paléobabylonienne (Richter 1999/2004: 120 n. 496). Les liens unissant ces divinités sont également illustrés par les sacerdoces et les activités de leur clergé respectif. Dès l'époque présargonique, les prêtres nu-eš$_3$ nippurites participaient au culte à Adab, vraisemblablement à celui de Diĝirmaḫ (BIN 8 61, présarg.). En Adab A 714, une liste de dépenses destinées au culte, sont énumérés successivement les membres du clergé de Diĝirmaḫ, de Ninurta (ensi$_2$-gal), d'Iškur (saĝĝa), suivis d'un sagi-maḫ et d'un nu-eš$_3$, deux charges connues pour faire partie du clergé d'Enlil (Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 101–2). Le sacerdoce de nu-eš$_3$ lui-même appartenait également au clergé local.[108]

Ainsi que l'attestent les textes administratifs, les listes lexicales et les textes littéraires, a-tu et lal$_3$-e-ša$_3$-ga appartenaient originellement au clergé de Ninḫursaĝ à Keš, TU et a-tu à celui de Diĝirmaḫ à Adab, ainsi qu'à celui de Ninḫursaĝ durant Ur III. Il n'existe aucune indication explicite confirmant qu'il s'agissait de femmes, mais nous suivons ici l'interprétation de Moran (1976: 336). En ce sens également parle le fait qu'en B, les grandes prêtresses et les lukur étaient enregistrées séparément des prêtres.

La prêtresse a-tu est déjà attestée au vingt-quatrième siècle à Nippur (ECTJ 74) où elle possédait un champ de subsistance à la suite de l'en et du lagal. Il faut donc la compter parmi le

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pour ces noms et d'autres, voir RlA 8: 504–7, Muttergöttin.

[103] Peut-être n'est-il pas insignifiant que le développement du culte de Diĝirmaḫ soit documenté depuis la fin de la dynastie de Larsa.

[104] La série commence par la grande prêtresse de Ninurta (225) et se conclut par l'ereš-diĝir, corrigée en ereš-diĝir ^{d}nin-urta (232–2a).

[105] Puzriš-Dagan (?); courtoisie N. Koslova.

[106] Il n'y pas la place pour restituer ^{d}[nin-ḫur-saĝ].

[107] RlA 9: 379, Ninḫursaĝ §3.1.

[108] Adab 719+ ii: nu-eš$_3$ e$_2$-m[aḫ]; passim pour les nombreuses attestations des prêtres nu-eš$_3$ dans les sources locales.

clergé nippurite dès cette époque;[109] étant enregistrée avec le personnel d'Enlil, il est vraisemblable qu'elle servait Ninḫursaĝ ou Diĝirmaḫ dans une chapelle de l'Ekur. Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, les prêtresses qui participaient aux célébrations dans les textes A et B étaient toutes accompagnées de leur suite; bien que le théonyme suivant le titre a-tu soit incomplet (a-tu AN [...]), la présence du personnel de Diĝirmaḫ dans les deux enregistrements (gudu$_4$, ĝiri$_3$-se$_3$-ga), ainsi que la dimension de la lacune dans le texte A (i 15) nous autorise à restaurer a-tu diĝir-[maḫ]. La prêtresse a-tu n'est enregistrée que dans le sillage des grandes prêtresses participant au banquet (B i 15) où elle suit la lal$_3$-e-ša$_3$-ga: probablement était-elle devenue sa suivante.[110]

Le titre lal$_3$-e-ša$_3$-ga n'avait jusque là jamais été identifié dans les documents de la pratique. L'existence d'un sacerdoce appelé lal$_3$(-e-ša$_3$-ga) dans le culte de la déesse-mère était postulée par Moran (1976), mais les textes lexicaux et littéraires sur lesquels il se basait présentaient des contradictions qu'il était difficile de résoudre. Selon A et B, la prêtresse lal$_3$-e-ša$_3$-ga participait à l'ensemble des célébrations et, tant sa présence parmi le groupe des grandes prêtresses que les rations qu'elle recevait signifient qu'elle était une personne de haut rang. Deux textes administratifs pourraient indiquer qu'elle officiait effectivement déjà à l'époque présargonique dans le clergé de Diĝirmaḫ et dans celui de Ninḫursaĝ sous la troisième dynastie d'Ur:[111]

Adab A 965+ (présargon.):
(1) [...] ziz$_2$ gur maḫ
(2) [...] TU
(3) [...] a-tu
(4) [1$^?$] lal$_3$-la (anépigraphe)
(5) [sa$_2$]-du$_{11}$ diĝir-re-ne-⌈še$_3$$^?$⌉
(6) ^{d}en-lil^2 dub-sar-e [šu] ba-ti.

NYPL 240 (Š 48/10/10, Puzriš-Dagan):
(1) 1 maš-da$_3$ lu$_3$-maḫ ^{d}nin-ḫur-saĝ
(2) 1 maš-da$_3$ lal$_3$-la
(3) 4 udu niga
(4) 2 sila$_4$ zabar-dab$_5$ (...).

Il n'est pas exclu que lal$_3$-la soit un anthroponyme,[112] mais la coïncidence serait extraordinaire. Il pourrait alors s'agir d'une forme abrégée (?) du titre. Moran avait déjà identifié de nombreuses variantes parmi lesquelles lal$_3$ et lal$_3$-e.[113]

La signification de ces trois termes est inconnue[114] et si on peut rapprocher TU de la graphie ^{d}TU pour la déesse-mère Nintur (RlA 9: 507) la nature de leur fonction dans la liturgie ne peut être inférée uniquement du caractère de Ninḫursaĝ / Diĝirmaḫ.[115] D'après l'Hymne à Keš (109 et 111), l'a-tu tenait en main (// était parfaite pour) le bâton/sceptre (šu du$_8$ // šu du$_7$) et la lal$_3$-e-ša$_3$-ga

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[109] Durant l'époque néosumérienne, l'a-tu sert Ninḫursaĝ, ainsi qu'une divinité ^{d}TUG$_2$-nun à Lagaš (TCTI 2 L.4193).

[110] Comme l'indiquent ses rations nettement inférieures à celles des autres femmes. Son statut avait perdu le prestige qu'il paraît avoir à l'époque présargonique (en OIP 14 98 les rations attribuées aux lu$_2$-maḫ, TU et a-tu sont identiques).

[111] Le texte est émis par la chancellerie impériale et il est impossible d'identifier le lieu où officiaient ces prêtresses.

[112] Toutefois lal$_3$-la était le nom de l'épouse du saĝĝa de Keš (UCLM 9-1798, Foxvog 1980: 68-9 [Dyn. archaïques, Adab?]).

[113] Les développements les plus spectaculaires figurent dans Proto-Lu: remarquer particulièrement lal$_3$-e ki ku$_3$-ga et lal$_3$ a-ša$_3$-ga ki ku$_3$-ga (Moran 1976: 335).

[114] Proposition de traduction chez Moran 1976: 339.

[115] Krebernik rapproche le titre a-tu du théonyme d'un des enfants de la déesse-mère, da-tu-gu-la (RlA 8: 509, Muttergöttin).

demeurait en un lieu pur (le ĝepar ?).[116] Comme souvent dans le cas des hauts sacerdoces, ces lignes décrivent un statut plus qu'une fonction.

A et B attribuent à la lal$_3$-e-ša$_3$-ga des rations équivalentes aux grandes prêtresses parmi lesquelles elle est enregistrée: à Nippur durant l'époque paléobabylonienne, ce sacerdoce était encore celui du grande prêtresse.

La prêtresse TU n'est pas documentée dans nos deux enregistrements. Il est probable que ce sacerdoce n'existait plus à l'époque paléobabylonienne. En comparant l'Hymne à Keš 108–11 avec les textes A (iii 24–5) et B (i 13–15), il apparaît qu'elle est remplacée dans la succession par la prêtresse egi$_2$-zi-an-na.

Les sacerdoces du culte de Diĝirmaḫ appartenaient à une tradition remontant au troisième millénaire et originaire du nord mésopotamien, haut lieu du culte de la déesse-mère Ninḫursaĝ / Diĝirmaḫ (Keš, Adab). Il est probable qu'ils aient été introduits à Nippur en raison des rapports privilégiés qui existaient entre ces deux villes. À la fin du troisième millénaire, ils se sont diffusés dans le Sud mésopotamien avec le culte de la déesse-mère sous le nom de Ninḫursaĝ.[117] En même temps se développaient dans les clergés de cette déesse des sacerdoces plus répandus dans le Sud, comme celui de grand(e) prêtre(sse) en (CST 416, MVN 3 253) et du prêtre lu$_2$-maḫ (SET 47).[118] À Nippur cependant, le culte de Diĝirmaḫ s'était maintenu et cohabitait avec celui de Ninḫursaĝ au troisième millénaire. Leur position dans le panthéon local paraît varier considérablement au fil du temps. Diĝirmaḫ était au vingt-quatrième siècle intégrée dans le cercle d'Enlil avec Ninurta (ECTJ 33), mais sous la troisième dynastie d'Ur Ninḫursaĝ l'avait supplantée et recevait des offrandes dans le temple de Ninlil à l'occasion du festival gudsisu (Sallaberger 1993: I 100). Le processus par lequel Diĝirmaḫ retrouva sa position première dans le cercle d'Enlil et son rôle auprès de Ninurta à l'époque paléobabylonienne n'est pas connu, mais il n'est peut-être pas anodin que le culte de cette déesse soit également attesté à Larsa sous Rim-Sin (Renger 1969: 146–7).

L'egi$_2$-zi-an-na

On ne sait pas quelle divinité servait la prêtresse egi$_2$-zi-an-na. Son existence est connue essentiellement par les noms d'années des rois d'Isin I. Le sacerdoce a été attribué à plusieurs divinités: An, Nin-Isina à Isin, Nanna à Ur, Lugal-Marada, Ninḫursaĝ et Ninlil à Nippur (Steinkeller 2005: 301–2). Ces deux dernières déesses ont les faveurs de l'auteur.

Les listes lexicales paléobabyloniennes associent l'egi$_2$-zi-an-na à la grande prêtresse de Ninurta et aux prêtresses de Ninḫursaĝ / Diĝirmaḫ.[119] Elle était active à Nippur durant Ur III: dans un texte administratif de Ĝirsu, l'igi-zi-an-na reçoit des rations d'huile en compagnie d'un prêtre nu-eš$_3$ dénommé Seskala. La transaction était prise en compte par Lu-Enlila,[120] qui servait à Nippur le grand échanson Seskala (sagi gal), à n'en pas douter identique au nu-eš$_3$ (OIP 97 20, 4 N-T 22, IS 2). La grande prêtresse egi$_2$-zi-an-na était donc à cette période administrativement liée à l'Ekur. Il faut cependant écarter l'hypothèse que ce soit le second titre de la grande prêtresse d'Enlil :[121] à l'époque paléobabylonienne, l'en et l'egi$_2$-zi-an-na sont documentées conjointement dans l'archive du temple de Ninurta. L'egi$_2$-zi-an-na était d'un rang élevé: elle est enregistrée à la suite de l'en et

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[116] La liste canonique des temples (CTL) semble encore faire écho à cette représentation, cependant c'était l'a-tu qui résidait avec le prêtre en (?) dans le *ĝepar* (Moran 1976: 336–9).

[117] TU et a-tu sont documentés à Lagaš (MVN 11 31; TCTI 2 4193).

[118] Ur III. Les trois documents sont émis par l'archive impériale, il est donc impossible de savoir dans quelle ville ces prêtresses officiaient.

[119] OB PrLu 224–32a (MSL 12 41): l'egi-zi et l'egi-zi-an-na suivent immédiatement le clergé de Ninḫursaĝ; qui plus est la série est précédée de la grande prêtresse de Ninurta et se conclut sur l'ereš-diĝir (232), à laquelle un scribe a rajouté la prêtresse de Ninurta (232a).

[120] MVN 11 190 (s.d.); pour la graphie à Lagaš igi-zi(an-na), voir Steinkeller 2005: 303.

[121] Endossé deux titres conjointement était attesté à Lagaš (en // šennu) et à Ur (en // zirru) principalement; voir en particulier Steinkeller 1999.

du lagal.[122] Dans l'archive de l'Ešumeša, elle est toujours récipiendaire de la plus importante ration après la grande prêtresse d'Enlil (Sigrist 1984: 165). Qu'elle ait servi Ninlil expliquerait sa relation avec le nu-eš₃ de l'Ekur et sa position à la suite du clergé d'Enlil dans l'archive de l'Ešumeša. Ninlil en tant que parèdre d'Enlil était également la mère de Ninurta. Dans son temple de Tummal, à proximité de Nippur (Ur III), elle était vraisemblablement honorée sous les noms d'Egi-Tummal et de Šegzagin, une épithète de la déesse-mère (RlA 9: 454–5, Ninlil §3.1, 3.1.9).

Nous ignorons presque tout du personnel qui officiait dans le temple de Ninlil à l'époque néosumérienne et aucun prêtre de l'Ekur n'est explicitement attesté à son service. L'absence d'administrateur du temple d'Enlil *versus* de Ninlil[123] jusqu'à l'époque paléobabylonienne indique que les deux clergés sont toujours gérés comme une seule institution. Il n'est donc pas surprenant de trouver dans les textes A et B, côtes à côtes les prêtres officiants d'Enlil et de Ninlil, chacun avec leurs assistants (nu-eš₃ / gudu₄ et brasseurs; grands chantres et chanteurs/ses et ĝiri₃-se₃-ga). Les deux groupes accompagnaient vraisemblablement la grande prêtresse d'Enlil attestée dans le texte A.[124] L'existence d'une grande prêtresse de Ninlil ne peut donc être déduite de la présence du clergé de cette déesse dans les deux enregistrements.

La tradition littéraire attribuait à Ninḫursaĝ l'épithète egi₂-zi-an-na (Steinkeller 2005: 303). Ainsi que nous l'avons mentionné, le culte de Ninḫursaĝ à Nippur durant la période paléobabylonienne est mal attesté. Sous son aspect de déesse-mère, elle paraît être supplantée par Diĝirmaḫ. On ne peut toutefois pas exclure que son culte survivait à Nippur au second millénaire et cohabitait avec celui de Diĝirmaḫ, comme au temps des rois d'Ur III. À la fin du troisième millénaire, les théologiens nippurites distinguaient les deux déesses: Ninḫursaĝ était honorée dans le temple de Ninlil et dans son propre temple avec Sulpa'e (Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 280); Diĝirmaḫ possédait également son temple et recevait par ailleurs des offrandes avec son fils Ninurta.

Les deux listes de dépenses ne mentionnait aucun personnel de Ninḫursaĝ et la présence des deux déesses conjointement paraît peu plausible. À ma connaissance, elles ne sont pas documentées ensemble. Si l'egi₂-zi-an-na appartenait au clergé de Ninḫursaĝ, on ne saurait alors expliquer pourquoi la tradition littéraire et lexicale pourtant très bien informée sur ces sacerdoces, aurait ignoré ce fait jusqu'à l'époque paléobabylonienne. D'après ces sources en effet, l'egi₂-zi-an-na ne faisait partie pas partie du clergé de la déesse-mère, ni à Keš, ni à Adab. Seul Proto-Lu (224–32a) intégrait la grande prêtresse entre celles de Ninḫursaĝ et de Ninurta. Il paraît certain qu'il faut écarter maintenant l'hypothèse que l'egi₂-zi-an-na soit au service de Ninḫursaĝ.

Aucun élément déterminant ne permet d'identifier avec certitude la divinité que servait l'egi₂-zi-an-na. Sur un point cependant, les sources administratives et les listes lexicales se complètent: pour la première fois attestée à Nippur à la fin du troisième millénaire, la grande prêtresse egi₂-zi-an-na est associée à l'Ekur. Elle est au second millénaire encore active dans l'Ešumeša. La divinité qu'elle servait appartenait aux cercles d'Enlil et de Ninurta.

A et B ouvrent cependant de nouvelles pistes de réflexion. Ainsi que nous l'avons mentionné, les grandes prêtresses ne se déplaçaient pas (ou n'officiaient pas?) sans leur suite (ĝiri₃-se₃-ga, gudu₄, isib, etc.). L'egi₂-zi-an-na n'échappait probablement pas à cette usage. En A et B, un certain nombre de groupes sont 'orphelins': aucune grande prêtresse n'est attestée pour les clergés de Ninlil, Nuska, Nintinuga, Nin-Isina, Nergal, Gula, Iškur, Utu et Inana. Eliminons d'emblée Nin-Isina, Nergal et Gula dont le personnel ne figure que sur une des deux tablettes, contrairement à la grande prêtresse. À cette liste, il faut retrancher les divinités dont les prêtresses ereš-diĝir sont attestées dans l'archive de l'Ešumeša, à savoir Enki, Nuska, Su'en et Utu (Sigrist 1984: 162). En théorie donc et à l'époque paléobabylonienne, la grande prêtresse egi₂-zi-an-na pouvait servir, outre

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[122] 5 N-T 92 Rii 1´–3´ (Sigrist 1984: 101).

[123] Durant Ur III, le temple de Ninlil à Tummal possédait une administration distincte de l'Ekur (PDT 1 550, TLB 3 101, dates non conservées).

[124] En B, elle est attendue en tête du groupe des grandes prêtresses, éventuellement suivie du lagal (B i 6–15), en lieu et place de deux lignes au sens obscur.

Ninlil, Nintinuga, Iškur[125] ou Inana. La déesse Nintinuga est une bonne candidate: elle est en honneur à Nippur, très présente dans les deux textes et surtout à la suite du groupe Enlil-Ninurta-Nuska (A iv 1–4; B i 20–5). Au troisième millénaire, elle était honorée dans l'Ekur, mais possédait aussi son propre temple au moins depuis Ur III. Il était à cette époque administré par le šabra d'Enlil (Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 85, 294–5).[126] À Lagaš finalement, une prêtresse igi-zi de Nintinuga est attestée (Steinkeller 2005: 303). La possibilité que l'egi$_2$-zi-an-na servait Nintinuga à Nippur doit donc être sérieusement envisagée.

CONCLUSION

Les tablettes A et B révèlent des aspects méconnus de la vie religieuse nippurite à l'époque paléobabylonienne. Les célébrations en l'honneur de Ninurta, vraisemblablement dans le cadre du festival gudsisu, avaient conservé toute leur importance. Elles restaient, si ce n'est le principal, du moins un des événements majeurs du calendrier cultuel de la ville. L'aura de cette fête justifiait la présence de délégations d'autres villes, parmi lesquelles l'échanson de Rim-Sin. Il semble que Ninurta était à cette occasion particulièrement célébré en tant que divinité guerrière. Il s'agissait d'une fête populaire qui mobilisait non seulement l'ensemble des dignitaires de la ville, mais aussi les grandes prêtresses et les prêtres officiants des grands temples nippurites.

Les clergés documentés dans ces deux tablettes comprenaient un nombre élevé de grandes prêtresses. Une majorités d'entre elles officiaient en tant qu'ereš-diĝir, mais dans le clergé des déesses-mères survivaient des titres rares connus depuis le troisième millénaire dans les hauts lieux de culte de Ninḫursaĝ et Diĝirmaḫ. Etait-ce parce que Nippur avait conservé son aura de grand centre religieux du monde sumérien que ces sacerdoces archaïques s'étaient maintenus ici plus que dans nulle autre ville ?

ANNEXE A: NI 2426 (A)
Col. i
1   10 udu gu$_2$-en-⌈na⌉
         10 gud 30 udu lukur ^{d}nin-urta-me
         1 gud 18 udu ab-ba ⌈KA$_2$ ^{d}en⌉-[lil$_2$]-la$_2$[127]
         5 gud 30 udu kaš de$_2$-a iri^{ki}
5   4 udu ensi$_2$
         1 uzu gud 1 udu zabar-dab$_5$[128]
         2 uzu gud 1 udu saĝĝa$^?$
         2 uzu gud 2 udu pisaĝ-dub-ba
         2 uzu gud 2 udu ⌈ra⌉-bí sí-kà-tum
10   3 uzu gud 3 udu dub-sar-maḫ
         1 uzu gud 1 udu šabra
         1 uzu gud 1 udu ugula uš-bar

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[125] À ce jour et à ma connaissance, aucune source ne permet d'affirmer que la prêtresse ne sert pas un dieu. Iškur était honoré aux côtés de Diĝirmaḫ et Ninurta à Adab au troisième millénaire (ECTJ 33). L'intronisation de l'ereš-diĝir d'Iškur vraisemblablement à Karkara est régulièrement célébrée par les rois d'Isin (Sigrist 1988). À Nippur, l''homme' de l'ereš-diĝir d'Iškur de Karkara est attesté, un signe que les relations entre les deux cités étaient également de nature religieuse (CBS 7110, Robertson 1984: 176).

[126] Nintinuga était appelée 'grande exorciste d'Enlil' (Such-Gutiérrez 2003: I 55), une épithète également portée par Ningirima. Cette dernière était aussi appelée igi-zi-gal-an-na à Lagaš (Steinkeller 2005: 304).

[127] ab-ba KA$_2$ ^{d}en-lil$_2$ en B i 17; -la$_2$ est très clair, mais il y a peu de place pour lil$_2$.

[128] uzu 'chair, viande'. Dans les documents économiques, uzu est le plus souvent employé pour la viande apprêtée: uzu gu$_2$-ne-še$_3$ 'viande pour le four' (viande rôtie), uzu a bala-še$_3$ 'viande à bouillir' (Sallaberger 1993: I 113) et elle est destinée aux dieux. Ce n'est pas le cas ici. Remarquer aussi que le responsable est nommé ugula e$_2$-uzu (i 15) et non pas ugula e$_2$-gud-gaz (surveillant de l'abattoir) ou e$_2$-muḫaldim (de la cuisine). Ainsi traduire chef magasinier paraît plus approprié que boucher.

1 udu ugula dam-gara$_3$
1 uzu gud 1 udu ugula muḫaldim
15   1 uzu gud 1 udu ugula e$_2$-uzu
1 uzu gud 1 udu um-mi-a
1 uzu gud 1 udu sagi lugal
4 uzu gud 1 udu di-ku$_5$-me
1 uzu gud 1 udu santana
20   1 uzu gud 1 udu ugula i$_3$-sur
1 uzu gud 1 udu ka-ꜙkuru$_{13}$ꜙ
1 uzu gud 1 udu PA.E$_2$ ^{d}nin-urta
1 uzu gud 1 udu unu$_3$-e-ne
5 uzu gud 4 udu ša$_3$-tam nibru^{ki}
25   5 uzu gud 4 udu ša$_3$-tam larsam^{ki}
1 uzu gud 1 udu ereš-diĝir ^{d}EN.ZU
1 uzu gud 1 udu ereš-diĝir ^{d}nergal
                    (KIŠ.UNUG)[129]

Col. ii
1   3 udu nu-eš$_3$ ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$
2 udu gudu$_4$ ^{dꜙ}nin^ꜙ-lil$_2$-la$_2$
2 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}nin-urta
2 udu LU$_2$.ꜙŠIM^ꜙ ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$
5   1 udu LU$_2$.ŠIM ^{dꜙ}nin^ꜙ-lil$_2$-la$_2$
1 udu LU$_2$.ŠIM ^{d}nin-urta
1 udu isib ^{d}nin-urta
1 udu bar-šu-ĝal$_2$ ^{d}nin-urta
1 udu isib ^{d}en-ki
10   1 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}nuska
1 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}nin-isin$_2$^{si}-na
1 udu gudu$_4$ diĝir-maḫ
1 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}utu
1 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}iškur
15   1 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}EN.ZU
1 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}en-ki
1 udu gudu$_4$ ^{d}inana
2 udu a-u$_3$-a-me
1 udu nar-gal ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$
20   1 udu nar-gal ^{dꜙ}nin^ꜙ-lil$_2$-la$_2$
1 udu nar-gal ^{dꜙ}nin^ꜙ-urta
1 udu nar-gal ^{d}nuska
1 udu nar-gal ^{dꜙ}KIŠ^ꜙ.UNUG.GAL (nergal)
3 udu nar-MUNUS ^{dꜙ}nin^ꜙ-lil$_2$-la$_2$
25   1 udu gala-maḫ ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$
1 udu gala-maḫ ^ꜙdnin-urta^ꜙ
1 udu ꜙi$_3$-du$_8$?^{ꜙ} [...][130]

Revers
Col. iii
1   1 udu i$_3$-d[u$_8$ ...]
1 udu muš-D[U.DU] (muš-laḫ$_5$)
1 udu sagi ꜙlugal^ꜙ
1 udu eš$_3$-a-ab-du$_7$
5   1 udu KA-inda$_3$[131]
1 udu lu$_2$ ma$_2$-gid$_2$

---

[129] Partout ailleurs, Nergal est écrit KIŠ.UNUG. GAL; GAL était peut-être inscrit sur la tranche de la tablette.
[130] Restitué d'après B iii 7s.
[131] Comparer Charpin 1986: 323 (11 N-T 28). Le KA-inda$_3$ de Ninurta était responsable de la sortie des rations de pain et des parts de mouton (*mālakum*) pour les orfèvres ayant plaqué d'or la table de Ninurta.

2 udu lu₂ guruš⁽?⁾ ⸢EN⸣.LIL₂ ⸢ki⸣ (nibru)[132]
1 udu lu₂ larsam^ki
1 udu bur-šu-ma lugal
10 1 udu dub-sar a-ša₃-ga
2 udu l[u₂ n]iĝ₂⁽?⁾ dab₅-ba
1 udu ⸢x⸣ [(x)] nisaĝ[133]
1 udu ⸢ kiĝ₂⁽?⁾⸣ UD.⸢AB⸣^ki (larsam)[134]
1 udu ir₂-šem₅ (AB₂.KID₂)
15 1 udu te-er-ṣum[135]
1 udu agrig ᵈen-lil₂-la₂
1 udu agrig ᵈnin-urta
1 udu ma₂ ĝar-ra ᵈutu ᵈnergal(KIŠ.UNUG.GAL)
2 udu lu₂ urim₂^ki
20 2 udu i₃-du₈ ki lukur-ra
1 udu lu₂ za-gin₃ e₃
1 udu PA.E₂ ᵈen-ki
1 udu PA.E₂ ᵈinana
1 udu lal₃-e₂-ša₃-ga[136]
25 1 ⸢udu⸣ egi₂-zi-an-na
1 udu nu-ge₁₇ gal
4 udu geme₂ uš-bar-me
Col. iv
1 3 uzu gud e₂ ⸢NIN⸣ ᵈ⸢en⸣-lil₂-la₂[137]
3 uzu gud e₂-sikil ᵈnin-urta [138]
4 uzu gud ⸢na⸣-kam-tum 4-bi
1 uzu gud e₂-sikil niĝ₂ diri
5 1 uzu gud e₂-sikil ᵈnuska[139]
1 uzu gud e₂-sikil ᵈnin-tin-ug₅-ga
4 uzu gud i₃-sur-me
3 uzu gud lu₂ a-bala
6 uzu gud ensi₂ ᵍᵉˢapin
─────────────────────────────
10 23 gud ḫi-a 3 17 udu ḫi-a
─────────────────────────────
e₂-e gu₇-u₃-dam ša₃ nibru^ki
─────────────────────────────
(anépigraphe)
─────────────────────────────

---

[132] La lecture guruš est basée sur le contexte: peut-être s'agit-il des haleurs de l'embarcation.

[133] Pour la lecture nisaĝ, comparer AOAT 25 229: UM 29-13-357+ Rvii: 8´. D'après ce document administratif, les rites propitiatoires se déroulant à Nippur le vingt-huitième jour (mois non conservé) comprenaient des offrandes sanglantes à Nergal (avec Nintinuga et Lisi), pour les prémices (nisaĝ), aux portes des temples d'Enlil, de Ninlil et de Ninurta, ainsi qu'une offrande terṣum avant les grandes lamentations (ir₂ gu-la, UM 29-13-357+ Rvii 1´-23´).

[134] Lecture incertaine: (pour) 'le message/l'oracle de Larsa'?

[135] En OB Hh 3: 7–8 (MSL 8/1, 81 V 1), uzu terṣum est opposé à uzu silqum (viande bouillie, ragoût), il s'agit donc d'une viande rôtie ou grillée. À l'époque médioassyrienne l'uzu silqu est offert à Assur alors que l'uzu šûmê est destiné à la déesse (comparer CAD Š/3 297–8: šumû B: viande grillée [sur le bois] = sumérien uzu gu₂-ne. À Mari, l'offrande silqum était également destinée au dieu (Durand 1983: 73).

[136] e₂ est inexplicable; lal₃-e-[ša₃-ga] en B i 14 avec l'egi₂-zi-an-na.

[137] Lecture e₂-NIN pour tout le groupe par Stol 2000: 458 n. 9, mais le même lit e₂-sikil en RlA 9: 541, Nippur. La première ligne de A iv porte clairement e₂ ⸢NIN⸣ ᵈ⸢en⸣-lil₂-la₂, mais aux lignes suivantes il faut lire e₂-sikil ('pure maison'). L'e₂-sikil est connu jusqu'à ce jour pour être une dépendance de l'Ešumeša (Sigrist 1984: 158). Dans les archives de ce temple, il est fréquemment mentionné à la suite du nakamtum, comme en A iv 3–4. Les deux bâtiments étaient enregistrés après le temple de Nin-Nibru. La topographie du temple est connue par HS 194 (apud Richter 1999/2004: 60): Ešumeša, kisal-maḫ, E'igišugalama, E-Nin-Nibru, nakamtum, E₂ el-lum (= e₂-sikil), E₂ a-ḫe-e u₃ ta-ka-la-tum.

[138] Simplifié en SAL.KU (nin₉); ereš-diĝir Ninurta en B i 10.

[139] L'e₂-sikil de Nuska et de Nintinuga ne sont pas connus.

ꜛiti꜐ gud-si-su

15   mu ^{ĝeš}tukul kala-ga ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le mu-na-šum$_2$-ma-ta

unu^{ki}-ga mu-ḫulu-a

erin$_2$ a$_2$-taḫ-bi šu-ni sa$_2$ bi$_2$-i[n-d]u$_{11}$-ga

Tranche

[eĝ]ir nam-lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-bi

20   šu-ĝar mu-un-ĝar-ra

16

ANNEXE B: Ni 2436 (B)

Col. i

1   [...] ḫi-ꜛa꜐ [...]

[...] ḫi-[a ...]

[niĝ$_2$-dab$_5$ iz]im$_x$$^?$ ša$_3$ ꜛEN.LIL$_2$꜐^{ki} (nibru)^{140}

saĝ ꜛniĝ$_2$-gur$_{11}$꜐-ra ša$_3$-bi-ta

———————————————————————

5   gud udu *ma-la-kum ma-la-kum*^{141}

gud udu-me

———————————————————————

0 6 0 0 x AB nu-e$_3$ (?)

0 6 0 0 geme$_2$ SIG$_5$ AŠ

6 40 0 0 lukur$^!$ ^{d}nin-urta-me^{142}

10   0 1 1 0 ereš-diĝir ^{dꜛ}nin-urta꜐^{143}

0 1 1 0 ereš-diĝir ^{d}E[N.Z]U$^{?144}$

0 1 1 0 ereš-diĝir ^{d}n[uska$^?$]

0 1 0 0 egi$_2$-zi-a[n-na]

0 1 0 0 lal$_3$-e-[ša$_3$-ga]^{145}

15   0 0 0 6 a-tu diĝir-[maḫ$^?$]^{146}

1 10 (DIŠ U) 0 0 gu$_2$-en-na

1 10 (DIŠ U) 0 0 ab-ba KA$_2$-^{d}en-lil$_2$^{147}

3 40 0 0 ꜛkaš꜐ de$_2$-a ꜛki x xx꜐^{148}

0 0 4 0 geme$_2$ uš-bar-ꜛme꜐

20   0 0 4 0 urdu$_2$ ḫi-a ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$$^!$

0 0 2 0 urdu$_2$ ḫi-a ^{d}nin-urta

0 0 4 0 urdu$_2$ ḫi-a *na-kam-tum*

0 0 1 0 urdu$_2$ ḫi-a e$_2$-ꜛsikil$^?$꜐

0 0 1 0 urdu$_2$ ḫi-a ^{d}nuska

25   0 0 1 0 urdu$_2$ ḫi-a ^{d}nin-tin-ug$_5$-ga

0 0 4 0 lu$_2$ al-ḫuĝ-ꜛĝa$_2$꜐

0 0 2 2 lu$_2$ a-bala

0 1 1 0 santana

0 1 1 0 saĝĝa$^?$

---

^{140} Restitution incertaine, izim$_x$-ma étant attendu.

^{141} Un *mālakum* fait un dixième de l'animal, cf. Charpin 1986: 323 (11 N-T 28), avec litt. antérieure. Le terme *mālakum* est déjà utilisé sous Ur III, voir Šulgi 26 (pour la table d'Enlil), Šu-Su'en (Civil and Zettler 1989: 60–1)

^{142} Ecrit GU.ME. Stol (2000: 463 n. 46) lit gudu$_4$, mais lukur est attendu (comp. A i 2), il s'agit du seul groupe enregistré sous la forme collective et recevant des parts aussi importantes. Il est peu vraisemblable que les deux gudu$_4$ de Ninurta en A ii 3 reçoivent autant de viande ou qu'ils dirigent un personnel si nombreux.

^{143} 1 est partout écrit DIŠ.

^{144} NIN écrit SAL.ŠE$_3$. Su'en est restitué d'après A i 26, mais ^{dꜛ}en꜐-[k]i ne peut être totalement exclu.

^{145} Restitué d'après A iii 24–5.

^{146} Il n'y a pas la place pour restituer a-tu ^{d}[nin-ḫur-saĝ]. Le personnel de Diĝirmaḫ est enregistré en ii 32.

^{147} Comparer A i 3.

^{148} Une lecture ꜛša$_3$ e$_2$ x x x꜐ est possible, mais les traces ne correspondent ni à l'Ekur, ni à l'Ešumeša. ša$_3$ ꜛkisal x x x꜐ est aussi envisage-able. Pour kisal 'cour' comme le lieu où se déroulaient les fêtes dans le temple de Nanna à Ur, voir LUr 355.

Col. ii
1   0 1 1 0 [...]
       0 0 6 0 [...] ⌜x⌝-NE
       0 3 3 0 du[b-sar] 3-a-bi[149]
       0 1 1 0 PA.⌜AL⌝ (šabra)
5   0 1 1 0 ⌜U₂ x⌝
       0 0 1 0 unu₃-e-ne
       0 1 1 0 um¹-mi-a
       0 2 1 0 sagi lugal
       0 4 4 0 di-ku₅-me
10   0 1 1 0 ugula muḫaldim
       0 1 1 0 ugula e₂-uzu
       0 1 1 0 ⌜ugula⌝ i₃-sur
       [0] ⌜1⌝ 1 0 ⌜ka-kuru₁₃⌝
       [0 1] 1 0 sagi ⌜x⌝
15   [0 1] 1 0 ⌜PA⌝.E₂ ᵈ⌜nin⌝-urta
       0 1 0 0 nu-⌜ge₁₇⌝ gal
       0 2 0 0 IGI.⌜DUB⌝ (agrig) ⌜ᵈen-lil₂⌝-la₂
       0 1 0 0 ⌜IGI.DUB⌝ (agrig) ᵈ⌜nin⌝-urta
       0 1 0 0 ⌜muš-laḫ₅⌝
20   0 1 0 0 ⌜dub-sar a-ša₃-ga⌝
       0 1 0 0 LU₂.ŠIM ᵈen-lil₂-la₂
       0 1 0 0 LU₂.ŠIM ᵈnin-lil₂-la₂
       0 1 0 0 LU₂.⌜ŠIM⌝ ᵈnin-urta
       0 6 0 0 ⌜ĝiri₃⌝-se₃-ga ᵈen-lil₂-la₂
25   0 2 0 0 ĝiri₃-se₃-⌜ga⌝ ᵈnin-lil₂-la₂
       0 2 0 0 ⌜ĝiri₃⌝-se₃-ga ᵈnin-urta
       0 1 0 0 ⌜ĝiri₃⌝-se₃-ga ᵈnuska
       0 1 0 0 [ĝi]ri₃-se₃-ga ᵈEN.ZU
       0 1 0 0 [ĝiri₃]-se₃-ga ᵈnin-tin-ug₅-ga
30   0 ⌜4⌝ 0 0 [ĝiri₃-se₃]-ga ᵈgu-la
       0 1 0 0 ĝiri₃-se₃-ga ᵈen-ki
       0 1 0 0 ĝiri₃-se₃-ga diĝir-maḫ
Revers
Col. iii
1   0 1 0 0 ĝiri₃-se₃-ga ᵈ⌜iškur⌝
       0 1 0 0 ĝiri₃-se₃-ga ᵈutu
       0 1 0 0 ĝiri₃-se₃-ga ᵈinana
       0 1 0 0 isib ᵈnin-urta
5   0 1 0 0 bar-šu-ĝal₂ ᵈnin-urta
       0 1 0 0 isib ᵈnuska
       0 1 0 0 i₃-du₈ gal
       0 1 0 0 i₃-du₈ e₂
       0 2 0 0 a-u₃-a-me
10   0 1 0 0 nar-gal ᵈen-lil₂-la
       0 1 0 0 nar-gal ᵈnin-lil₂-la₂
       0 2 0 0 nar-gal ᵈnin-urta
       0 1 0 0 nar-gal ᵈnuska
       0 6 0 0 tigi₂ (LUL.BALAĜ¹) ᵈnin-urta-⌜me⌝
15   0 ⌜1⌝ 0 0 gala-maḫ ᵈen-lil₂-la₂
       0 ⌜1⌝ 0 0 gala-maḫ ᵈnin-urta
       0 1 0 0 lu₂ ma₂-gid₂
       0 1 0 0 zu₂ gub kaš de₂-a ᵈdumu-zi[150]
       0 1 0 0 zu₂ gub kaš de₂-a ᵈen-ki
20   0 2 0 0 gaba-ri-a ᵈ⌜nin⌝-urta
       0 1 0 0 za-gin₃ e₃-de₃

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[149] Restitué d'après A i 10 où le dub-sar-maḫ reçoit trois parts de boeuf et trois moutons.
[150] Pascal Attinger me suggère le sens « à manger en-dehors du repas »; comparer nig₂-zu₂-gub « en-cas » en RCU 20: 1.

0 1 0 0 su-si-ig[151]
0 1 0 0 *te-er-*⌜*šum*⌝[152] niĝ₂-dab₅ gala-me

25   0 1 0 0 … KA×⌜X⌝.KAₓ×⌜X⌝ (?)[153]
0 1 0 0 ᵍᵉˢ⌜bansur?⌝ x x[154]
0 1 BALAĜ? 0 niĝ₂-dab₅ ⌜kaš₄?⌝-me[155]
0 2 2 0 *ra-bi₂ si₂-ka₃-tum*
0 6 6 0 ša₃-tam nibru^ki

30   0 2 0 0 lu₂ niĝ₂-dab₅-me
0 2 0 0 ša₃-tam e₂ ⌜lagal⌝
0 1 0 0 lu₂ KA-inda₃

Col. iv

1   [x x x] 0 GAL.SIMUG
[x x x] 0 eš₃-a-ab-du₇
[x x x] 0 pisaĝ?-dub-ba[156]
x] ⌜1+⌝ 0 zabar-dab₅

5   0 0 2 14 ša₃-tam-me
0 0 2/3 0 ugula ŠU.HA
0 0 2/3 0 santana
 0 1 00 ma₂ ĝar-ra ᵈutu ᵈnergal(KIŠ.UNUG.GAL) larsam^ki
——————————————————
(anépigraphe)
——————————————————

10   e₂-e gu₇-u₃-dam
——————————————————

ib₂-taka₄ 1 *šu-ši* gud ḫi-a[157]
u₃ 9 uzu *ma-la-kum* 8 45 udu ḫi-a[158]
e₂-gal-še₃
——————————————————
(anépigraphe)
——————————————————

15   iti gud-si-su
[m]u ᵈri-im-ᵈEN.ZU lugal-e
[...] ⌜kala⌝-ga ᵈen-lil₂-⌜la₂⌝ mu-na-an-šum₂-ma-ta
[...]-ḫulu-a

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[151] Un équarisseur, voir CAD Š/3 374: *šusik(k)um*.

[152] Pour *terṣum* voir A iii 15.

[153] KA×⌜LI⌝.KA×⌜LI⌝ (tu₆-tu₆/mu₇-mu₇) serait possible.

[154] Lire lukur (SAL.ME!)-re ?

[155] C'est-à-dire <udu> BALAĜ ? La restitution est hypothétique. Pour udu BALAĜ.MA = udu dim₃-ma, *takmīsu*, voir Charpin (1986: 323–4, OIC 22 no. 10). D'après ce texte, dix *mālakum* équivalent à un udu BALAĜ.MA. L'emploi de cette notation peut indiquer que les parts de mouton sont destinées à dix personnes, alors que l'entrée 1 udu indique une ration pour une personne.

[156] D'après A i 8.

[157] *šūši* est peut-être utilisé pour distinguer les deux entrées (1 <boeuf> 60 <parts de boeuf>, boeufs variés).

[158] Comprendre 8 moutons et 45 *mālakum*.

ARITHMETICAL TABLETS FROM IRAQI EXCAVATIONS IN THE DIYALA

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In 1962 Taha Baqir made what was to be his last contribution to Old Babylonian mathematics with the publication of Db_2 - 146, a beautiful tablet describing how to find the long and short sides of a rectangle with diagonal 1;15 and area 0;45 (Baqir 1962).[1] That short article also signalled the existence of further mathematical tablets from the Old Babylonian settlement of Tell edh-Dhiba'i, near Tell Muhammad and Tell Harmal/Shaduppum on the outskirts of Baghdad, which the Iraqis had excavated from July to November of that year (Baqir 1962: 11). Some two decades later, Farouk Al-Rawi and Michael Roaf edited Haddad 104, a large compilation of ten mathematical problems from Tell Haddad/Me-Turan (Al-Rawi and Roaf 1984), stating that 'other fragments of mathematical texts including school exercise texts have been found at Tell Haddad and Tell es-Seeb [the mounds comprising the Old Babylonian site of Me-Turan]' (Al-Rawi and Roaf 1984: 177). Neither Baqir nor al-Rawi and Roaf gave any further indication of what those mathematical tablets might contain.[2] In a continuation of recent publications (Isma'el 1999a; 1999b) [3] we present here two further tablets from Tell edh-Dhiba'i and six from Tell es-Seeb, along with an unprovenanced one, and conclude with a brief survey of the mathematics of the ancient kingdom of Eshnunna in the Diyala Valley. We dedicate this article to Jeremy in memory of good times in Iraq during the 1980s and, too briefly, during his return visit in March 2001, when this collaboration began at his instigation. [4]

TELL EDH-DHIBA'I

The main mound of Tell edh-Dhiba'i, a small, saddle-shaped site of some $300 \times 150 \times 5$ m (Baqir 1962: 12 n. 7), has been excavated three times by Iraqi teams. Its ancient name was either Šadlaš, according to a votive inscription found at the site (Rashid 1967), or Zaralulu, as suggested by inscribed seal impressions (Abdullah 1967); the matter is not, to our knowledge, settled.

The initial sounding, made in 1947 (Mustafa 1949), identified five occupation levels spanning the second millennium BCE. Dated administrative tablets found in Level V enabled the excavators to identify this phase with the reign of one Belakum, an early contemporary of Sumulael of Babylon, *c.*1880–1850 BCE by the middle chronology (Baqir 1949; Mustafa 1949: 184; Al-Hashimi 1972; see also Wu Yuhong 1994). The occupation of Level V ended with a large conflagration and abandonment shortly afterwards. The hundred or so tablets were found during the

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[1] A colour photograph of the reverse adorns the back cover of Cavigneaux 1981; the front shows another of Baqir's mathematical discoveries, the equally photogenic IM 55357 from Tell Harmal (Baqir 1950a).

[2] Although we now have some hints about two of them: Friberg 2001: 144–5 refers to 'IM 121163, a large theme text from Tell Haddad with equations for rectangles and complete solution procedures' and 'yet another large theme text from Tell Haddad with equations for semicircles'. Do they belong, with H(addad) 104, to the 'Scholar's Library' in Area II, which counted five mathematical tablets amongst its holdings? (Al-Rawi and Roaf 1984: 176; Cavigneaux 1999: 272 fig. 1).

[3] HL_1 - 46 = IM 52001 from Tell Harmal, an inverse table of squares for integers 1–90, on a triangular prism (Isma'el 1999a); and S_2 - 698 = IM 92092 from Tell es-Seeb, a fragment of a multi-column tablet which must have originally contained the whole of the standard multiplication series. The tables that survive are those for 50, 45, 44;26 40 and (from the end of the series) 1;40 and 1;15 (Isma'el 1999b).

[4] All copies are by Khalid Salim Isma'el. We thank the Director of the Iraq Museum for permission to publish these tablets.

first season, mostly in Level V (Mustafa 1949: 180); according to Baqir (1949: 140 n. 19), they were almost all business or administrative records. 37 tablets, including loan contracts of the god Lasimu, were discovered in a disturbed area just southwest of a small but substantial temple in the middle of the settlement (Mustafa 1949: 177; Abdullah 1967: 191).

The mathematical tablets were found during the second season of excavation, held in 1962–3 (Al-Gailani 1965). The dig uncovered public buildings to the north, where most of the tablets were found, and a residential area on the south of the mound, as well as excavating further the main temple in the central depression (Baqir 1962: 12; Al-Gailani 1965: 33; Abdullah 1967: 190) but no plans were published. Abdullah (1967: 190) inventorises the 300 hundred tablets found in this second season as '183 administrative documents, 45 receipts, 31 letters, 9 loan contracts, 3 mathematical texts and 8 miscellanea'. With Baqir's tablet (Baqir 1962) and the two published here we can thus account for all three of the mathematical tablets (although, as we shall see, one of the them turns out on closer inspection to be economic rather than mathematical). Dhiba'i was excavated again during 1982–3, during which thirteen more OB economic documents and letters were found (Hamoudi et al. 1989–90: 96 [1999: 21]).

According to Baqir (1962: 12) Db_2 - 146, the mathematical tablet that he published, came from Level IV, the reign of Ibal-pi-El II and contemporary with Hammurabi of Babylon (c. 1770 BCE). It appears that most of the documents found at Dhiba'i come from levels IV–V (Matoušová-Rajmova 1975: 49) but we have no further findspot information about the two published here.
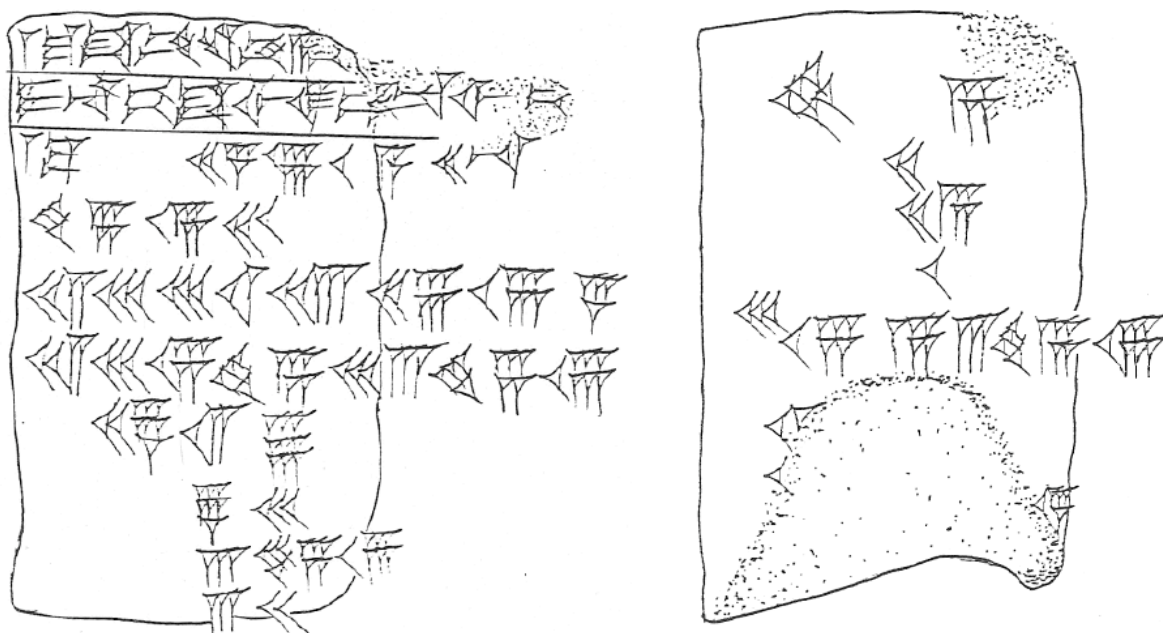
Figure 1: IM 67164

Tablet 1: IM 67164 (Figure 1)
Obverse

1.	1 MA.<NA?> *ša-am-na-am a-*⌜x⌝-[......]			1 mina(?) of oil [......]	
	i-na ga?-ša-lim ki-il IGI.⌜BI⌝			in … keep. Its reciprocal … […]	
	1 MA?	24 16 10	A 20 ⌜NA?⌝		
	45	15 30			
5.	22 30	30	11 23 26 15 ~ 4		
	22 30	15	45 33 45 ~ 16		
		27	12 09		

```
                              7 30
                              3 45 ~ 16
10.                           3 ~ 20
Reverse
1.      50                     5
                              20
                              25
                              10
5.      30
                              15        5 : 03 45 ~ 16
        ⌜11+⌝ [......]
        10 [.........]
        [................] 15ˀ
```

This is a quickly scrawled piece of mathematical rough work of a kind now well attested (Robson 1999: 10–11), although it is unusual in being on a Type III (im-gid₂-da) tablet rather than a roughly round or square one.[5] The tablet measures 69 × 47 × 24 mm. Such ephemera are usually very hard to read. In an ideal world we would have collated this tablet, but the current political situation in Iraq precluded that option. Nevertheless, we felt that it was worth drawing attention to the tablet and making a first attempt at reading it. The first two lines are a statement of a mathematical problem (or fragments of it), followed by intricate calculations, which we cannot yet interpret fully.

The two lines of text are enigmatic. The second sign in line 1 of the text and calculation could be KU, or MA for MA.NA 'mina', or possibly ŠU for *šu-ši* 'sixty'. The second line is open to many possible interpretations. The third sign may be BI or GA; we are torn between reading *ši-qí-il* 'shekel' and *ki-il* 'keep' before IGI.BI 'its reciprocal'. In any case, without collation we cannot yet make a link between these lines and the following calculation.

The values in line 3, the first line of the calculation, sum to 50: 24 + 16 + 10

In line 4, we are tempted to see the figures 45, 15 and 30 as three separate numbers, so that 45 = 15 + 30. (Taking them all together as 45 15 30 would give a number with very large factors, which would make it highly improbable as the subject of an OB school calculation.) Then immediately below the 45 the number 22 30 (half of 45) is written twice, in vertical alignment, followed by one further instance of each of the numbers 30 and 15.

To the right of those values, in the third line of the calculation, we have 11 23 26 15, which is 22 30 × 22 30 × 1 21, or 3 22 30 squared. There is then an attempt to find its reciprocal,[6] using a method now known as The Technique:[7] the final part, 15, is split off and its reciprocal, 4, written next to it. The rest of the number, 11 23 26, is multiplied by 4 (= 45 33 44) and 1 added to get 45 33 45, the number in the next line. The final stage in the calculation should be to take this reciprocal and to multiply again by 4, but 45 33 45 is not in the standard reciprocal table. So the procedure is iterated: 3 45 is split from the end and its reciprocal, 16, is written next to it. The rest of the number, 45 30, is multiplied by 16 (= 12 08) and 1 added, to get 12 09. At this point, when the procedure should be iterated once again, the calculation is apparently abandoned there.

The 7 30 immediately below has no apparent relationship to the calculation above (except that it is a third of 22 30). It is halved and its reciprocal found—3 45 ~ 16—, below which is the reciprocal pair 3 ~ 20.

There is even less to be made of the reverse, except to make the obvious statement that most of the numerals are multiples of 5, listed in no apparent order, followed by the same reciprocal pair— 3 45 ~ 16—as found on the bottom of the obverse. Is it the first move in finding the reciprocal of 5 03 45?

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[5] But see also 3N-T 362+366 and 3N-T 605, both from House F in Nippur (Robson 2002: 353–5).

[6] We mark reciprocal pairs by ~ in the transliterations presented here.

[7] This Old Babylonian method of finding regular reciprocal pairs was first described by Sachs (1947); see also Robson (2002: 352–6).
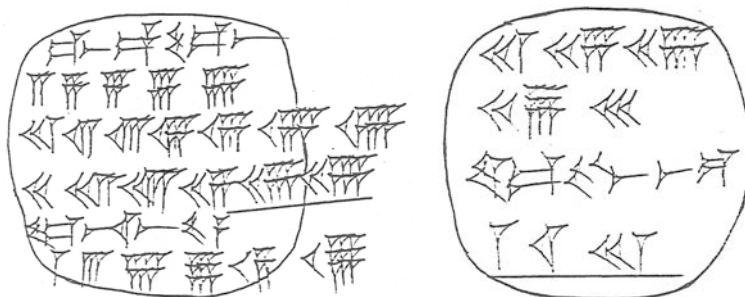
Figure 2: IM 67280

Tablet 2: IM 67280 (Figure 2)
Obverse
1.   GIŠ AŠ U$_4$$^?$ še$^?$-gur AŠ
       2 4 5 6 8
3.   10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18
       20 22 23 24 26 27
       _____

5.   še-gur bal-a$^?$
       1 3 7 9 14 19
Reverse
1.   21 25 28
       29 30
3.   še-gur GÍD$^?$ 1 GUR$^?$
       1 11 21
       _____

This appears to be an administrative note, dividing the days of the month, 1–30, into two mutually exclusive categories, on a tablet measuring 267 × 37 × 9 mm. The final category contains members from both of the first two. Once again, the tablet would benefit from collation, as the category labels are all unclear to us, but it is clear that they concern grain. Perhaps it is a memo drawn up as part of the process of combining daily receipts into a monthly account.[8]

TELL ES-SEEB
Tell es-Seeb is the collective name for two of three mounds that, together with Tell Haddad, formed the ancient city of Me-Turan, 2 km from the upper Diyala River (Muhamed 1992: 22–3). They were dug by a team from the Iraqi State Organisation of Antiquities and Heritage, as part of the Hamrin Dam rescue excavation project, between 1977 and 1979 when attention turned to Tell Haddad. The site was flooded in 1984.

The first mound, some 4 m high and 60 m across, had occupation levels of Parthian and Old Babylonian date, including at least three levels from the Isin-Larsa period. In total some 750 tablets were found there (Killick and Black 1985: 220), around 200 from a single room with benches running around its interior walls, with further benches in the corners. This furniture has led many to suggest that the building may have been an Old Babylonian scribal school (Postgate and Watson 1979: 167; Muhamed 1992: 23). However, a similar room in the Old Babylonian palace of Mari, long thought to be a school room too, has been shown to have functioned as a store room: the supposed schoolboys' benches turn out to be storage shelves (Margueron 1986: 144). Similar caution should be exercised over the Tell es-Seeb 'school', especially as the tablets were found heaped in a single pile (Hanoun 1979: 434); neither do the admittedly brief preliminary reports mention fixtures for recycling tablets, now understood to be diagnostic for scribal establishments

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[8] A similar tablet is Ashmolean 1924.1650 (Dalley 2005: 161), from Old Babylonian Kish—almost certainly not an 'exercise text' as stated there.

(Faivre 1995). Only two tablets of any kind were found in the second Seeb mound (Postgate and Roaf 1981).

The exact findspots of the seven mathematical tablets from the site are unknown, but presumably they all predate Hammurabi's destruction of Me-Turan in Hammurabi's 28th regnal year (Charpin 1987), namely 1765 BCE by the middle chronology.
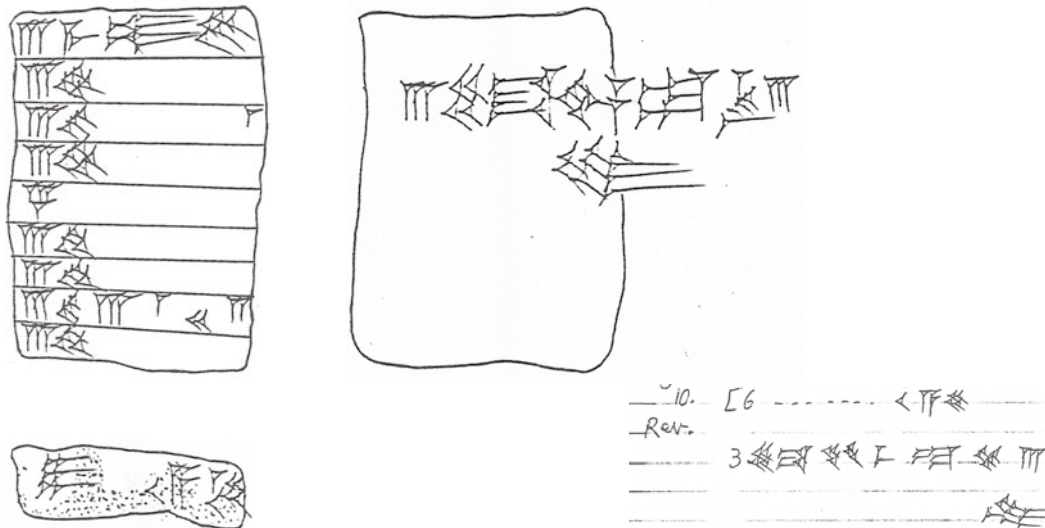
Figure 3: IM 90732

Tablet 3: IM 90732 (Figure 3)
Obverse

1.	3 *me* ÍB.TÁG? (or ANŠE?.SIG₄??)	3 hundred, remainder (or: brick pile)
	3 50	350
	3 30	330
	3 50	350
5.	4	400
	3 40	340
	3 40	340
	3 33 (traces from reverse)	333
	3 40	340

Lower edge

i-[la?]-a-ᶜkam?ᴵ	he came here (?).

Reverse

3 *li-im* <1/2> *me-at* 33 SIG›	3 thousand, <1/2> hundred, 33 bricks.

This administrative list is on a tablet measuring 47 × 38 × 14 mm. It is not, strictly speaking, mathematical in that it does not belong to the scholastic milieu (cf. Robson 1999: 7). However, it is extraordinarily interesting from the point of view of professional numeracy, because it shows the mismatch between strict educational adherence to the sexagesimal system and the informal use of decimal counting by working scribes. The document lists nine quantities of bricks which are totalled on the reverse of the tablet. The total is explicitly stated in the decimal system, but can only be correct if all nine entries on the obverse of the tablet are understood in the decimal system too. It is reminiscent of the administrative tablets from Old Babylonian Mari, which also adapt the sexagesimal notational system to fit decimal numbering (Soubeyran 1984; Proust 2002). Perhaps this is another reflection of the close association between writing practices in the kingdoms of Eshnuna and Mari (Charpin 2004: 140). The exact wording of the total is unclear at the point at which it runs round the tablet from reverse to obverse.
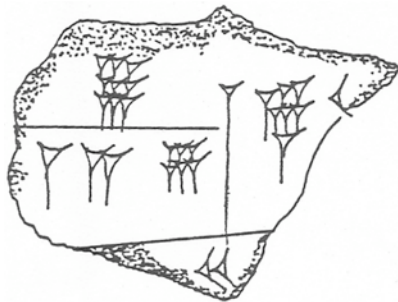
Figure 4: IM 90736
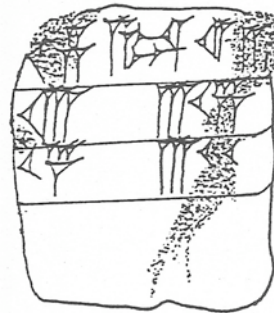
Figure 5: IM 90862

Tablet 4: IM 90736 (Figure 4)
Part of a field plan, or a geometrical diagram? This flake, measuring 60* x 40* mm, is strongly reminiscent of the fragmentary series of diagrams recording the lengths, widths, and areas of trapezoids on Ist O 4360 from De Genouillac's excavations at Kish (Neugebauer 1935–7: I 235–6). The number 9 is visible in the top left corner of the fragment, just above a horizontal line; it may be the length of that line. Inside the quadrilateral field below are the numerals 3 (or 1 and 2) and 6. The numeral 20 (presumably part of a longer number) is distinguishable in the bottom corner, while to the right of the others is the figure 7 10 (an incomplete 7 12?).

Tablet 5: IM 90862 (Figure 5)
Obverse

1.	15 A.RÁ 12	3	15 steps of 12 (is) 3 00
	13	3 15	(15 steps of) 13 (is) 3 15
3.	14	3 30	(15 steps of) 14 (is) 3 30.

Reverse blank

This three-line extract from a 15 times multiplication table is unique, as far as we know, in that its first line uses the terminology usually reserved for the first lines of full multiplication tables (e.g., Tablet 8 below and IM 92092 in Table 2). That format is also very common elsewhere (see most recently Robson 2002: 338–9). The small square tablet measures 40 × 40 × 20 mm.

Tablet 6: IM 90884 (Figure 6)
Obverse

1.	⌜1⌝	1	BA.SI.E	1 squares 1
	⌜4⌝	2	BA.SI.E	4 squares 2
	[9]	3	BA.SI.E	9 squares 3
	⌜16⌝	4	BA.SI.E	(etc.)
5.	⌜25⌝	5	BA.SI.E	
	36	6	BA.SI.E	
	49	7	BA.SI.E	
	[1 04]	⌜8⌝	BA.SI.E	

…
Reverse

…

1′.	35 16	46	BA.SI.E
	36 49	47	BA.SI.E
	38 24	48	BA.SI.E
	[40 01]	49	BA.SI.E
5′.	[41 40]	50	BA.SI.E
	[43 21]	51	BA.SI.E

	[45 04]	52	BA.SI.E
	[46 4]9	53	BA.SI.E
	[48 3]6	54	BA.SI.E
10′.	[50 25]	55	BA.SI.E
	[52 16]	⸢56⸣	BA.SI.E
Upper edge			
1.	[54 09]	57	BA.SI.E
	[56 04]	58	BA.SI.E
3.	[58 01]	59	BA.SI.E
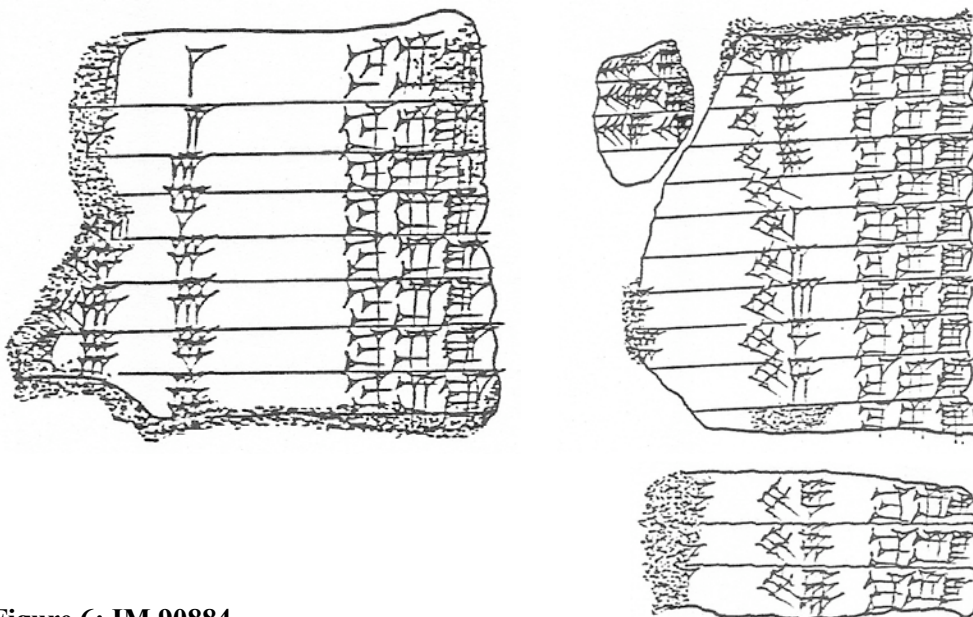
Figure 6: IM 90884

An inverse table of squares from 1 to 59, all extant parts of which are correctly written and calculated. This one-column tablet must have originally had about 27 lines on each side, and measured some 50 × 150 mm; its measurements as extant are 48 × 55* × 21 mm. Several other tables of this type are known; they all apparently run from 1 to 30, 60, or 90 (see most recently Isma'el 1999a; Robson 2002: 360). However, whereas in Babylonia the standard term for 'square' and 'cube' are íB.SI₈ and BA.SI₈ respectively, in Eshnuna their meanings can be reversed and may be treated as verbs instead of nouns.[9] See also Tablet 7 below.

Tablet 7: IM 90889 (Figure 7)
Obverse

1.	[1].E	1 íB.[SI]	1 cubes 1
	8	2	8 (cubes) 2
	27	3	(etc.)
	1 04	4	
5.	2 05	5	
	3 36	6	
	5 43	7	
	8 32	8	
	12 09	9	
10.	16 40	10	

Reverse blank

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[9] IM 54478 from Harmal writes 'cube' (verb) as íB.SI₈; IM 55337, also from Harmal, writes 'square' (verb) as íB.SÍ. Haddad 104, IM 52301, and IM 121613 write 'square' (noun) as BA.SI.(E) (Høyrup 2002a: 320, 323).
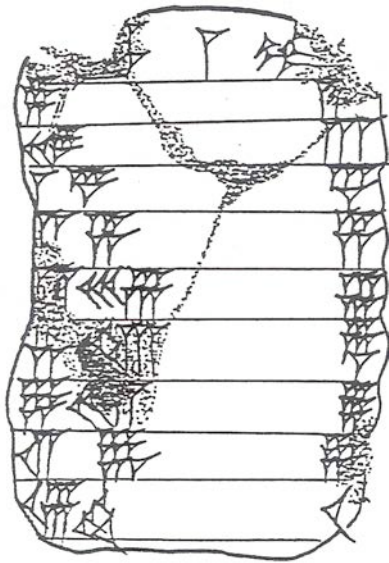
Fig. 7: IM 90889

A table of inverse cubes from 1 to 10, on a tablet measuring 52 × 72 × 20 mm. Compare most recently Ash 1923.366 (Robson 2004: tablet 9), a six-sided prism perhaps from Larsa, which ends with a very damaged table of inverse cubes comprising at least 15 lines.
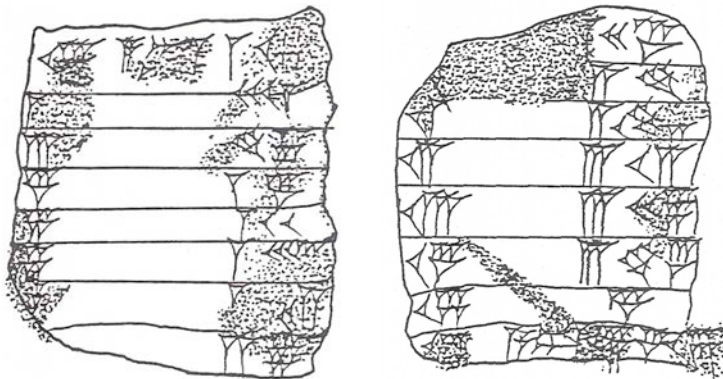
Figure 8: IM 92006

Tablet 8: IM 92006 (Figure 8)
Obverse

1.	16 A.ꜛRÁꜛ 1	ꜛ16ꜛ	16 steps of 1 (is) 16
	ꜛ2ꜛ	32	(16 steps of) 2 (is) 32
3.	3	48	(etc.)
	4	1 04	
5.	5	1 20	
	ꜛ6ꜛ	1 36	
7.	ꜛ7ꜛ	1 ꜛ52ꜛ	
	[8]	2 08	

Reverse

1.	[9]	ꜛ2ꜛ 24
	ꜛ10ꜛ	2 40
3.	11	2 56
	12	3 12
5.	13	3 28

	14	3 44	
7.	15	4	
	⌜16⌝ A.RÁ ⌜16⌝	4 16	16 times 16 is 4 16.

This multiplication table, on a tablet of 47 × 47 × 17 mm, is unusual in that it is only sixteen lines long, ending with the square of the head number. The conventional structure comprises entries for the multiplicands 1–20 and 30, 40, 50 before optionally giving the square (as here) and the inverse of the head number (see most recently Robson 2002: 338–9). However its terse formatting is exactly paralleled by the multiplication tables on IM 92092, also from Tell es-Seeb (Isma'el 1999b).

UNPROVENANCED TABLET
This tablet, which measures 45 × 40 × 17 mm, was confiscated by the Iraq Museum in 1995.
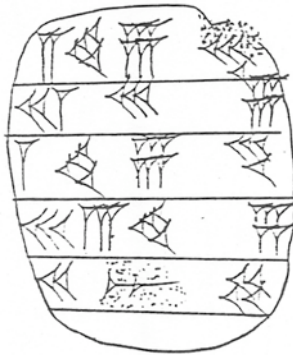
Figure 9: IM 142074

Tablet 9: IM 142074 (Figure 9)
Obverse

1.	2 46 40	2 46 40 ~ 21 36
	21 36	
3.	1 46 40	1 46 40 ~ 33 45
	33 45	
5.	10! «erasure» 40	10 40 ~ 5 37 30

Reverse

1.	5 37 30	
	1 36	1 36 ~ 37 30
3.	37 30	
	20	20 [~ 3?]

This small unprovenanced tablet carries four (originally five?) regular reciprocal pairs. The first number, 2 46 40, is equivalent to 10,000 in the decimal system. Perhaps it is an exploration of the relationship between numbers decomposed into two regular parts and their reciprocals:

2 46 40 = 1 46 40 + 1 00 00 (whose reciprocal is trivial)
1 46 40 = 1 36 00 + 10 40
21 36 = 1 36 + 20 00

Splitting long strings of regular numbers into two is the first stage in the standard method of finding the reciprocals of regular numbers which are not in the standard list, a method dubbed The Technique by Sachs (see above, Tablet 1). None of the values here are head numbers in the

standard list of reciprocals and multiplications, although they all occur several times within that list as products.

CONCLUSIONS: MATHEMATICS IN OLD BABYLONIAN ESHNUNA

Robson (1999: 172–3) and Høyrup (2002a: 317–61) have both made brief forays into regional variations in the terminology, orthography, and methodology of Old Babylonian mathematics; Høyrup (2002b) has also used the Eshnuna material as key evidence in his provocative argument that the Ur III period was mathematically sterile.[10] None of those studies were based on the entire available Eshnuna corpus, however: Robson focussed on list of constants and problems which utilised them, while Høyrup's remit comprised the problems on concrete algebra. Neither took the arithmetical tables into account. We therefore take this opportunity to list all published mathematical tablets from the Diyala Valley known to us (see Appendix, below) and to briefly attempt a characterisation of the mathematics of ancient Eshnuna, as has recently been done for Ur (Friberg 2000) and Kish (Robson 2004b: 42–4). In this way we hope to make a small contribution to the historical geography of Old Babylonian mathematics that is now emerging, although these remarks are necessarily very preliminary, given that other tablets in the corpus, and much important archaeological data, are still unpublished.

Some forty Eshnunan mathematical tablets have now been edited or discussed in print: sixteen from Shaduppum (Tell Harmal) and two from nearby Šadlaš/Zaralulu (Tell edh-Dhiba'i); one from Neribtum (Ishchali) on the opposite bank of the river; and nine from Me-Turan (Tell Haddad, Tell es-Seeb) about 100 km upstream. In addition, five tablets of mathematical problems, published by Bruins (1953a; 1953b; 1954), can be assigned to the Eshnuna region on the basis of their phraseology and orthography.[11] To judge from the dates on economic and legal documents found with them, and from the destruction levels on all these sites, the tablets all date from a few decades (at most) prior to Hammurabi's conquest of Eshnuna in 1762 BCE. The oldest may be IM 55337, from level III of Tell Harmal (Baqir 1950a: 39); then come the group published by Baqir (1951), also from Harmal, found with tablets dating from the last year of Dadusha (1779 BCE) and the reign of Ibal-pi-El II (1778–1765 BCE) (Baqir 1951: 29). Haddad 104, IM 52301 from Harmal and Db₂-146, from Dhiba'i were discovered with tablets dating to Ibalpiel II 7–10, namely 1772–1769 BCE (Al-Rawi and Roaf 1984: 176; Baqir 1950b: 130; 1962: 12).[12] No chronological information has been published for the others.

Publication has heavily favoured word problems, coefficient lists, and catalogues over other mathematical genres such as arithmetical tables, metrological lists, calculations and diagrams.[13] We suspect this may reflect the predominant scholarly interests of the 1950s to 80s, rather than the

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[10] That hypothesis, which depends on a controversial model of the Ur III period as a slave society, is too complex to engage with in detail here. However, we may briefly indicate one major flaw, which identifies logograms (as faithful indicators of genuine Sumerian) exclusively with the Ur III period. This simplification fails to take into account such features as the widespread use of written Akkadian in the Ur III administration (Hilgert 2002: 17–85) and the linguistic overhaul of Shulgi Hymn B to conform with OB literary Sumerian style (Klein 2000 [2005]), which can thus tell us nothing reliable of the Ur III scribal curriculum. It seems to us that a necessary precondition for the Old Babylonian algebra, which is Høyrup's primary concern, was the slow development of the sexagesimal place value system and the concomitant reciprocal table, which finally matured in the Ur III period itself (Powell 1976; Robson 2003–4).

[11] A further seven arithmetical and metrological tables discussed by Bruins 1954: 55 might also be from the Eshnuna region, but he does not give enough details for the question to be worth pursuing here: IM 52548 (multiplication table × 24), IM 52879 (series of multiplication tables, × 36 extant), IM 54216 (multiplication table × 9), IM 54346 (multiplication table × 45, × 44 26 40), IM 54486 (metrological table of weights), IM 55111 (multiplication table × 18), IM 55292 (series of multiplication tables; Bruins's reconstruction is hardly plausible). The tablet IM 43996 (Bruins 1953b: 255–8; 1964: III pl. II), bearing two copies of a diagram of a striped triangle, may also originate in the vicinity of Eshnuna.

[12] Regnal dates of the Eshnunan kings follow Charpin 2004: 389–90.

[13] For an identification and discussion of the mathematical genres, see Robson 1999: 6–15.

assemblages actually found; with this article it becomes increasingly likely that all genres were known and used in Eshnuna. However, there is still no indication of if or how arithmetic, metrology and mathematics fitted into any scribal curriculum as, for instance, at Nippur (Robson 2002).

The cylinder A 7897 and the fragment S_2 - 698 show that the standard series of multiplications, with the same multiplicands 1–20, 30, 40, 50, was known and copied in the same order as in more southerly sites, and in the same terse and verbose formats (cf. Robson 2002: 338–46). We see for the first time here that individual tables were also copied on im-gid₂-da (Type III) tablets, as in the south.[14] There is as yet no evidence for multiplications copied by teacher and then student on Type II tablets, known from Nippur, or on im-šu (Type IV) tablets, as, for instance, at Susa.[15] No Eshnunan metrological lists or tables are yet known either.[16] Tables of squares, inverse squares, and inverse cubes of integers, however, which are considered rare 'extra-curricular' exercises in Nippur and the south (Robson 2002: 360), are also well attested. As we have seen, however, they utilise a very distinctive terminology that is characteristic only of the Eshnuna region.[17]

Stand-alone diagrams and ephemeral rough work are published here for the first time, although diagrams accompanying word problems are already very well known.[18] They are in the standard OB style, with triangles and trapezoids tapering upwards and to the right, and lengths and widths much closer in size than their numerical labels would suggest. Those labels are written along the lines or in the areas, without names or metrological units. One diagram is situated at the top of the obverse, as expected, filling the entire width of the tablet; another, uniquely, on the reverse below an unfinished solution; the disposition of the third is unknown.

The word problems themselves, some fifty of them, tend to be solved in full; none simply states the problem and answer, as often in the south (cf. Robson 1999: 8); it may be that the 'catalogues' served this summary function in Eshnuna.[19] They list the first lines of many problems in a very condensed form, typically on the areas of squares, with many entries duplicated across the four tablets, but also on agricultural labour rates, and commercial arithmetic. On one tablet the entries are mixed with lists of coefficients, or constants needed for many types of OB word problem; another mixes catalogue entries with word problem; a third has word problems and a small coefficient list. This blurring of the boundaries of the OB mathematical genres is unique, as far as we know, to Eshnuna. Yet the mathematical corpus itself is much the same as in Babylonia or Susa: there are no obvious gaps, additions, or imbalances. About half of it deals with the algebraic manipulation of lines and areas, and the other half with topics in labour management, or quantity surveying; there are also problems in two-dimensional geometry, market prices, and metrological conversion. Word problems are collected thematically on two-column tablets, or written singly on small tablets in 'portrait' or (at Harmal) in 'landscape' format.[20] The problem statements are prefaced *šumma išâlka*, 'if he asks you' at Harmal, *šumma išallūka* 'if they ask you' elsewhere in

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[14] Tablets 5 and 8 from Seeb. And perhaps two sequential multiplications: see IM 54346, footnote 11.

[15] Multiplications on Nippur Type II tablets: see most recently Robson 2002; Type II tablets are also known at Sippar-Amnānum (Tanret 2002) and Kish (Ohgama and Robson, this volume), but multiplication tables are not yet attested on them there. Multiplications on two Type IV tablets from Susa: van der Meer 1935: 61; Tanret 1986: 147. See also CUA 63, unprovenanced (Robson 2005).

[16] Except perhaps IM 54486, see footnote 11.

[17] Tablets 6 and 7, both from Seeb; IM 52001, IM 54033, both from Harmal. See footnote 9 for terminology.

[18] Diagrams: Tablet 4, from Seeb; plus perhaps IM 43996, see footnote 11; rough work: Tablet 1, from Dhiba'i. IM 43996 is strikingly similar in its shape, size and layout to several other unprovenanced OB tablets bearing mathematical rough work, e.g., Nemet-Nejat 2002: texts 10, 16. Word problems with diagrams: Db₂ - 146, from Dhiba'i; IM 55337, from Harmal; IM 31248, unprovenanced.

[19] See Robson 1999: 9–10 for a discussion of the differences between 'catalogues' and 'series texts'. The Eshnunan 'catalogues' are IM 52685+ and IM 52916, both from Harmal, and IM 52672, unprovenanced.

[20] Compare Neugebauer and Sachs 1945: texts C, Ca, Ea, Eb, Ec, M, P, Pa, Q, Sb, Ub, Uc; Bruins and Rutten 1961: texts 13, 19, 22.

Eshnuna (except Haddad), a phenomenon unique to the region (Høyrup 2002a: 319). This feature, along with highly distinctive spelling conventions and terminological practices (Robson 1999: 172–3; Høyrup 2002a: 317–61), makes it likely that Eshnunan mathematics had a long existence independent from the southern traditions. It puts us in mind of Jeremy's questioning nature and independence of spirit, as well as his open and enthusiastic engagement with all things Assyriological—including mathematics. For all of these qualities of Jeremy's we are very grateful.

APPENDIX: PUBLISHED MATHEMATICAL TABLETS FROM THE DIYALA VALLEY

Provenance	Excavation no. or museum no.	Description[21]	Publication
Tell Haddad	Haddad 104	Two-column tablet with ten PWSs about quantity surveying	Al-Rawi and Roaf 1984; Robson 1999: 36, 75, 78–9, 116; Friberg 2001: 110–12
	IM 121163 or IM 121613	Collection of PWSs about areas of rectangles	cf. Friberg 2001: 144; Høyrup 2002a: 322
	—	Collection of PWSs about areas of semicircles	cf. Friberg 2001: 145
Tell es-Seeb	S$_2$ - 407 = IM 90736	Fragment of diagram	Tablet 4
	S$_2$ - 698 = IM 92092	Multi-column tablet originally bearing the entire multiplication series	Isma'el 1999b
	S$_2$ - 596 = IM 92006	Multiplication table × 16	Tablet 8
	S$_2$ - 540 = IM 90862	Multiplication table extract × 15	Tablet 5
	S$_2$ - 563 = IM 90884	Table of inverse squares	Tablet 6
	S$_2$ - 568 = IM 90889	Table of inverse cubes	Tablet 7
Tell edh-Dhiba'i	Db$_2$ - 116 = IM 67164	Problem statement and calculation; unclear	Tablet 1
	Db$_2$ - 146	Unfinished PWS, with diagram, about similar right triangles	Baqir 1962; Høyrup 2002a: 257–61
Ishchali	Ish 35 T 111 = IM 31247	Two-column tablet with at least eight PWSs about the areas of rectangles	Bruins 1953a: Appendix 2; Gentili 2004: 267
Tell Harmal	IM 52685 + IM 52304	'Catalogue' of problems	Goetze 1951
	IM 52916	'Catalogue' of problems, coefficient list	Goetze 1951; Robson 1999: C
	IM 52301	Three PWSs about areas, coefficient list	Baqir 1950b; Robson 1999: H; Høyrup 2002a: 213–7
	IM 53953	PWS about a triangle	Baqir 1951: no. 2
	IM 53957	PWS about quantities of grain	Baqir 1951: no. 5
	IM 53961	PWS about building a wall	Baqir 1951: no. 4; Robson 1999: 94; Friberg 2001: 104
	IM 53965	PWS about a broken reed	Baqir 1951: no. 7

[21] PWS = problem with worked solution.

	IM 54010	PWS about areas	Baqir 1951: no. 6
	IM 54011	Two PWSs about building a wall	Baqir 1951: nos. 10–11; Robson 1999: 95; Friberg 2001: 105
	IM 54464	PWS about market prices	Baqir 1951: no. 9
	IM 54478	PWS about a cubic volume	Baqir 1951: no. 1; Robson 1999: 113
	IM 54538	PWS about carrying bricks	Baqir 1951: no. 3; Friberg 2001: 98
	IM 54559	PWS about the area of a rectangle	Baqir 1951: no. 8
	IM 55357	PWS, with diagram, about triangles	Baqir 1950a; Høyrup 2002a: 231–4
	IM 54033	Table of squares from 1 to 60	Baqir 1948: 138
	HL$_1$ - 46 = IM 52001	Table of inverse squares	Bruins 1954: 55; Isma'el 1999a
Unprovenanced	IM 31210	Three-column tablet with at least eight PWSs about market prices; opening phrase *šumma išallūka* 'If they ask you', reminiscent of Db$_2$ - 146's *šumma ṣiliptam išallūka* 'If they ask you about a diagonal' (cf. Høyrup 2002a: 258); apparently not from Ishchali (Gentili 2004)	Bruins 1954: 57–60
	IM 31248	Two PWSs with diagram, about a striped triangle and a striped trapezoid; opening phrase *šumma išallūka umma šūma*, 'If they ask you, saying thus'; apparently not from Ishchali (Gentili 2004)	Bruins 1953b: 256–9
	IM 43993	PWS about the area of a rectangle. Identified as Eshnunan by Høyrup 2002a: 322	cf. Friberg 2001: 144
	IM 52672	'Catalogue' of problems to be solved; cf. IM 52685+ and IM 52916 from Harmal	Bruins 1954: 61
	IM 53963	PWS about the area of a triangle, with opening phrase *šumma kīam išâlka umma šūma*, typical of Harmal (Høyrup 2002a: 319)	Bruins 1953a: Appendix 1
	IM 54472	PWS, with typical Harmal vocabulary *mīnûm* 'what?' and BA.SI.E 'square side' (Høyrup 2002a: 320)	Bruins 1954: 56
	A 7897	Thirteen-column cylinder bearing the complete series of multiplications, attributed to the Diyala by Baghdadi dealers in 1930 (Neugebauer and Sachs 1945: 24 n. 87)	Neugebauer and Sachs 1945: 24–5

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SUMERIAN REVISITED: AN INTERPRETATION OF LU₂ AND NIĜ₂ FROM A SYNTACTIC POINT OF VIEW

Fᴜᴍɪ Kᴀʀᴀʜᴀsʜɪ—Tᴏᴋʏᴏ

Regarding Sumerian Relative Clauses (RCs), scholarly opinion is divided as to whether Sumerian uses relative pronouns (or their functional equivalent) or not—in other words, whether lu₂ and niĝ₂ are head nouns or equivalent to relative pronouns.[*] One can find these two different views expressed most recently in the articles by Alster (2002) and Michalowski (2004a: 37). Despite appearing in print first, Alster's article is actually a response to the interpretation presented by Michalowski (and, before him, by Thomsen 1984: 242–6 [§§486–8]). It might not make much difference in terms of translation if one takes lu₂ and niĝ₂ in one way or the other. Nonetheless, it is not a trivial matter to define lu₂ and niĝ₂ syntactically in order to understand how Sumerian RCs are constructed. The goal of this paper is to propose a simple and logical syntactic analysis of these items. My working corpora consist mainly of the Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and Gudea inscriptions.[1]

DEFINITION OF SUMERIAN RELATIVE CLAUSES

Before entering the discussion of lu₂ and niĝ₂, I would like to address a basic question: which constructions should be labelled Relative Clauses? It is assumed in general that the head noun is outside of the relative clause (Head External) in Sumerian, preceding it, as in (1).[2]

(1)

en-te-me-na-ke₄	lugal	ki	an-na-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni	ᵈnin-ĝir₂-su₂-ra
Entemena-ERG	king	[RCplace	CP-3SG.DAT-measure-NOM]-his	Ninĝirsu-DAT

e₂-bappir₃-ka-ni	mu-na-du₃
brewery-his	CP-3SG.DAT-build

Entemena built for Ninĝirsu, his king that loves him, his brewery (Ent 8. 7:7–8:4)

In (1), the head noun, lugal, is followed by the RC-3POSS. The RC on the head noun lugal and Ningirsu are in apposition, and the case suffix, the dative -/ra/, is attached to the last of the two NPs, Ningirsu.[3] This RC of [king + RC]-his is usually interpreted as a restrictive RC.[4] The nominalizer -/a/ is given the role of complementizer (Black 2002a: 75) and translated as 'that' in this paper.

Although more study may be needed, I assume as follows: sentences that can be interpreted as consisting of a head noun and a modifying subordinate clause with a finite (as opposed to a non-finite) verb are RC constructions.[5] Thus, the definition of Sumerian relative clauses will be that they are subordinate clauses embedded—as noun modifiers—inside noun phrases (Gragg 1968; 1973).[6]

TWO DIFFERENT VIEWS OF LU₂ AND NIĜ₂

The two different views of lu₂ and niĝ₂ can be termed (a) the 'relative pronoun' interpretation and (b) the 'head noun' interpretation. I would like to quote representative opinions of the three

scholars mentioned above: firstly, the 'relative pronoun' interpretation of Thomsen and Michalowski[7] and secondly, the 'head noun' interpretation of Alster.[8]

Thomsen (1984: 242 [§486]) writes:

Between the noun and the relative clause an 'indefinite' noun can be inserted: for animate beings: lú 'someone' = 'who', for inanimate beings: níg = 'which'. This 'relative pronoun' is not obligatory.

<div align="center">lugal lu₂ é in-dù-a ba-úš «the king who has built the house has died»</div>

Michalowski (2004: 37) writes:

Sumerian uses two substantives in the function of relative pronouns …. The animate pronoun is lú, literally 'man, human', as in lú é dù-a 'who built the temple'. The inanimate equivalent is níĝ, which is often translated as 'thing', although the etymology may be questioned: níĝ du₁₁-ga-ni (dug.ani) 'what he/she said'.

Ablative, COM = Comitative, CP = Conjugation Prefix, DAT = Dative, DN = Deity Name, ERG = Ergative, EQU = Equative, GEN = Genitive, LOC = Locative, LT = Locative-Terminative, MP = Modal Prefix, N = Noun, NEG = Negative, NOM = Nominalizer, NONP = Non-Past, NP = Noun Phrase, Pl = Plural, POSS = Possessive Pronoun, POST = Post Position, PRO = Pronominal Element, RC = Relative Clause, RRC = Reduced Relative Clause, Sg = Singular, TER = Terminative, TN = Temple Name, VB = Verb, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person. An asterisk (*) following a morpheme (e.g., CP*) indicates that the given morpheme is not overt but assumed.

[1] Examples cited for this paper are mostly from Steible 1982 and Edzard 1997, with some from NG (Falkenstein 1956) and TCS 1 (Sollberger 1966).

[2] An interpretation that some Sumerian RCs are Head Internal has been proposed by Johnson 2004: 235–42, 251–60 and Huber 2000 [2005]: 107, who observes: 'the head noun seems to count as a part of the relative clause rather than as a noun to which the relative clause is appositively adjoined'. Although it is indeed an interesting proposition, more study will be necessary on the issue. Meanwhile I base my discussion on the more conservative definition of Sumerian RCs.

[3] Under relativization one argument is deleted in the RC, and the deleted argument is co-referential with the head noun. Therefore, the head noun has a double role: one is internal—in relation to the subordinate clause, and the other is external—in relation to the matrix clause. In our example (1), lugal is the subject internally and the indirect object externally. For relative clauses, see Keenan 1985; Comrie 1989: 138–64.

[4] There are two types of RCs, depending on whether the RC is delimiting (a restrictive RC: example i below) or giving additional information (a non-restrictive RC: example ii.a). English uses intonation, approximated in writing by commas, to signal whether a clause is a restrictive or a non-restrictive RC. In non-restrictive RCs, a comma is placed between the head noun and the RC in writing and an intonational break in speaking. Referentially unique heads, such as proper names and pronouns, can be modified only by non-restrictive RCs. Therefore, with the proper name 'John', non-restrictive (ii.a) is possible, but restrictive (ii.b) is not (Givón 1990: 650).

<div style="padding-left:2em">
(i)   The people who moved in next door are from Illinois.
(ii.a)   John, who is my friend, is a poet.
(ii.b)   *John who is my friend is a poet.
</div>

For the most recent treatment of Sumerian restrictive RCs, see Huber 2000 [2005]: 102–9.

[5] I tentatively label clause types with a non-finite verb, such as ĝeštu₂ šum₂-ma ᵈen-ki-(ke₄) '(the one) given wisdom by Enki' (pass.) and ur-saĝ niĝ₂-ba-e ki aĝ₂-ra 'for the warrior loving presents' (Gudea Cyl A vi 26 [ETCSL 2.1.7]), 'Reduced Relative Clauses' (= RRC) and will treat them elsewhere.

[6] It should be noted that Gragg 1968: 95–6 elegantly formulated transformational rules for Sumerian RCs with syntactic trees. Cf. Alster's similar proposal of 'Four rules for relative transformation in Sumerian' (2002: 13–14). As for his *rule 3*, his statement that 'the head loses its case marker' is misleading because the case marker of the head noun ([head noun + RC]-POST) is to be assigned according to the syntax of the matrix clause.

[7] Also Deutscher 2002: 94–5, n. 16.

[8] Also Kienast 1975: 24; Edzard 2003a: 151.

In contrast, Alster (2002: 7), following Poebel (1923: 97 [§268]), writes that '[o]ne of the most peculiar features of the Sumerian language is the total absence of any relative pronoun'. Concerning the aforementioned example of Thomsen's, lugal lu₂ e₂ in-du₃-a ba-uš₂ 'the king who has built the house has died', Alster (2002: 9) comments as follows:

One would, in fact, never find lugal followed by lú functioning as an 'indefinite' or 'relative pronoun', simply because such a construction would be most awkward in Sumerian. lugal could be followed by any number of meaningful appositions, but not by lú in that function. Whenever lú is used in similar constructions, it means literally 'man' and not 'who'. … *As an apposition to a noun,* lú *can be followed by a relative clause which is constructed in exactly the same way as if there had been no* lú.

Now an examination of the RCs with lu₂ is in order. In which environments does lu₂ occur?

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH LU₂
lu₂ + RC after a Royal Name
Sentences containing lu₂ + RC in which lu₂ immediately follows 'Royal Name + ensi₂ lagaš^{ki}' frequently occur in the Gudea inscriptions, and the typical formula is: DN-ra gu₃-de₂-a ensi₂ lagaš^{ki}(-ke₄) lu₂ TN₁ in/mu-du₃-a TN₂ mu-na-du₃, as in (2).[9]

(2)

^{d}nin-ĝiš-zi-da	diĝir-ra-ni	gu₃-de₂-a	ensi₂	lagaš^{ki}
Ninĝišzida	god-his	Gudea	governor	Lagaš-GEN*

lu₂	e₂-ninnu	^{d}nin-ĝir₂-su-ka	in-du₃-a	
man	[$_{RC}$E-ninnu	Ninĝirsu-GEN	CP-PRO-build-nom]-ERG*	

e₂	ĝir₂-su^{ki}-ka-ni	mu-na-du₃	
house	ĝirsu-GEN-his	CP-3SG.DAT-build	

(a) For Ninĝišzida, his god, Gudea, governor of Lagaš, who (that) had built the E-ninnu of Ninĝirsu, built his House of Girsu.
(b) For Ninĝišzida, his god, Gudea, governor of Lagaš, the man that had built the E-ninnu of Ninĝirsu, built his House of Girsu. (Gudea 62)

There are two possible interpretations: in (a), lu₂ is interpreted as the relative pronoun 'who' and the RC is taken as non-restrictive since the head is fully referential (see n. 4); in (b), lu₂ is interpreted as a head noun. As mentioned above, the nominalizer -/a/ is interpreted as the complementizer and translated as 'that' in both cases.[10]

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[9] As for the Pre-Sargonic inscriptions, lu₂-clauses with a non-finite verb occur frequently (Ean. 11 6: 5–9; Ent 1 4: 2–5; Ent. 22 8–11; En. II 16–21, *passim*), while lu₂-clauses with a finite verb are not common: one such example is Ean. 69 1: 4–3: 2.

[10] In Standard English RCs (Santorini and Kroch 2000: Chapter 11), when the subject is relativized, the relative pronoun 'who' is found as in (iii.a). When the object is relativized, the relative pronoun 'whom/who' is optional as in (iii.b-c).
    (iii.a) The people who moved in next door are from Illinois
    (iii.b) The man whom/who she married is my brother
(iii.c) The man she married is my brother
English also uses the complementizer 'that' instead of the wh-relative pronouns as in (iv.a-b).
    (iv.a) The people that moved in next door are from Illinois
    (iv.b) The man that she married is my brother
In Modern Standard English, doubly marked RCs with an overt wh-operator and an overt complementizer are unacceptable: it is usual for only the wh-operator or the complementizer to be overt. But in Middle English (Tyler 1999: 'Relative clauses') and in contemporary nonstandard varieties like Belfast English (Santorini

One might consider another interpretation like 'Gudea, the governor of Lagaš who had built the E-ninnu', where ensi$_2$ lagaš^{ki} is taken as a head noun of a restrictive RC and lu$_2$ as the relative pronoun. However, this interpretation would be grammatically incorrect because of the phrase boundary between ensi$_2$ lagaš^{ki} and lu$_2$. While there is no overt ergative case-marking after ensi$_2$ lagaš^{ki} in (2), in some others, such as Gudea 46, the ergative postposition is clearly expressed, gu$_3$-de$_2$-a ensi$_2$ lagaš^k-ke$_4$ lu$_2$ e$_2$-ninnu ^{d}nin-ĝir$_2$-su-ka in-du$_3$-a.[11] Case-marking postpositions, with an exception of the genitive, indicate phrase boundaries in Sumerian, and therefore they cannot occur within a NP: in other words, case doubling is not allowed in the NP. Since [head noun + RC] is a NP, this restriction should also apply to this unit. Therefore, ensi$_2$ lagaš^k-ke$_4$ cannot be the head noun of the RC, with lu$_2$ being the relative pronoun; rather, the lu$_2$ + RC must be in apposition to ensi$_2$ lagaš^k-ke$_4$, no matter whether lu$_2$ functions as the relative pronoun (a) or a head noun (b).

lu$_2$ + RC following a Common Noun
It is not only (2) above but also (3) below that permits two interpretations.

(3)

geme$_2$	lu$_2$	nam-DU-ḫul	mu-na-ak
slave girl	man	[$_{RC}$wickedness$^?$	CP-3SG.DAT-do-NOM*]-GEN*

nin-a-ni	igi-na	niĝ$_2$	nu-mu-na-ni-ra
mistress-her-ERG*	face-her-LOC	thing	NEG-CP-3SG.DAT-LOC-hit

(a) As for the slave girl who (that) does *wickedness* to her (= the mistress), her mistress does not hit her face. (Gudea Cyl. A 13: 8–9 [ETCSL 2.1.7])
(b) As for the slave girl, the person that does *wickedness* to her (= the mistress), her mistress does not hit her face.

Interpretation (a) follows the relative-pronoun interpretation of lu$_2$, and it makes a better sense if one takes the RC as restrictive (see n. 4). Interpretation (b) follows the head-noun interpretation of lu$_2$.[12] In both cases, the construction, geme$_2$ lu$_2$ nam-DU-ḫul mu-na-ak, is taken as a NP with the genitive case: [geme lu$_2$ + RC]-GEN*. This is the rectum of the genitive construction, and this anticipatory genitive is resumed by 'her' of 'her mistress' and 'her face' in the main clause.[13]

Both 'relative pronoun' and 'head noun' interpretations of lu$_2$ are seemingly equally possible in examples (2) and (3), and the resulting English translations are very similar in sense. The next logical question will be: 'Can these two interpretations be applied to all cases?' In the following section, I would like to present two cases in which the relative pronoun interpretation of lu$_2$ does not seem to work.

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and Kroch 2000: Chapter 11), both positions can be filled as in (v).
     (v) the cat which that Mary saw
The complementizer 'that' is not a relative pronoun as it marks neither gender nor number and does not encode the case-role. Therefore, English can be said to mark the position relativized in a RC either by a relative pronoun (iii.a–b, v) or nothing at all (zero pronoun: iiic). Thus, RCs with 'that' (iv) also belong with the zero pronoun strategy. Regarding our Sumerian example (2), to mark the position relativized, interpretation (a) employs lu$_2$ as the relative pronoun (analogous to example v), and interpretation (b) zero pronoun (analogous to example iv).
[11] Also Gudea St R 1:1–7; Ean. 69 1: 4–6.
[12] In other words, to mark the position relativized, interpretation (a) employs lu$_2$ as the relative pronoun (analogous to example v), and interpretation (b) zero pronoun (analogous to example iv) (see footnote 10).
[13] Here, we have a good example of Sumerian as a relatively gender-free language, as shown by the usage of lu$_2$ 'man' to refer to the feminine noun, geme$_2$ 'slave girl'.

lu_2/$ensi_2$ + RC in the curse formula

The first such case is a pair of curses, (4a) and (4b), from the Gudea inscriptions. In (4a), lu_2 is followed by three RCs.

(4a)

lu_2	e_2-an-na-ta	ib_2-ta-ab-e_3-e_3-a
man	[$_{RC}$E-anna-ABL	CP-PRO-ABL-PRO-bring.out-bring.out-NOM]

ib_2-zi-re-a
[$_{RC}$CP-PRO-tear-NONP-NOM]

mu-sar-a-ba		šu	bi_2-ib_2-ur_3-a
[$_{RC}$name-write-NOM-its-LOC		hand	CP-LT-PRO-drag-NOM]-GEN*

^{d}inana	nin kur-kur-ra-ke_4
Inana	lady land-land-GEN-ERG

saĝ-$ĝa_2$-ni	unken-na	nam	$ḫe_2$-ma-kud-e
head-his	assembly-LOC	N	MP-CP-cut-NONP

As for the man that brings it out from the E-anna, tears it, and erases its inscription, may Inanna, lady of all lands, curse his head in the assembly! (Gudea St C 4: 5–12)

The genitive postposition is assumed at the end of the last RC. The whole NP, [lu_2 + 3 RCs]-GEN*, is the rectum of the genitive construction, and this anticipatory genitive is resumed by the possessive pronominal suffix 'his' of 'his head' in the main clause.

As for (4b), the structure is quite similar to (4a), although $ensi_2$ 'governor' occurs in place of lu_2.

(4b)

$ensi_2$	inim	bi_2-ib_2-gi_4-gi_4-a
governor	[$_{RC}$word	CP-LT-PRO-return-return-NOM]

me	^{d}nin-$ĝir_2$-su-ka	ba-ni-ib_2-la_2-a
[$_{RC}$essence	Ninĝirsu-GEN	CP-LOC-PRO-diminish-NOM]-GEN*

sa_2-dug_4-na	e_2	^{d}nin-$ĝir_2$-su-ka-ta	inim	$ḫe_2$-eb_2-gi_4
regular.offering-his-LOC	house	Ninĝirsu-GEN-ABL	word	MP-CP*-PRO-return

As for the governor that …s and diminishes the *me*s of Ninĝirsu, may they… his regular offerings from the house of Ninĝirsu! (Gudea St B 1: 13–19)

The word $ensi_2$ is followed by two RCs. Here too, we are dealing with the anticipatory genitive, and the genitive postposition is assumed at the end of the last RC. The anticipatory genitive is resumed by 'his' of 'his regular offerings' in the main clause. (4a) and (4b) clearly show that lu_2 and $ensi_2$ occupy the same position. Presumably, one would not expect lu_2 after $ensi_2$ in a construction like (4b).[14]

Babylonian lexical tradition equates Sumerian lu_2 with Akkadian *ša*, and this interpretation seemingly works well in certain cases. Nonetheless, a basic difference between lu_2 and *ša* may be

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[14] Note that $ensi_2$ lu_2 e_2 du_3-a-ke_4 (Gudea Cyl. B 14: 9) is a different construction: $ensi_2$ and lu_2 e_2 du_3-a-ke_4 are two independent NPs in apposition, and the latter NP is a genitive construction, 'the man of house building', followed by the ergative case-marking postposition -/e/.

hinted at by the fact that in Sumerian we do not expect to find *lu₂ lu₂ + RC as an equivalent of Akkadian *awīlum ša* + RC.[15]

INSERTION OF A-NA
lu₂ followed by a-na + RC
The second case in which 'relative pronoun' interpretation of lu₂ does not work is (5). Note that a-na intervenes between lu₂ and the RC.

PN-e	lu₂	a-na	bi₂-in-dug₄-ga	mu-na-an-la-aḫ[16]
PN-ERG	man	what	[RCCP-LT-PRO-speak-NOM]	CP-3SG.DAT-PRO-bring

 PN brought the man of whom he spoke. (NG 121: 6-8)

The word a-na is originally the interrogative pronoun meaning 'what?', but here, certainly, we are not dealing with an interrogative sentence. Lexical lists equate Sumerian a-na with (a) Akkadian *mīnu* 'what?' and also 'what, whatever' (CAD M/2 89–90) and (b) Akkadian *mala* 'as much/many as, everything that' (CAD M/1 143–4). Falkenstein (1956: 206), following Poebel (1923: 92 [§258]), interprets a-na as the relative pronoun 'das, was' derived from the interrogative a-na 'what?' and translates (5) as 'PN hat diesem denjenigen, gegen den er seine Erklärung abgegeben hatte, vorgeführt'.[17] Typologically, this kind of development is not unique (for instance, English is such a case). No matter how one translates a-na into English—whether as relative pronoun, (quantitative) modifier, or indefinite pronoun—the nouns preceding a-na should be taken as head noun (see Karahashi 2009). I argue that lu₂ of lu₂ + RC of the previous examples occupies the same structural position as lu₂ in (5).

Other nouns followed by a-na + RC
The construction a-na + RC may be followed by other nouns in the Ur III documents: niĝ₂ 'thing' (6), a-šag₄ 'field' (7), and ud 'day' (8).

(6)
niĝ₂	a-na	bi₂-dug₄-ga	ḫe₂-eb-ĝa₂-ĝa₂
thing	what	CP-LT-speak-nom	MP-CP*-PRO-place-place

He shall place everything that I mentioned on it (= the boat). (TCS 1 109: 19)[18]

(7)
a-šag₄	a-na	an-ur₃-a
field	what	CP-PRO-till-NOM

All the fields that he tills (TCS 1 33: 3)

(8)
ud	a-na	i₃-til₃-la-ni-a
day	what	CP-live-NOM-her-LOC

So long as she lives (NG 7: 4)

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[15] For Akkadian *ša*, see Deutscher 2002: 90. Deutscher claims that Akkadian *ša* is not, strictly speaking, the relative pronoun but the initial bracketing of the RC; cf. Buccellati 1996: 436–9, §76; Huehnergard and Woods 2004: 251, 272–3.

[16] The verb /laḫ/ is the form for plural objects with the verb meaning 'to bring' (Edzard 2003a: 78); here it is used in spite of the singular object.

[17] Cf. Limet 1975: 7: 'L'interrogatif a-na tient lieu d'un relatif indéterminé'. Gragg (pers. comm.) also considers this usage of a-na some kind of 'generalizing-indefinite' pronoun with a meaning like 'anything, things, whatever, etc'. and translates this passage as 'the man about whom he had said things/whatever/etc'.

[18] Attinger 1993: 305 n. 908 considers niĝ₂ a-na as Akkadism (*mimma ša*).

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH NIĜ₂

Finally, I should mention RCs with niĝ₂.[19] Take a look at (9), which is structurally similar to (4a).

(9)

niĝ₂	maš-ĝi₆-ke₄	ma-ab-de₆-a-ĝa₂
thing	[RCdream-ERG	CP-1SG.DAT-PRO-brought-NOM]-my-GEN

šag₄-bi	nu-zu
meaning-its	NEG-CP*-know

I do not know the meaning of my thing that the dream brought to me. (Gudea Cyl A 1: 27–8 [ETCSL 2.1.7])

In (9), the genitive postposition is overtly expressed after the first person possessive pronominal suffix following the RC. The whole NP, [niĝ₂ + RC]-1POSS-GEN, is the rectum of the genitive construction, and this anticipatory genitive is resumed by the possessive pronominal suffix 'its' of 'its meaning' in the main clause. The parallel structure of (4a) and (9) and also the aforementioned construction of niĝ₂ a-na + RC in (6) allow us to view niĝ₂ as analogous to lu₂. It seems logical to me to apply the same interpretation of lu₂ to niĝ₂: i.e., it is better taken as a head noun, not as a relative pronoun (Alster 2002: 10 with n. 4; cf. Michalowski 2004: 37).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

My provisional conclusion is that lu₂ and niĝ₂ should be treated as head nouns rather than as relative pronouns because I think this treatment gives a simple and coherent solution to its distribution in *all* cases. However, more research on Sumerian RCs is necessary to see if there is any secondary development (re-analysis) of lu₂/niĝ₂ in later usage. This issue will be addressed elsewhere.

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[19] Occurrences with niĝ₂ are much less common than those with lu₂. For example, Pre-Sargonic inscriptions contain no niĝ₂ + RC and only one niĝ₂ + RRC (?); see Behrens and Steible 1983: 260.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF
EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN BUILDING AND VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

Jacob Klein—Bar Ilan

Since the ground-breaking and penetrating study of the typology of the Ur III royal inscriptions by William Hallo (1962), a number of surveys of the literary structure of Sumerian and Akkadian royal inscriptions of the third and early second millennium has appeared.[1] Some of these surveys are limited to a particular group of inscriptions, others are general, comprehensive discussions appended to anthologies of modern translations of the entire corpus, or presented in the form of encyclopedic articles. With the recent publication of all available source material in highly reliable editions within the FAOS[2] and RIME[3] series, we are now in a position to examine some of the literary features of these inscriptions in a more systematic way and to investigate the history of this genre.[4] The purpose of this study is to re-examine some typological features of the third and early second-millennium (Sumerian and Akkadian) royal building and votive inscriptions, on the basis of all hitherto available source material.[5]

BASIC SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

It is common knowledge that the general word order in a Sumerian independent sentence with a finite transitive verb is SOV (i.e., Subject–Object–Verb [= predicate]), unless some part of speech is placed at the beginning for focus.[6] The same is true for a standard sentence with a finite verb in the Akkadian language, whose syntax was clearly influenced by that of Sumerian.[7] We can find this regular word order in, for example, a cone inscription of Ur-gigira (Frayne 1993 no. E2.13.1), which commemorates the building of a temple for the goddess Nin-šeše-ĝara in Bad-tibira. To illustrate our point, we quote this inscription in transliteration and translation, indicating its syntactic structure (Table 1).

However, this syntactic order is quite rare in standard Sumerian (and Akkadian) building and dedication inscriptions in the early periods. Hallo, in his aforementioned study of the Ur III royal inscriptions, already observed that, as a rule, in the 'building and dedication' inscriptions of that corpus 'the divine name appears as indirect object at the beginning of the inscription, except where purely secular buildings, such as palaces, walls, and guard posts are involved' (Hallo 1962: 16). To

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[1] Cf. van Driel 1973; Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 24–36; Edzard and Renger 1980–3: 59–77; Cooper 1986: 7–13. For further bibliography, see Cooper 1999.

[2] Steible 1982 (Early Dynastic period); Gelb and Kienast 1990 (Old Akkadian period); Steible 1991 (Neo-Sumerian period).

[3] Frayne 1993 (Sargonic and Gutian periods); Edzard 1997 (Gudea and his dynasty); Frayne 1997 (Ur III period); Frayne 1990 (Old Babylonian period). Frayne 2008 (Presargonic period) appeared after the present study was completed.

[4] It should be pointed out that all of the above editions were available to the author of the latest survey of the Sumerian royal inscriptions (Cooper 1999). In the following study, we will refer to all the source material according to its numbering in the RIME series, with the exception of the pre-Sargonic material, which will be referred to according to the numbering in Steible 1982.

[5] The present study is an outgrowth of Klein 2008, an edition of new duplicates of two already known inscriptions (Ur-nigina 1 and Šu-ilišu 3). I dedicate this study to the memory of my young colleague and friend, Jeremy Black, who for 50 years 'walked with God' (Gen 5: 24) and then was taken from us.

[6] Cf. recently Edzard 2003: 2 and Michalowski 2004a: 22.

[7] Cf. already GAG §1c, §130b; and recently Edzard 2000: 59.

illustrate this observation, we quote in transliteration and translation Ur-Nammu 4, a stamped brick inscription, which commemorates the building of a temple (and the 'wall of Ur'), for Nanna, again indicating its syntactic structure (Table 2).[8]

Table 1: The syntactic structure of RIME 2.13.1

SUBJECT	ERGATIVE	ur-$^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}$gigir, šaggina ^{d}dumu-zi-da, dumu ur-nigin$_3$, nita kalag-ga, lugal unug^{ki}-ga-ka-ke$_4$, u$_3$ ama-lagar$_x$(SAL.ME.ḪUB$_2$), ama-ni	Ur-gigira, 'governor' of Dumuzi, son of Ur-nigina, mighty man, king of Uruk, and Ama-lagar, his mother,
OBJECT	DATIVE	^{d}nin-šeš-e-ĝar-ra nin-a-ni	for Nin-šeše-ĝara, his lady,
	DIRECT	e$_2$-šeš-e-ĝar-ra e$_2$ ki aĝ$_2$-ĝa$_2$-ni	E-šeše-ĝara, her beloved temple
	LOCATIVE[9]	pa$_5$-ti-bi$_2$-ra^{ki}-ka	in Bad-tibira
VERB	TRANSITIVE	mu-na-du$_3$	he built (for her).

Table 2: The syntactic structure of Ur-Nammu 4

OBJECT	INDIRECT	^{d}nanna lugal-a-ni	For Nanna, his lord,
SUBJECT	ERGATIVE	ur-^{d}nammu, lugal uri$_5$^{ki}-ma-ke$_4$	Ur-Nammu, king of Ur,
OBJECT	DIRECT	e$_2$-a-ni	his temple
VERB		mu-na-du$_3$ …	he built (for him) …

In accordance with Hallo's observation, a survey of all extant Sumerian royal inscriptions of the third millennium BCE[10] indicates that out of a total of 192 'building and dedication' inscriptions, characterized by the formulaic verb mu(-na)-du$_3$ 'he built (for him/her)' and its synonyms,[11] 171 inscriptions open with the name and the epithets of the deity in the dative, and only 21 (c. 12%) open with the name of the ruler and his epithets in the ergative. A similar ratio can be observed in purely votive inscriptions, characterised by the compound verb a mu(-na)-ru.[12] Out of a total of 154 such inscriptions, 130 open with the name and epithets of the deity in the dative, and only 24 (c. 15%) open with the name of the ruler and his epithets.[13] Before we attempt to reconstruct the

[8] In order to demonstrate the basic syntactic structure of the inscription, we omit ll. 7–8, which repeat the structure of ll. 6–7.

[9] Note the reversal of the regular 'locative object–direct object' sequence.

[10] For the sources upon which this survey is based, see footnotes 3 and 4 above.

[11] We include in this statistical survey only those inscriptions in which the formulaic verb is finite, preterite, serving as a predicate in an independent clause. This also includes Akkadian royal inscriptions with the corresponding verbs *ibni* and *īpuš*. On the other hand, inscriptions with a nominal or nominalized form of these verbs (e.g., du$_3$-a, in-du$_3$-a, *bāni* TN and the like) are not included in our statistical survey, for these are usually defined as 'standard inscriptions' (cf. Hallo 1962: 8 *et passim*; Edzard and Renger 1980–3: 60, §3.1), and typologically could be considered as an extended form of 'labels' (for this category, see e.g., Frayne 1997: 146–53, 'Label Inscriptions 39–49'). As to inscriptions with synonymous or variant core verbs referring to the building activity, such as dim$_2$, ak and ba-al, these were included in the category of the core verb du$_3$. Inscriptions with other core verbs, such as tu, ki-bi(-še$_3$) gi$_4$, šu-na gi$_4$ and gub, were not included in this survey because they refer neither to building nor to dedication; being very few, they are statistically insignificant.

[12] Including its Akkadian equivalent *i/ašruk*.

[13] Note that in some inscriptions which begin with the DN in the dative, 'DN-ra' is repeated at its normally expected place in the sentence, either because of 'the pull of standard syntax' (Cooper 1986: 8), or because of the long passage containing the RN and its numerous epithets which separate the DN from the core verb mu-na-du$_3$/a mu-na-ru, in which the dative is marked by the prefix -/na/-. Cf. Ean. 2, 3: 4; 11, 2: 9; 69, 2: 9; En. I 18: 11; 29, 4: 2; Ent. 1, 3: 13; 8, 8: 2; 16, 2: 1; 24: 6; 26: 21; 34: 14; 35, 4: 1; 36, 3: 2; 41, 5: 3; 42, 4: 1, 43, 4: 1; 44, 2: 3; En. II 1: 13; Aan. 2: 6; Enšak. 1: 6´; Sargon 9: 8; Maništušu 2: 5 (DN as subject); Šar-kali-šarri 1:

history of development of these two types of inscriptions, it will be useful to examine separately the ratio between the above two word-order patterns in royal inscriptions from the time of each of the five dynasties which ruled in the second half of the third millennium. The statistical data are presented in Table 3.[14]

 Cooper correctly observed that the earliest royal inscriptions with predicates (i.e., Mesalim 1 and 2) begin with the RN.[15] The first of these, found at Lagaš, is a purely votive inscription, reporting the 'setting up' (mu-gub) of a stone mace in the temple; however, the verb du_3, which is the core predicate of proper 'building and dedication' inscriptions, appears here only in the epithet of the king, in a non-finite form: e_2 du_3 ^{d}nin-ĝir$_2$-su 'temple builder for Ninĝirsu'.[16] The other one, found in Adab, reports of the performing of the *burĝû* offering (bur mu-gi$_4$).[17] The first ruler to use the verb du_3 in a predicate (i.e., mu-du$_3$) is Ur-Nanše of Lagaš, and all of his inscriptions of this type exhibit the regular SOV word-order.[18] He is followed in this practice by most of the ED rulers of Lagaš, but inconsistently and in a very limited measure. Already Akurgal's single inscription exhibits the other, irregular, word order: DN-ra + RN-e + TN + mu-du$_3$; and henceforth the majority of the inscriptions of this dynasty follow the latter practice, opening with the DN in the dative.

 The pure 'votive' inscription with a mu(-na)-ru as a core predicate, on the other hand, seems to exhibit from the very beginning the irregular DN–RN sequence. This sequence is found already in a votive inscription of Ur-Nanše with the predicate a mu-ru,[19] and all subsequent similar inscriptions in this period, with a single marginal exception,[20] exhibit the structure: DN-ra + RN-e + TN + a mu-na-ru.

 The major change in the Sargonic period is the appearance of the RN–DN sequence in pure votive inscriptions with the a mu-na-ru core predicate,[21] and its quite frequent use, albeit more rarely than the DN–RN sequence (see chart above). As for the 'building' inscriptions, there are very few from this period and all, with a single exception, are written in Akkadian and exhibit the basic structure: RN + epithets *bāni* TN.[22]

 The pious rulers of Neo-Sumerian Lagaš eliminated once and for all the RN–DN sequence in both their 'building' inscriptions with the core predicate mu-na-du$_3$ and the 'votive' inscriptions

10; 6: 1´–2´; Utu-ḫeĝal 4: 15 (DN in ergative); Ur-Bau 5, 2: 5; Gudea StE 3: 16; StG 1: 11; Urnammu 17: 9; 18: 12; Amar-Sin 5: 14. In Šu-Sin 3, a very long inscription containing historical records in its introduction, both the RN in the ergative and the DN in the dative are repeated before the 'dedication' report. In some inscriptions, the DN appears in the beginning of the inscription in the vocative or in a nominative sentence ('DN is his god'), with no syntactical connection to the rest of the text (e.g., Sargon 3; Utu-ḫeĝal 4). Šar-kali-šarri 1 and 4 begin with 'Enlil instructed/decreed'.

[14] Henceforth we will refer to the so called 'building and dedication' inscriptions characterised by the core predicate mu(-na)-du$_3$ as 'building' inscriptions, and to those characterized by the core predicate a mu(-na)-ru as 'votive' inscriptions. Since our survey concerns only the issue of the general word-order, we will not deal here with the rich variation in style, content and length of the inscriptions under discussion. For a discussion of these features, see Cooper 1986: 7–13; 1999: 235–7. with previous bibliography. Note further that the following survey does not distinguish between 'votive' inscriptions in which the dedicator of the object is the ruler himself and those in which a dependent of a ruler dedicates an object to a deity for the life of the ruler or for his own life (i.e., private votive inscriptions). In considerations of chronology we follow the chronological table of Cooper 1986: 14; cf. Hallo and Simpson 1971: 47, 52–3.

[15] Cooper 1986: 8.

[16] Mesalim 1: 4.

[17] Mesalim 2: 4.

[18] Ur-Nanše 8; 20–37.

[19] Ur-Nanše 47 (a bowl dedicated to Bau).

[20] AnNip. 44: lugal-uri$_3$ ^{d}inana a mu-ru 'L. dedicated (this stone vessel) to I.'

[21] Mostly to be read *išruk*, since almost all of these inscriptions were written in Akkadian.

[22] The Gutian kings, on the other hand, use the formula 'TN *ibni*' (see footnote 11 above).

with the core predicate a mu-na-ru. This tendency basically persists in the Ur III royal inscriptions with very few and insignificant exceptions. [23]

Table 3: Ratios between the two main inscription structures across time

Period	Core Predicate	DN-ra RN-e	RN-e DN-ra
ED Lagaš etc.	mu(-na)-du$_3$	39	11
	a mu(-na)-ru	39	1[24]
Sargonic	*ibni*[25]		1[26]
	a mu(-na)-ru[27]	14[28]	20[29]
Gutean and Other	mu-na-du$_3$/*ibni*	3[30]	5[31]
	a mu-ru[32]	6	1
Gudea and Dynasty	mu-na-du$_3$[33]	64	
	a mu-na-ru	39	
Ur III Dynasty	mu-na-du$_3$[34]	65	4
	a mu-na-ru	32	2

[23] The only two votive inscriptions exhibiting the RN–DN sequence with the a mu(-na)-ru predicate are Šu-Sin 7 (an OB copy of a shoulder inscription of a statue, with a *sui generis* text) and an Akkadian statue inscription of Iddin-Ilum, king of Mari, written in the style of the Sargonic inscriptions. As for the few 'building' inscriptions with the verb du$_3$, exhibiting the RN–DN sequence, as we pointed out above (cf. footnotes 14 and 28) most of them are 'standard inscriptions' or 'labels' inscribed on bricks and door sockets, sharing the formula: RN lu$_2$ e$_2$ DN in-du$_3$-a; Šulgi 3 records the building of Ehursaĝ by Šulgi for himself; Šulgi 24 is also a copy of a 'label,' of unknown provenance, identifying Šulgi as the builder of the Emeslam in Kutha (e$_2$ … mu-du$_3$-a), a verbatim translation of the corresponding Akk. inscription (Šulgi 23); Šulgi 23 and 27 are Akkadian inscriptions containing the *bāni* TN formula, characteristic of the OAkk predecessors; Šulgi 31 hails from Susa and records the building of the temple of Inšušinak in this city; Amar-Sin 15 is a brick inscription, recording the building of Enki's temple in Eridu; and Tiš-Atal 1 is a Hurrian inscription from Urkiš, inscribed on copper lion pegs.

[24] AnNip. 44: lugal-uri$_3$ ^{d}inana a mu-ru.

[25] Note that out of the 10 known 'building' inscriptions of the Sargonic kings, 9 are written in Akkadian using the core phrase *bāni* (written ba-dim$_2$) TN (see already Edzard and Renger 1980–3: 66); all these inscriptions, with one exception, begin with the RN + epithets; the exception is Šarkališarri 1, which opens with the sentence *Enlil ukallim* 'Enlil instructed,' and continues with the RN + epithets. Sumerian 'building' inscriptions in this period are attested only in the south (i.e., Umma, Lagaš and Uruk).

[26] Naram-Sin 9: 27.

[27] Note that the 'votive' inscriptions of the Sargonic and Mari kings, as a rule, are written in Akkadian using the core predicate *iśruk* (usually written a mu-na-ru). Sumerian votive inscriptions with the core predicate a mu(-na)-ru are attested only in the periphery (Naram-Suen 2018) and the Sumerian south (i.e., Nippur, Šarrākum, Umma and Uruk).

[28] All of these inscriptions are written in Akkadian except Naram-Suen 2018 (see previous note).

[29] All of these inscriptions have a-mu-ru, to be read *iśruk*, except Naram-Suen 5, 1: 3´, which reads [*ás-ru*]-*uk*.

[30] All three Sumerian inscriptions belong to Lu-utu of Umma. The first four Utu-ḫeĝal inscriptions (1–4), which have the core verb šu-na mu-ni-gi$_4$, were not counted.

[31] All inscriptions are in Akkadian having *ibni*(*ma*), except Ur-nigina 1, which is written in Sumerian having mu-na-du$_3$ (see transliteration above).

[32] Of the seven votive inscription of this period, 6 are written in Sumerian and all begin with the DN in the dative; the only inscription which begins with the RN is that of Ititi 1, written in Akkadian.

[33] Including one inscription with the core verb mu-na-ak (Pirig-me 1: 18) and three with mu-na-dim$_2$ (Gudea StA 2: 4; StF 3: 9, 11; Ur-Ninĝirsu II 1: 14).

[34] Including inscriptions with the core verbs mu-na-dim$_2$ (Šulgi 2030; Šu-Sin 2018; Ibbi-Sin 2005), *īpuš* (Amar-Sin 2001: 15); *ibnīsum* (Šulgi 25, 1´: 19), mu-na-ba-al (Ur-Nammu 26, 27, 28, 39, 40) and mu-na-gi-in (Šulgi 50-51). Inscriptions with the core verbs in-du$_3$-a (Ur-Nammu 2, 3, 6, 8, 10; Šulgi 24) and *bāni* (Šulgi 23 and 27; Atal-šen 1) were not counted.

As to the history of development of these two types of inscriptions, one may tentatively posit the following hypothesis: The 'building' inscriptions with the core predicate mu(-na)-du$_3$, which recorded both secular and religious building enterprises, were originally composed in accordance with the regular SOV word order, beginning with the sequence RN-e + DN-ra. The purely 'votive' inscriptions with the core predicate a mu-na-ru, on the other hand, which recorded only religious enterprises, were probably composed from the beginning in the irregular word-order DN-ra + RN-e. Since the 'building' inscriptions were also primarily of religious character, they were soon influenced by the 'votive' inscriptions, and began to exhibit the DN-ra + RN-e word-order.

One could speculate that the irregular DN-ra + RN-e word-order was in turn borrowed from votive inscriptions of servants and other dependents to their kings, which exhibit the standard structure RN (+ epithet) in vocative: PN (+ title) ir$_{11}$-zu/ir$_{11}$da-ni.[35] However, these votive inscriptions seem first to appear in the Sargonic period,[36] and their priority, therefore, is doubtful.

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF SUMERIAN 'CITY-WALL CONSTRUCTION' INSCRIPTIONS

Sumerian royal 'secular'[37] inscriptions commemorating the construction of city walls, become relatively popular in the Isin-Larsa period: we can find no less then seven examples from Isin[38] and eight examples from Larsa.[39] Whereas the Isin inscriptions of this type exhibit highly uniform structure and style, those from Larsa deviate considerably from the standard structure and style of this sub-genre. The latter exhibit an inconsistent literary tradition, and hence they are less useful for a comparative study than the former.[40]

Typologically, it is difficult to place the Isin-Larsa inscriptions of this sub-genre in a broad literary-historical context because no comparable inscription, devoted solely to the building of a city-wall, seems to be attested prior to the Ur III period;[41] and even from that period we find only one: Ibbi-Sin 1, which commemorates the construction of the great walls at Nippur and Ur.[42]

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[35] See e.g., Naram-Suen 2001 (*Na-ra-am-*^{d}*Sîn* lugal a-ga-de$_3^{ki}$... uru-na-bad$_3$-bi sanga ^{d}en-lil$_2$ ir$_{11}$-zu); 2003 (*Narām-Sîn il Akkade Šarriš-takal* DUB.SAR *warassu*).

[36] Cf. Sargon 2003 and 2005; Naram-Suen 2001 and passim.

[37] The term 'secular', which is used here with reservations, was coined by Hallo 1962. For a different view, namely that nearly all building inscriptions, including those referring to the construction of walls, canals and palaces, were implicitly dedicated to deities, see Cooper 1999: 236–7.

It is interesting to note that whereas all known 'city wall construction' inscriptions begin with the RN and epithets, and contain no explicit dedication to deities, all inscriptions recording the digging of canals or the like are clearly votive inscriptions, beginning with the DN-ra formula (cf. Pirig-me 1; Ur-Nammu 19; 26; 27; 28; 39; 40; Lipit-Ištar 5; Sin-iddinam 2; Warad-Sin 25). A unique example of a canal-digging inscription is Rim-Sin 15. This inscription, recording the digging of the Nanna-ḫul canal, is a 60-line literary composition, no doubt dependent on the wall-construction inscription Warad-Sin 21, which is twice as long.

[38] These are Išme-Dagan 5 and 11; Enlil-bani 2 and 3; Zambiya 1; Sin-magir 1; Damiq-ilišu 1. See further Abi-sare 2, an atypical Akkadian inscription recording the strengthening of the wall of Larsa and the construction of a palace.

[39] These are Gungunnum 3; Nur-Adad 7; Sin-iddinam 13 and 14; Warad-Sin 18, 19, 20 and 21.

[40] Note that whereas Ibbi-Sin (see below) and all the Isin kings use cones as the medium for this type of inscription, the Larsa kings (with the exception of Nur-Adad) prefer to use bricks for the same purpose.

[41] A few of the ED Lagaš rulers refer to the building of city-walls, but only in passing, in summary accounts of pious deeds, beside many other (religious) building activities (see Behrens and Steible 1983: 34–5, *sub* bad$_3$). The only pre-Sargonic inscription devoted wholly to the building of a wall seems to be Lugal-tarsi 1, which commemorates the building of the wall of a courtyard (bad$_3$-kisal) for An and Inana. The inscriptions of the Sargonic kings do not refer to constructions of walls at all; they are mainly preoccupied with war operations, victory reports, and dedications of booty to the major gods. Their few 'building' inscriptions deal with the building of temples. Gudea records only the building of walls of sacred precincts, which he dedicates to various deities (Gudea 5; 6; 70; 75).

[42] Ur-Nammu 4, which mentions the building of 'the wall of Ur' (ll. 7–8), appends this report to a typical

Accordingly, any typological survey of the Sumerian 'city-wall construction' inscriptions must take the above inscription as a starting point. Considering Ibbi-Sin 1 therefore as the provisional prototype for all subsequent inscriptions of its kind, we present it here in transliteration and translation, subsequently pointing out its literary structure.[43]

1	^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Sîn	12	kalam gi-ne$_2$
2	diĝir kalam-ma-na	13	sig nim gurum-e-de$_3$
3	lugal kala-ga	14	bad$_3$-gal
4	lugal uri$_5$^{ki}-ma	15	za-pa-aĝ$_2$-ba šu nu-ku$_4$-ku$_4$
5	lugal an-ub-da-limmu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$	16	ḫur-saĝ sig$_7$-ga-gin$_7$
6	nam-gal-ki-aĝ$_2$	17	uru^{ki}-ne$_2$ im-mi-da$_5$
7	^{d}Suen-na-da	18	uru$_{18}$ temen-bi
8	uri$_5$^{ki}	19	ki im-ma-ni-pad$_3$
9	daĝal-e-de$_3$	20	bad$_3$-ba
10	sa im-ma-ši-ĝar	21	^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Sîn gu$_2$-gal nam-nun-na
11	ur$_5$-ta	22	mu-bi-im

[1-5]Ibbi-Sin, god of his land, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters;
[6-13]out of the great love of Suen he decided to expand Ur.[44] Therefore, in order to consolidate The Land, (and) to subdue the highlands and lowlands;
[14-19]he surrounded his city with a great wall, whose loopholes cannot be *penetrated*, (and which is) like a green mountain. He found places in its (= the wall's) footings for foundation deposits.
[20-22]The name of that wall is 'Ibbi-Sin is the noble canal-inspector.'

The inscription consists of three parts:

A. RN and titles (1–5)
B. Building record (6–19)
    a. Purpose clause (6–13)
    b. Building record sentence (14–19)
C. Name-giving formula (20–22).

A comparison of Ibbi-Sin 1 with the subsequent Isin-Larsa parallels indicates that components A and B are present in nearly all inscriptions of this type, whereas component C is missing from some of the Isin-Larsa inscriptions. We now examine each of the components of Ibbi-Sin 1 separately and compare them to their parallels in the corresponding Isin-Larsa inscriptions.

A. RN and titles (1–5)
This component, ending with the ergative suffix -e, as we observed above, is present in almost all 'city-wall construction' inscriptions,[45] although it varies greatly from king to king. Since the variation in titulature does not depend on this particular type of inscription, there is no point in

'building and dedication' inscription, whose main topic is the building of Inana's temple (ll. 5–6). Hence the 'wall of Ur' may refer in this context to the wall of the sacred temenos (Frayne 1997: 25). The same may be true for Ur-Nammu 38, in which the construction of the 'wall of Nippur' (bad$_3$-nibru^{ki}), is explicitly dedicated to Enlil (Frayne 1997: 75). Note finally Šulgi 6, which records the restoration of Eanna for Inana and the building of its 'great wall' (= bad$_3$-gal-bi).
[43] For the latest edition of this inscription see Frayne 1997: 368–9.
[44] Syntactically ll. 6–10 form one sentence with ll. 1–5, but thematically these lines belong to the 'purpose clause'.
[45] The only exceptions are Nur-Adad 7 and Warad-Sin 21, two long self-laudatory literary compositions comparable to the royal inscriptions of Hammu-rapi 2 and Samsu-iluna 7, where this component is replaced by an account of the king's selection by An, Enlil and Nanna for kingship, and the prosperous reign which ensued (cf. ll. 1–63 and ll. 1–48 respectively). We find a similar, historical narrative in Sin-iddinam 13, inserted between the RN and epithet section and the construction record (cf. ll. 10–25).

comparing the relevant inscriptions in this respect. Nevertheless, it is interesting that only four Isin-Larsa inscriptions share with Ibbi-Sin 1 the title lugal kala-ga, including Šu-ilišu 3.[46]

B. Building record (6–19)
The first part (a) of this component of our inscription consists, as pointed out above, of a subordinated purpose clause, ending with a non-finite verbal form supplemented by the morphemes -/ed-e/. In Larsa, we find such clauses (albeit greatly differing in style) in Sin-iddinam 14[47] and in three inscriptions of Warad-Sin.[48] In Isin, this component is present only in the parallel Šu-ilišu inscription,[49] but here it resembles closely that of Ibbi-sin 1, both in content and style. Compare:

Ibbi-Sin 1: 6–8	*Šu-ilišu 3: 4–7*
nam-gal ki aĝa$_2$	nam-gal ki aĝa$_2$ /
^{d}suen-na-da	^{d}nin-in-si-na-ta
uri$_5$^{ki}	i$_3$-si-in$_{ki}$-da
daĝal-e-de$_3$	ma-da sig nim /
sa im-ma-ši-ĝar	sag$_2$ dug$_4$-ga
ur$_5$-ta kalam gi-ne$_2$	ki-tuš-ba gi-ne$_2$-de$_3$
sig nim gam-e-de$_3$	

In spite of the differences between the two corresponding sections in length (14 words versus 12 words) and syntactic structure (two subordinated purpose clauses, split by an independent sentence,[50] versus one subordinated purpose clause), the similarities are striking: both inscriptions share the rare, poetic, phrase nam-gal ki aĝa$_2$ DN-da/ta 'out of the great love of DN';[51] both mention the name of the city, which is secured by the re-built wall (Ur and Isin); both share the formulaic expression kalam/ma-da… gi-ne$_2$(-de$_3$); and both stress the totality of the secured territory by the merismic expression sig nim. We have here an obvious case of direct literary borrowing on the part of the Šu-ilišu inscription.

    The second part (b) of this component, i.e., the sentence recording the construction of the wall itself, is shared by all the parallel inscriptions. Moreover, all inscriptions without exception refer to the wall under construction as 'the great wall' (bad$_3$-gal). However, here again we observe a similarity in the wording of Šu-ilišu 3 and Ibbi-sin 1. Compare:

Šu-ilišu 3: 8–10	*Ibbi-Sin 1: 14–19*
bad$_3$-gal /	bad$_3$-gal
me-lam$_2$-ba gu$_3$ lu$_2$ nu-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$	za-pa-aĝ$_2$-ba šu nu-ku$_4$-ku$_4$
[mu]-du$_3$	ḫur-saĝ sig$_7$-ga-gin$_7$
	uru^{ki}-ne$_2$ im-mi-da$_5$
	uru$_{18}$ temen-bi
	ki im-ma-ni-pad$_3$

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[46] This title appears also in Enlil-bani 2 and 3 and Sin-iddinam 14; in Išme-Dagan 5 and the Warad-Sin inscriptions we find the variant nitaḫ-kala-ga.

[47] ma-da-na ki-tuš ne-ḫa tuš-u$_3$-de$_3$ / erin$_2$ daĝal-la-na / u$_3$-du$_{10}$ ku-ku-de$_3$ ud-ul-li$_2$-a-aš ar$_2$ nam-lugal-la-ka-ni un-e ak-ak-de$_3$ (ll. 21–27).

[48] Warad-Sin 18: 10–15; 19: 8–12; 20: 14–25.

[49] Instead, Išme-Dagan 5 inserts here an ud…-a temporal caluse (5–11). All other Isin inscriptions contain only the building record sentence.

[50] I.e., sa im-ma-ši-ĝar.

[51] The concrete meaning behind these phrases seems to be that the building of the wall was approved or requested by the respective deity via extispicy or the like. These phrases correspond to such phrases as e.g., du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$-ga ^{d}en-lil$_2$ ^{d}nanna-ta in Lipit-Ištar 5: 17–18. Cf. further Warad-Sin 18: 8–12 and 19: 14–23, where this king explicitly recounts how he prayed to Nanna for permission to enlarge Ur and reinforce its supporting wall, and Nanna granted his request. For a different interpretation see Cooper 1999: 237.

In this case we observe two differences between the Šu-ilišu inscription and its Ibbi-Sin parallel: The former is much shorter and uses the core verb mu-du$_3$ (9), just like the other Isin inscriptions;[52] the latter uses a different, irregular, and more complicated phrase to describe the building enterprise. On the other hand, both inscriptions add a relative clause describing the wall under construction, sharing the same syntactic structure and basic meaning. Compare bad$_3$-gal me-lam$_2$-ba gu$_3$ lu$_2$ nu-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$ 'the great wall in whose aura no one makes a noise', in Šu-ilišu 3, to bad$_3$-gal za-pa-aĝ$_2$-ba šu nu-ku$_4$-ku$_4$ 'a great wall, whose *loop-holes* cannot be *penetrated*',[53] in Ibbi-Sin 1. This is again suggestive that the author of the Šu-ilišu inscription is dependent on the Ibbi-Sin precursor.[54]

C. Name-giving formula (10-12)
This component also was adopted by Šu-ilišu 3 from Ibbi-sin 1.[55] Compare:

Ibbi-Sin 1: 20–22	*Šu-ilišu 3: 10-12*
bad$_3$-ba	[bad$_3$]-ba
^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Sîn gu$_2$-gal nam-nun-na	[^{d}šu-i$_3$-li$_2$-š]u-⌈ri-im-Eš$_4$-tar$_2$⌉
mu-bi-im	[mu-bi]-im

Both inscriptions contain the formula: bad$_3$-ba + WALL NAME + mu-bi-im; and the name of both walls consists of a nominal sentence whose subject is the name of the king.[56] Most of the corresponding inscriptions of the other Isin-Larsa kings also took over this formula, which usually concludes the inscription.[57] Although all of the Isin-Larsa inscriptions of this type are composed in

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[52] Otherwise the other Isin inscriptions differ in this section from Šu-ilišu 3. Four inscriptions have the minimal formula: bad$_3$-gal GN-a mu-du$_3$ (Enlil-bani 2: 11–13; Zambiya 1: 16–19); Sin-magir 1: 18–19; and Damiq-ilišu 11: 17–19). Two inscriptions extend this formula as follows: bad$_3$-gal BAD$_3$^{ki} uru^{ki} nam-šaggina nam-dumu-na-ka-ni mu-un-du$_3$ (Išme-Dagan 11: 12–15); and bad$_3$ i-si-in^{ki}-na ba-sumun-na gibil-bi-še$_3$ in-du$_3$ (Enlil-bani 3: 11–14). Išme-Dagan 5 preposes a temporal (ud …-a) clause to the building formula (5–11).

[53] Frayne 1997: 369 has 'cannot be reached'. We wonder if za-pa-aĝ$_2$ means 'loop-holes' in this context; it parallels me-lam$_2$ in the Šu-ilišu inscription (cf. also Šu-Sin 3, 1: 30–33; Geller 1985: 68: 729, 74: 787), and therefore it should more likely mean: 'roar'. For za-pa-aĝ$_2$ in similar context see *Nippur Lament* [ETCSL 2.2.4] 32; *Lament over Sumer and Ur* [ETCSL 2.2.3] 314.

[54] Note that the Ibbi-Sin precursor also influenced some of the later Larsa inscriptions. To lines 18–19 cf. Warad-Sin 21: 89-91 uru$_4$-ba temen nam-lugal-la-ĝa$_2$ ki he$_2$-em-ma-ni-in-pad$_3$. To the descriptive phrase za-pa-aĝ$_2$-ba šu nu-ku$_4$-ku$_4$ (line 15), cf. the descriptive phrase bad$_3$-gal hur-saĝ il$_2$-la-gim šu nu-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-de$_3$ in Warad-Sin 19: 13–14; and hur-saĝ-gim ki sikil-la mu(-un)-du$_3$ in Nur-Adad 7: 65 and Sin-iddinam 13: 29–30. Finally the simile hur-saĝ sig$_7$-ga-gim (line 16) compare to hur-saĝ sig$_7$-ga-gim ki-sikil-la he$_2$-bi$_2$-mu$_2$ in Warad-Sin 20: 37 and 21: 84.

[55] Note, however, that Šu-ilišu's immediate predecessor, Išbi-Erra, also uses this name-giving formula in his only extant votive inscription: balaĝ-ba ^{d}Iš-bi$_2$-Er$_3$-ra ^{d}en-lil-da nir-ĝal$_2$ mu-bi-im (Išbi-Erra 1: 13–15).

[56] It has been already observed that, beginning with Išbi-Erra, most OB kings chose names for their (re)built walls and fortresses that contained their name and promoted their own majesty (George 1996: 368; Michalowski 2005: 200).

[57] Išme-Dagan 5: 15–18; Enlil-bani 2: 11–14; Zambiya 1: 19–22; Sin-magir 20–23; Damiq-ilišu 10–23; Warad-Sin 18: 20–22; 19: 17–19 (cf. 20–27). Warad-Sin 20: 49–50 and 21: 106–7 substitute here the formula bad$_3$-ba + WALL NAME + mu-še$_3$ he$_2$-em-mi-sa$_4$. Gungunum 3 indicates the name of the wall in a parenthetical sentence, inserted in the main sentence reporting of the building: bad$_3$-gal larsa^{ki}-ma ^{d}utu ki-bal-e sa$_2$-di mu-bi-im … mu-du$_3$ 'the great wall of Larsa—Utu-kibale-sadi being its name—… he built' (ll. 6–10). The name-giving formula is absent in Išme-Dagan 11; Enlil-bani 3; and Sin-iddinam 13 and 14.

Sumerian, the name of the wall of Isin is almost always in Akkadian,[58] while the names of other city walls are always Sumerian.[59]

This 'name-giving formula' is not restricted to 'city-wall construction' inscriptions, but is also used in the context of statues, steles, canals, votive objects, etc. To the best of my knowledge, it is first attested in the Early Dynastic *Collection of Insults* 162–3.[60] The next attestation is in an inscription of Eanatum,[61] and subsequently perhaps also in an inscription of Uruinimgina.[62] It became popular in the Neo-Sumerian period, and is used frequently by Gudea and his dynasty, as well as by the Ur III kings.[63] In Isin, prior to Šu-ilišu, it is attested once in Išbi-Erra's single inscription.[64]

As to the syntactic structure of this formula, it is generally agreed that we have here a nominal sentence with an anticipatory genitive construction. Thus, for instance, the literal translation of the formula 'bad$_3$-ba … mu-bi-im' should be: 'Of that wall—"…." is its name.'[65]

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[58] For a list of these names, see George 1996: 366–7; Michalowski 2005: 200. The only exception to this rule is Išme-Dagan 5, where the wall of Isin is named: ^{d}*Iš-me-*^{d}*Da-gan* ^{d}en-lil$_2$-da a$_2$ an-gal mu-bi-im. This is no doubt due to Išme-dagan's ardent veneration of Sumerian culture (see my comments in Klein 1990: 65–79).

[59] Thus, Sin-magir names the wall of Dunnum: *Sîn-māgir* suhuš ma-da ge-en-ge-en; Gungunum names the wall of Larsa: ^{d}utu ki-bal-e sa$_2$-di; and Warad-Sin names the wall of Ur: ^{d}nanna suhuš ma-da ge-en-ge-en.

[60] Cf. Alster 1993: 18: lu$_2$ ga tuku-tuku ka 5 mu-ni 'The name of the man who has much *property* is: "Five Mouths"' (for a different translation and analysis, see Alster 1993: 21).

[61] Albeit in a verbal sentence; cf. Ean. 1, rev. 10: 23–5: na-ru$_2$-a mu-bi lu$_2$-a nu mu-bi ši-e … 'D(ieser) Stele Namen—eines Menschen nicht (ist) dieser Name—hat er fürwahr (= E'annatum) proklamiert: "…."' (so Steible 1982: I 144; see also Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 55 [IC5a]; for a different translation and analysis, see Cooper 1986: 37).

[62] Ukg. 36: 1–3: ĝišimmar a$_2$-zi-da-a gub-ba lugal eridu^{ki}-še$_3$ nu-kuš$_2$ mu-bi 'The name of the date-palm, which stands at the right side, is: "The-king-who-never-tires-for-Eridu"' (so Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 80 [IC11e] and Steible 1982: I 348; for a different translation and analysis, see Cooper 1986: 82, *sub* L9.14c).

[63] See e.g., Ur-Ninĝirsu I 4: 12–14; Gudea 69: 2′–5′; Ur-Nammu 19: 19–20; Šulgi 2039: 9–12; Amar-Sin 10: 10–12; Ibbi-Sin 1: 20–22.

[64] Išbi-Erra 1: 13–15.

[65] This is the position of Sollberger and Kupper (1971: 55 [IC5a] *et passim*), Steible (1982: I 144 *et passim*) and Frayne (see his translation to Ur-Nammu 19: 19–20 [Frayne 1997: 43] *et passim*); Edzard's position cannot be inferred from his free translation of this formula: 'This object is called: "…."' (cf. his translation to Ur-Ninĝirsu I 4: 12–14 [Edzard 1997: 10] *et passim*). For a comprehensive study of this formula see recently Haber 2005: 85–6, 145–6 (in Hebrew).

RECONSIDERING THE CONSECRATION OF PRIESTS IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

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I had the wonderful opportunity to be a student of Jeremy Black's unfortunately for only a short period of time, yet his interest and support were a motivation and inspiration to me as a young scholar. In memory of his keen interest in religious texts—reaching beyond his rich discussions and publications—I would like to present a text which may somehow be linked to the scholars who were known as the keepers of secret knowledge. This will be my small tribute to an unforgettable scholar.

Textual material that provides us with explicit descriptions about the installation or consecration of priests in ancient Mesopotamia is quite rare. Amongst the most important texts of the second millennium BCE are the installation ritual of the EREŠ.DINGIR of the storm god in Emar and the incantations for the purification of the gudu$_4$-priest before his investiture.[1]

Apart from this second-millennium evidence there is a bilingual text published by Borger in 1973 which has become known as 'The consecration of a priest of Enlil'. Except for a few references, this text has not yet been discussed in detail. Although its contents are sometimes difficult to understand, it is a valuable source regarding priestly purity in the first millennium BCE.[2] Borger reconstructed the whole text from five duplicates (A–E), to which two more duplicates can now be added. All of them date from the first millennium, including three from Kuyunjik, one probably from Assur, two from Nabû's temple in Nimrud, and one unprovenanced manuscript.[3]

The whole text is divided into a preamble and sixteen incantations. Duplicate A bears a colophon which identifies it as a copy from a Babylonian original that was made on 11-IX in the sixth year of Sennacherib by an apprentice of an incantation-priest of that king.[4]

The preamble introduces the *nêšakku* and *pašīšu*-priest of 'Enlil' and 'Ninlil', who must undergo various kinds of inspection before entering the temple of the gods for the first time. The inspection takes place in the bathroom and involves ascertaining whether or not they have the requisite physical and mental qualifications to enter priestly office (i 1–44).

Rather than following this with a ritual description, the text instead gives sixteen incantations that provide (partially cryptic) suggestions regarding the development of the ritual and the meaning of the individual steps leading to its conclusion. As will be shown, the incantations do not solely

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[1] The ritual of the EREŠ.DINGIR was edited by Arnaud 1985–7 and subsequently treated by Dietrich 1989 and Fleming 1992. The Old Babylonian incantations for the purification of the gudu$_4$ before his investiture were published by Farber and Farber 2003.

[2] An analysis of this text formed a major part of my MA thesis at the University of Munich (2002).

[3] The tablets from Kuyunjik and Assur and the unprovenanced Late Babylonian tablet have been treated by Borger 1973; unless otherwise indicated, the *sigla* as well as the textual references are adopted from Borger, *ibid.* The two additional duplicates from Nimrud are published in CTN 4 93 (pl. 53) and 122 (pl. 78). They match Borger's line numbering as follows:

CTN 4 122 = i 2–i 20 and i 32–i 44 (= preamble)

CTN 4 93 = ii 44–'D rev. 11' + five more lines (= incantations IX–X).

A transliteration and translation are given below.

[4] The colophon in ms. A reads: (42)[GABA].⸢RI?⸣ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^ki⸣ *ki-ma* SUMUN-*šú* ⸢SAR-*ma*⸣ [IG]I.KÁR (43)[...] ⸢ŠAMÁN⸣.LÁ TUR (44)[...^lú MU₇.]MU₇ LUGAL (45)[X]^ki iti⸢GAN⸣ [... U]D 11-KÁM (46)[*lim*]-*mu* ¹*mi-tu-nu* ^lú⸢GAR KUR⸣ *i-sa-na* (47)[MU] 6-KÁM ^mdEN:ZU-ŠEŠ.ŠEŠ-*e[r]i-ba* (48)[^giš]GIŠIMMAR KUR ^d*aš-šur.*

reflect the words spoken by the *āšipu*, but the *nêšakku* or the *pašīšu* himself is considered to play an active role too. As to the exact functions of nu-eš₃/*nêšakku* and nam-šita/*pašīšu*, it suffices to observe that both were priests responsible for the upkeep of the daily cult.[5] The assignment of these priests to 'Enlil' and 'Ninlil' could have the same implications as in Old Babylonian times, when the *nêšakku* was the cultic priest serving a male deity while the *pašīšu* was the cultic priest serving a female deity (Renger 1975: 112).[6] In the first millennium the names 'Enlil' and 'Ninlil' did not refer to the actual divine couple Enlil and Ninlil known from Old Babylonian Nippur. Rather, the term 'Enlil' was transformed into a generic term for divine supremacy (e.g., *ellillu/ellilūtu*).[7] Thus, the relevant passage of the consecration ritual (i 1–4) has to be seen in this light too, because its composition probably postdates the Old Babylonian period. Hence, it is not too far-fetched to assume that 'Enlil' and 'Ninlil' were adopted as designations for the highest-ranking gods of a temple—be it Assur and Mullissu of the Assyrian pantheon, or the pair Marduk and Ṣarpanītu, or Nabû and Tašmētu of the Babylonian pantheon, or indeed any Mesopotamian god.[8]

The counterbalancing of purity and impurity was an essential aspect of cultic procedures. Before establishing contact with a deity the priests had to confirm their own purity as well as the purity of the ritual settings.[9] Accordingly, the whole consecration of the *nêšakku* and the *pašīšu* was devoted to the question of purity.

In the preamble, not only the immaculate lineage, but also the physical and mental integrity of the initiate were examined.[10] This means that absolute purity was demanded of the priest. Cultic purity included the inner, invisible level as well as its materialisation in externally visible features.[11] Once a positive outcome of the inspection is obtained, the initiate undergoes the ritual, divided among the incantations into the stages outlined in Table 1.

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[5] For the office of the *nêšakku* and *pašīšu* in Old Babylonian times see Renger 1969: 138–80; for an overview of the Sumerian-Akkadian equations and the functions of both priests see Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–5. Note that in later periods the titles *nêšakku* and *pašīšu* are only found in literary contexts and never as everyday terms (Sallaberger and Huber Vulliet 2003–5: §5.3.1).

[6] For the *pašīšu* of the goddess Ninlil in Middle Babylonian Nippur see Sassmannshausen 2001: 66.

[7] Cf. AHw 203: *Ellil* = 'the highest god', *Ellil(l)la/ītu* = 'the highest goddess' and *Ellilūtu* = 'highest rank'.

[8] The adoption of 'Enlil' and 'Ninlil' into the Assyrian recension (ms. A), which explicitly refers to king Sennacherib, may well be understood as part of a reform of religious ideology undertaken by Sennacherib. With the mention of Ninlil we would have one more allusion to his cultic reforms, since in earlier times the god Assur had no female companion (Deller and Donbaz 1987: 227).

[9] For discussions of purity see Maul 1994: 39–46, 94–100 and *passim*; Berlejung 1998: 181–92 and *passim*. Acting as commissioner of a deity in some rituals, the priest must have complied with the divine expectations. Therefore the initial incantation of *Šurpu* I (Reiner 1958: 11, l. 4) states 'I am a pure man' (ĝe₂₆-e lu₂ ku₃-ga-me-en). The declaration: 'I am the bathed one, whose hands are pure, the messenger of Ea and Marduk' (susbu šu dadag-ga ˡᵘ²kiĝ₂-ge₄-a ᵈen-ki ᵈasar-lu₂-ḫi-ka-me-en/*ramku ša qātāšu ebbā mār šipri ša Ea u Marduk anāku*, e.g., SpTU 3 67 obv. i 47–8) imply physical purity obtained through ablution. Often the priest requests exculpation from moral lapses, as can be found in the *lipšur*-litanies (Reiner 1956: 142–3, ll. 41′–66′), in the *ezib*-formulae of the divination-priest just before extispicy (Starr 1990: XX–XXVII), and finally, in our incantation XII (iii 10′–16′; see below).

[10] As Borger 1973: 163 already pointed out, the preamble has parallels to some passages of the Old Testament and the so-called 'Enmeduranki text'. The latter includes an inspection with similar criteria for qualification as a divination-priest (Lambert 1998). For priests' purity as recorded in Late Babylonian legal and administrative documents see now Waerzeggers and Jursa 2008. According to these documents especially the physical descent of the initiate was of judicial concern.

[11] In the letter SAA 13 138 the recently appointed priest of Ištar's temple in Arba'il informs king Assurbanipal about a gala-priest of Ea who has committed thefts in the temple and is therefore no longer to be allowed to perform ritual actions (*lā elâšu ina parakki*; for this expression see footnote 37). In the letter SAA 10 160, rev. 10–12, on the other hand, the *kalû*-priest Marduk-šapik-zeri pleads to the king on behalf of an exorcist who, despite the fact that his face and hands are branded (*pānīšu u rittīšu šaṭrū*), is a very competent priest.

Table 1: Stages of consecration, according to the incantations

Incantation	Lines	Sumerian or Akkadian rubric	Translation
I–VII	i 57, 64; ii 6, 10, 20, 28, 36	ka-enim-ma ĝiri$_2$ šu-i-kam	Formula of the barber's knife
VIII	ii 40	ka-enim-ma šá ^{giš}UMBIN ta-b[a-lu$^?$ ...]	Formula for the removal$^?$ of the (finger-)nail
IX	ii 52	ka-enim-ma tu$_9$ ku$_3$-ga-kam	Formula of the pure cloth
X	c. 6 lines after 'D rev. 11'	[ka-enim-ma ...]	[Formula ... of the *paršīgu*-turban?][12]
XI	iii 23′	ka-enim-ma e-sir$_2$ dib-ba-kam	Formula for walking on the street
XII	iv 15	ka-enim-ma e$_2$-kur ku$_4$-ku$_4$-da-kam	Formula for entering the Ekur[13]
XIII	iv 26	ka-enim-ma ENIM ABZU 10 *šá me-e* e$_2$ ^{d}kù-sù TUM$_2$	Formula 'word of the Apsû', 10 lines, while bringing water of the house of Kusu
XIV	iv 30	ka-enim-ma [... ZU:]AB *šu-ṣi-i*	Formula for bringing out [... *Ap*]sû?
XV	iv 40	ka-enim-ma ni$_2$-te-a-ni ku$_3$-ga	Formula for self-purification[14]
XVI	iv 41	[ka-enim-ma ...]	[Formula ... of the white *tapsû*-blanket][15]

Although explicit instructions on actions are missing, a razor was seemingly used for cutting the hair. The tonsure of priests in the first millennium is often attested in texts and iconography, and was considered to be the main feature of a priest (especially the *šangû*-priest).[16] The first two incantations might imply such a tonsure. It is the priest that the text refers to, on whose head water is poured, whose body is rubbed with soap, and who is 'bathed' with(?) the bronze razor.[17] The meaning of 'to bathe' can be understood as a general term for the ceremony involved, for shaving itself represents a ritual action. If the interpretation of Incantation III (ii 2) a tu$_5$-tu$_5$-a ^{giš}umbin-TAR saĝ-ga dadag-ga as 'to bathe with water, to cleanse by shaving the head'[18] is correct, then we do indeed have an explicit hint of an actual shaving.

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[12] The rubric is broken but, as will be shown below, the suggested addition fits the context.

[13] A similar rubric completes the purification ritual of the gudu$_4$, where it reads e$_2$ ku$_4$-ku$_4$-da-kam, 'in order to enter the temple' (Farber and Farber 2003: iv 11′). As Farber and Farber 2003: 100 suggest, this purification is a preliminary ritual and is not part of the actual investiture. In contrast, our ritual does not end with the self-purification but continues with the investiture of the priests (see the discussion below).

[14] The rubric 'to purify a gudu$_4$-priest' occurs twice in the Old Babylonian ritual. First, the fifth incantation reads gudu$_4$ ku$_3$-ge-⌈da⌉ (Farber and Farber 2003: iii 16), which happens before he is allowed to enter the temple (see previous footnote). Second, as a summary of the whole purification ritual the Old Babylonian text has the rubric gudu$_4$ ku$_3$-ge-da-kam (Farber and Farber 2003: iv 13).

[15] Ms. A gives only the catchline; ms. B breaks off before the rubric.

[16] For a detailed discussion of this topic see Scheyhing 1998; Waerzeggers and Jursa 2008: 14, 20–2, 28–33.

[17] The translation of i 66 by Scheyhing 1998: 64 as '(...) das bronzene Schermesser zum Reinigen zu baden (...)' would actually fit much better in the context of an incantation of the razor. But the Akkadian in the parallel line i 48 equates tu$_5$-tu$_5$ with *rummuku*, which (according to CAD R *s.v. ramāku*) is never combined with an impersonal object. (See also the translation of the phrase in question in CAD R 111, lex. section: '... to bathe in a pure fashion (using?) a razor, ...'.)

[18] Borger 1973: 172 translates verbatim 'mit Wasser zu baden, mit einem Kopfrasiermesser? zu erhellen', which corresponds exactly to the Sumerian phrase. For the wider understanding 'to shave' cf. Antagal F 184: ^{giš}umbin-TAR = *gul-lu*-[*bu*] (MSL 17 217), and Nabnitu H 1–3: ^{giš}umbin-TAR = *gul-lu-b*[*u*]; saĝ-sar-ra = MIN; ^{giš}umbin-AK-a = MIN (MSL 17 175).

Incantation VII rounds off the series of the 'razor incantations'. Even though it is   badly preserved, the remaining sign traces [...-ĝ]u₁₀-ta ḫ[u-...] or [...]-ĝu₁₀-ta ḫu-m[u?-...] of i 33–4 reveal the apotropaic concern of this incantation.[19] The formula of Asalluḫi, 'child of Eridu', who was invoked in the preceding incantations in order to wipe off (the evil), to purify, to cleanse and to brighten,[20] is omitted here. By bathing and shaving, the polluting substances have been washed away, and the initiate is prepared for the next step.

The following incantation, VIII, aims at the elimination of all evil by the exclamation: 'To loosen the knot/string of evil is up to you, lord Marduk, so absolve me from my bond!' (ii 37–9).[21] Finally, the rubric 'for removing the (finger)nail' points to the act of cutting the fingernails. The implication here is that the fingernail bears negative powers and its removal accompanies the elimination of evils. Such an 'absorptive' function is not without parallels: in the Late Babylonian incantation SpTU 3 81 from Uruk, as well as in the apotropaic ritual KAR 134, the nail is charged with negative power and later eliminated in various ways.[22] The incantation lacks the formula of the purifying Asalluḫi since an irreversible separation from evil is demanded in order to attain a higher level of purity.

Incantations IX and X represent two 'Kultmittelbeschwörungen' of a garment that can be regarded as the insignia.[23] Since CTN 4 93 is decisive for an improved understanding of both incantations, a transliteration and translation are presented here in detail:

Incantations IX and X

1′.	[...] ⌜qe?⌝-[... ...] [....]	the threa[d ...].
2′.	⌜munus¦dim₂⌝-ma tun₃-bi [...]	The wise woman [...] the lap/rug [...],
3′.	*sin-niš-ti ṭe-mi* [...]	
4′.	um-ma dim₂-ma ⌜x si x⌝ [...]	the wise old woman … [...].
5′.	*pur-šum-ti ṭe-mi* [...]	
6′.	ᵈasar-lu₂-ḫi nam-šub na-[...]	Asalluḫi/Marduk [recited] the incantation.
7′.	ᵈ*marduk šip-tam* [...]	

[19] They certainly can be understood as a parallel to the motive of the prevention of evil, which is part of the 'Legitimationstyp' (Falkenstein 1931: 31), and here the particular variant sil₇ igi-ĝu₁₀-ta, 'Get out of my presence!' (Falkenstein 1931: 32–3).

[20] i 54–5: ḫe₂-en-ku₃-ga ḫe₂-en-sikil-la ḫe₂-en-dadag-ga // *li-lil li-bi-ib li-nam-mir*

i 61–2, ii 4–5: šu dadag-ga-a-ni-ta ḫe₂-em-(ma)-ab-ur₃-ra // ḫu-mu-un-ku₃-ga ḫu-mu-un-sikil-la ḫu-mu-un-dadag-ga.

ii 18, 26: ḫe₂-en-ku₃-ga ḫe₂-en-sikil-la ḫe₂-en-dadag-ga.

[21] An almost exact parallel for this passage is found in the Late Babylonian incantation SpTU 3 81, obv. 21–2, part of a collection of incantations which avert evil by spellbinding hair or nails. The parallel confirms the transliteration and translation by Borger 1973: 167, 173, which can be restored as follows: ⁽³⁷⁾[en₂] sa ḫul tuḫ-u₃-da en ᵈmarduk-⌜e⌝-[da-am₃] ⁽³⁸⁾[ki-ṣ]ir lum-ni pa-ṭa-ru it-ti lum-nu DIŠ/*ana?* ⌜x⌝ [...] ⁽³⁹⁾[*bēlum*] ᵈ*marduk it-ti-ka-ma i-il-ti* [*puṭur*]. Besides the parallels given by Borger 1973: 175 *ad* ii 27–39, it should be added that in the course of the medical ritual *muššu'u* ('rubbing') the priest has to recite the incantation sa ḫul tuḫ-u₃-da, 'to dispel the evil knot/string' (Böck 2003: 3–6, ll. 4 and 20).

[22] For SpTU 3 81 see the previous footnote. The finger- or toenail has to be put into a jar and then thrown into the river (obv. 13–14 and 24). For KAR 134 see Ebeling 1931: 25. This text consists of incantations which dissolve a spell and re-establish the strength of the afflicted person. The first fully legible line explicitly points to the evil-absorbing character of the nails: KI T[I]-*ú* UMBIN-*ia lip-pa-ṭir ar-ni* [X?], 'let my sin be exorcised through my nail' (obv. 11′, after CAD Ṣ 251 *ṣupru*). The only (preserved) ritual instruction aims at the separation from something harmful by kneading the nails into clay and throwing it into a well, a river, or into the box under the door pivot (*lū ana būru lū ana nāri lū ana burṣimdi dalti tanaddi*, obv. 13–16). An overview of items with evil-absorbing functions—including nails—is provided by Maul 1994: 76–82.

[23] The garment as the central object of a purifying ritual is noteworthy, as only two other attestations of this kind are known. An Old Babylonian series of 'Kultmittelbeschwörungen' empowers offerings ingredients, such as cedar, honey, ghee, different sorts of oil, and finally ends with two incantations of the 'cloth' and the SAR.SAR linen (Geller 2001: 230–2, ll. 55–70). And one of the initial actions of a coronation ritual includes a mouth-washing ritual of the king's garment, throne and ritual throne (Berlejung 1996: 6/11 ll. 15–16).

8´. ḫe₂-en-ku₃-ga ḫe₂-en-sikil-la ḫe₂-[...]   He may purify, he may cleanse, he may [brighten]!
9´. eme ḫul-ĝal₂ bar-še₃ ḫ[e₂-...]   The evil tongue shall [stay] aside!

10´. ka-enim-ma 7 tu₉ ku₃-ga-[kam₍₂₎]   7 lines, Formula of the pure cloth.

11´. en₂ ᵈuttu munus sag₁₀-ga dumu ᵈen-lil₂-la₂ du₂-ud-[da]   Incantation: Uttu, the good woman, child born by Enlil.
12´. ᵈMIN *sin-niš-ti* SIG₅-*tum mar-ta šá* ᵈ*en-líl ul-*[*du-ši*]
13´. ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂ ᵈen-ᶠki¹-ga-ke₄ su-na tum₃-ma-a   The beloved child of Enki/Ea that is made fit in her/his body,[24]
14´. *mar-tum na-ram-ti* ᵈ*é-a šá* BAD? *zu-mur šu-lu-k*[*at*?]
15´. e-ᶠze₂¹-ni-ta siki sag₁₀ siki babbar-ta šu-na im-ma-an-ᶠĝal₂?¹   sheep of good wool, of white wool she put in his hands.
16´. *ṣe-e-ni ši-pa-a-ti* SIG₅.MEŠ *ši-pa-a-ti pe-ṣa-tú ana* ŠU^II
17´. ᵗᵘ⁹bar-siᶦ šita ku₃ᶦ-ga šu im-ᶠmi¹-in-sag₃ sa im-ma-ni-in-g[e?¹]   In the pure prayer she ... the bar-si turban and made it ready.
18´. *pár-ši-ga ik-rib* ᶠx x¹ *ep-ru-ti uš-ter-s*[*i*?¹]   She prepared the *paršīgu*-turban in [...] prayer of the cover?.[25]
19´. LU₂.TUG₂ «x» kalam-ma-ke₄ šu-na im-ma-an-šum₂   The 'Fuller of the land' gave it in his hand.
20´. *ana áš-la-ki šá ma-a-ti ip-qid*   She handed it over to the 'Fuller of the land'.
21´. ᵗᵘ⁹bar-si a zalag₂-ga šu-luḫ-luḫ-ḫa   The bar-si turban—with splendid water it is washed.
22´. *pár-ši-ga ina me* ᶠx x¹-*ti ú-za-ak-ki*   He cleaned the *paršīgu*-turban with [splendid?] water.[26]
23´. šu sikil-ta šu s[u- ... su]-ub-ba-a   With cleansed hands [...] rubbed.
24´. *ina qa-ti* ᶠx¹ [...] ᶠx¹
25´. ᵈasar-lu₂-ḫi ᶠx¹ [...]   Asalluḫi/Marduk [...].
26´. ᶠᵈ¹*marduk* [...]
(remainder destroyed)

Incantation IX appears to describe the preparation of the garment that is specified as the *paršīgu*-turban in Incantation X. First of all, it mentions the thread (being the basic element of a cloth) of the goddess Uttu which is said in ii 43/44 to be 'straightened' by Ištar.[27] The incantation is completed by Asalluḫi, who bestows the thread with power by purification (ii 49–50).

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[24] The only other preserved ms. is D, where rev. 3–4 read: dumu ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂ ᵈen-ki-ga-ke₄ su-na tu[m₂-...] / *mar-ti na-*ᶠ*ram*¹-*ti* ᵈ*é-a šá zu-um-*ᶠx¹ [...]. The Akkadian line of CTN 4 93 causes some confusion: should the second half be a mixture of *ša ina zumrīša/šu šūlukat* = '(Uttu), who is fit in her/his body' and *ša zumurša šūluku* = '(Uttu), whose body is fit'? The meaning of this passage remains unclear—one should assume that ll. 11´–14´ allude to a specific but incomprehensible mythologem regarding the relationship between Uttu, Enlil and Enki (see Michalowski 1992: 309-12 for intertwinements of incantations with myths).
[25] The parallel ms. D (rev. 8) reads: [...-*g*]*a ina ik-rib el-lu-tú ip-ru-su uš-ter-si*, 'After she cut off [the *paršīgu*-turban?], she made it ready'. In CTN 4 93 the sign(s) following *ik-rib* is/are illegible, but neither the traces nor the space support the reading *el-lu-tú*. Apart from that the text has a noun *ep-ru-ti*, not a verbal form of *parāsu* (as ms. D). The translation 'the cover' (abstract of verb *apārum/epērum*, 'to cover the head') is only tentative, since the Sumerian version provides no evidence for interpretation either.
[26] I cannot provide any satisfactory solution for the reading of the traces *ina? me* ᶠx x¹-*ti*. If the sign on the Sumerian line is indeed zalag₂ the Akkadian could be read ᶠ*nam-ru*¹-*ti*, for which the traces would fit. According to the dictionaries, the only other occurrence of 'splendid water' is found in the Old Babylonian 'Dialogue between the cleaner of clothes and a customer' l. 10: *ina mê namrūti ta-di-*x (UET 6/2 414, Gadd 1963: 183). However, if we accept *namrūti* the problem remains that *mê* ought not to be written me but me-e.
[27] The combination Uttu–Ištar also occurs in *Šurpu* V/VI ll. 144–9 (Reiner 1958: 34) and in a Middle Assyrian ritual of *utukkū lemnūtu*, where Uttu spins Ištar's spittle into a spell-binding thread (Geller 1980: 30/36 l. 141´).

Incantation X specifies the textile as the *paršīgu*-turban.[28] Since it is an exceptional garment, Uttu,[29] the goddess of weaving, is working on it herself. As material she chooses white sheep's wool. The colour 'white' points to the shiny and pure character of the textile, whose supernatural quality is emphasised all the more because the goddess of weaving herself and 'The fuller of the land'[30] are in charge of its production.

On putting on the turban, the initiate is visibly distinguished from ordinary people and he is allowed to enter the Ekur temple. But before he can do so, he must 'walk on the street'[31] (Incantation XI). The slightly modified incantation of the *mīs pî* ritual, en₂ e-sir₂-ra du-a-ni-ta ('when he walked along the street') fits this context, in which Asalluḫi/Marduk observes the contamination of his *āšipu*/*mašmāšu*-priest, who is walking on the street (SAALT 1: 211–25). This incantation was probably recited during the procession of a newly-fashioned divine image from the river to its shrine (SAALT 1: 210). The 'street' is well known as a place of peril jeopardising the mandatory cultic purity of a priest.[32] Therefore Incantation XI starts with the invocation of the god Kusu,[33] being as 'chief exorcist' the authority capable of purifying the initiate.

In fact, the initiate names violations which he himself or another person has committed consciously or unconsciously (iii 2′–16′). Such considerations are also part of the *lipšur*-litanies (Reiner 1956: 137–8, ll. 81–95 and pp. 142–3, ll. 41′–62′) and of Šurpu II (Reiner 1958: 13–18).[34] The same gods—Nusku, Kusu and Ningirim(a)—are invoked for purification, in order to 'enter the Ekur' (*lūruba ana Ekur*, iii 20′). Finally, the initiate concludes his preliminary measure with the words: 'If I prostrate, it bowed me down', if I tread on the ground, my feet shall be straight' (*uškên lū ukannišanni akabbas qaqqaru līšerā šēpēya*, iii 21′). Notably, the purity of the feet is also the

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[28] Within the scope of a priestly consecration it should be mentioned that the EREŠ.DINGIR of the storm god of Emar also receives a red wool headdress (ᵗᵘᵍBAR.SIG ˢⁱᵍḪÉ.ME.DA) as one of her insignia (l. 42).

[29] Uttu is not one of the great gods, but her seat E-ešgar ('House of the assigned task') is nevertheless mentioned in Tintir II l. 13′′ (George 1992: 50). Some other attestations of this goddess serve to illustrate her responsibilities. For the entry ᵈTAG×TÚG or ᵈTAG.TÚG in An-Anum II ll. 355–6, a Seleucid god list gives glosses explaining the sign TAG as *ma-ḫa-ṣu šá* TÚG, 'to weave a textile' (Litke 1998: 109 n. 354). A hemerology equates her with *ettūtu*, 'spider' (George 1992: 283). And finally, as stated in *Laḫar and Ašnan* (ETCSL 5.3.2, l. 17) and *Enki and the World Order* (ETCSL 1.1.3, l. 383), lordship cannot exist without Uttu fashioning the royal cap.

[30] As far as I know, the appellation 'Fuller of the land' is not attested elsewhere. Ea/Enki is often indicated as being the master of various crafts (e.g., MSL 9 207–9), but there is no reference to 'fuller'.

[31] The rubric e-sir₂ dib-ba-kam has at least four parallels within the series of the 'forerunners to *utukkū lemnūtu*' (Geller 1985: 26–33). There, the evil demons wait at every imaginable place in order to attack human beings and cause evil diseases which can only be cured by priests.

[32] Before starting a ritual, the priest has to obtain absolution for any pollution caused by the 'street'. Such pleas are part of the initial lines of the *lipšur*-litanies, where the priest asks Šamaš for forgiveness (Reiner 1956: 142–3, ll. 41′–6′).

[33] The title saĝĝa₂ maḫ ᵈen-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ as stated in Incantation XIII is the usual epithet of this deity (Michalowski 1993: 158–60). As a deity concerned with purification he played an important role within purifying rituals. Gibil and Kusu formed the pair 'censer' (niĝ₂-na/Kusu) and 'torch' (gi-izi-la₂/Gibil). The *mīs pî* ritual also refers to Kusu and his purifying function. At the beginning an instruction orders the setting up of a hut in the garden for Kusu, wherein the water basin has to be installed (SAALT 1 37/38 and 53/54 ll. 11 and 23). He carries out his duty by swaying censer and torch 'in order to bring light into the darkness' (SAALT 1 106/110 ll. 27-8). According to another *mīs pî* incantation he purifies the crown by means of the 'holy water basin' and 'the pure water of the Apsû' (SAALT 1 194–5/204, l. 13).

[34] On analogy with the *lipšur*-litanies (Reiner 1956: 142–3, l. 48′), ll. iii 11′–13′ have to be understood as: 'If I have been neglectful, if I have not been neglectful, if I have committed a sin, if I have not committed a sin, if I have been remiss, if I have not been remiss' (*lū angi lū lā angi lū aḫṭi lū lā aḫṭi lū ešēṭ lū lā ešēṭ*). The finite form *angi*, which is here assumed to derive from the infinitive *egû*, remains problematic. As Borger 1973: 175 *ad* iii 11′ already pointed out, the writing *an-gi* instead of *e-gi* is certain. Nevertheless, because of the close parallelism to the *lipšur*-litanies and the reference to possible negligence towards a deity expressed in these three statements, the translation of *angi* as 'I have been neglectful' seems to be the most appropriate.

main concern of an incantation of the *mīs pî* ritual, when the god's statue is about to enter the temple (SAALT 1: 176/187, ll. 20–23).

Having been freed from the pollution of the street, the initiate is now allowed to enter the Ekur. To judge from the expression in Incantation XII '[...] to the Ekur I ascend' (*ana Ekur elli/ellu*, iv 1/2), this may have been considered synonymous with an actual ascent into a higher sphere.[35] Even though the lines of this incantation are badly preserved, the wording of a 'Legitimationstyp' incantation is still legible. The initiate seeks protective escort (iv 3–4)[36] in order to prevent harm that may cling to him and that therefore may contaminate the temple at his entry (iv 5–13).

Incantation XIII consists of 10 lines of the 'Word of the Apsû', which is marked by the purifying radiation of Eridu and the Apsû, seat of the crafty god Enki/Ea. This incantation invokes the priests and gods of the Eridu-circle. The list starts with the *enkummu*-priest, whose duties lay within the sphere of cultic purification (Walker 1966: 170; Charpin 1986: 390). The following divine couple Enkum and Ninkum, and the abgal-priest, whose prominent feature was 'flowing hair' (Charpin 1986: 389), belonged to the Eridu-circle. The chain of purification deities is continued by Kusu, Ningirim(a) and Asalluḫi (iv 21–3). The incantation has the rubric 'Word of the Apsû while bringing water of the house of Kusu', where ENIM ABZU is used as an idiomatic expression. By consulting other passages this topos can also be closely linked to purification:[37]

1. VAT 13841+13842, rev. 6: ENIM ABZU *šá* GI.IZI.LÁ = 'word of the Apsû of the torch'; the torch has already appeared in the context of purification;[38]
2. In Esagil-kin-apli's 'Exorcists' Manual' the entry ENIM ABZU GI.NU.TAG.GA-*ú* shows the affiliation to the purification cult, since it appears together with 'hand-washing rites'.[39]
3. The ENIM ABZU of the 'kettledrum ritual' from Kuyunjik confirms the purity of the bull whose skin is destined to cover the *lilissu*-kettledrum (Linssen 2004: 275, 278, i 17 and 26).

The Akkadian supplementary note 'while bringing the water of the house of Kusu' facilitates the reference to the *mīs pî* ritual, where at one point the water basin is set up in the 'house of Kusu', who then accomplishes the 'Kultmittelbeschwörung' of the crown by means of 'the holy water basin, the water of the Apsû'.[40] The suggestion of Berlejung (1998: 423/435, n. 1977) to equate the *bīt rimki* of the mouth-washing rituals (*mīs pî*) with the *bīt Kusu* gains relevance because the following incantations support the assumption that our incantation also refers to such a *bīt Kusu* set up in a garden on a river bank. To sum up, Incantation XIII refers to a purifying spell in which powerful authorities bless the water (for self-purification?).

Incantation XIV is very fragmentary but ties in with the previous one. The purifying aspect postulated by the interpretation of the term 'Word of the Apsû' in the rubric is apparent once again. The first line underlines this with the words: 'The holy water basin of Enki, the water of the lapis lazuli quay he found there' (a(-)gub$_2$-ba ^{d}en-ki-ga-ke$_4$ a kar za-gin$_3$-na mu-ni-in-pa$_3$, iv 27). A similar combination of 'water basin' and the 'pure quay' occurs in the 'Kultmittelbeschwörung' of the throne within the *mīs pî* ritual, which states: 'Kusu, the chief exorcist of Enlil, [...] he grandly

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[35] Apart from the literal meaning 'to climb' the verb *elû* has also a figurative meaning (cf. CAD E 119–20 *elû*). With the phrase *lā elâšu ina parakki,* 'He is not to ascend the dais' (SAA 13 138 rev. 18e, see also footnote 11) a punishment is inflicted upon a priest who is thus no longer allowed to carry out his duty in front of the cult image. This evidence supports the idea that 'the ascent to the Ekur' points to the priest's future cultic actions in the temple.

[36] Cf. the example 'Nergal at my right side, Ninurta at my left side' (Falkenstein 1931: 30).

[37] The following text passages are cited after Borger 1973: 176 *ad* iv 26.

[38] For the function of the torch cf. footnote 35.

[39] Cf. Geller 2000: 244, l. 3: ENIM ABZU GI.NU.TAG.GA-*ú u* ŠU.LUḪ DINGIR.RA / ENIM ABZU *gi-nu-taq-qu-ú u* ŠU.LUḪ.ḪA DINGIR.RA, 'Word of the Apsû, *ginutaqqû*, and hand-washing rites of the deity'. For *ginutaqqû* see Geller 2000: 252 *ad* l. 3.

[40] Cf. the passage cited in footnote 34.

ordered [...]. On a pure quay, on a clean quay, purify it (i.e., the throne) with the water basin and acknowledge it as [...] of the Apsû!' (SAALT 1 196/205, ll. 19–21). Finally, a badly damaged rubric of an incantation within the mouth-washing of the 'choice bull' has also the traces kar-za-gin₃-na [...] (Linssen 2004: 267–8, rev. 11).

Another association leads to the Ekar-zagina of Ea/Enki, designating both the temple in the complex of Esagil in Babylon and its adjoining river and garden area (e.g., George 1992: 300-3).[41] Even though only ms. A, originating from Kuyunjik, includes this incantation, the name was likely adopted from its Babylonian original or even from the presumed original Nippur background. In any case, the incantation hints at a ceremony held on a river, be it the Euphrates (as stated in the next incantation) or the Tigris.

The extant lines of Incantation XV provide sufficient basis for an interpretation, because it is not only the rubric 'to purify oneself' that explicitly addresses the act of purification.[42] The mention of the Euphrates in iv 31 affirms the fact that rivers were usually the locations where the purifications (*tēliltu*)[43] and a good part of the mouth-washing ritual took place.

Lines iv 35–9 undoubtedly indicate a physical purification: mouth, hands, feet—the whole body —shall become pure. A similar statement is found at the beginning of the Old Babylonian purification ritual of the gudu₄-priest, where arm, hand and foot became 'fair' (i₃-sa₂) (Farber and Farber 2003: i 2–4). By now, the initiate has attained the purity required to carry out cultic actions.

The rubric of Incantation XVI remains unknown, but the beginning of the incantation that ms. A gives as catchline is preserved in ms. B. Ms. A refers to a second tablet but it is not clear to what extent the incantation there belongs to the ritual on tablet A. However, ms. B suggests that it is still part of the ritual, and therefore we must assume that the ceremony lasts for an unspecified time. In the incantation the central term *tapsû* is somewhat obscure. The text provides no useful hints for identifying this item or defining its function: it is the appropriate symbol of divinity (iv 41/41a), and here especially (or generally?) assigned to Ea and the Apsû; furthermore, it is a cultic ordinance of Enlil. Further qualifications are not given.

Apart from this incantation the *tapsû* is attested in a few other text passages. The term usually denotes a textile (CAD T 193–4); only once is it used for leather covers (SAA 7: 89, obv. 12).[44]

During the *mīs pî* ritual the *tapsû* is referred to twice: once in an instruction to let the god sit down in a linen *tapsû* (Berlejung 1998: 426/441, ll. 96/12; SAALT 1: 59, l. 95 and pp. 74/78, l. 13),[45] the second time in a 'Šu'ila for the mouth-opening of a god', when the god is told to lie/sit in a pure linen *tapsû* (SAALT 1: 169/185, l. 59).[46] According to Berlejung these actions aim to isolate the cultic image from the profane world. From this line, another newly reconstructed text can now be understood too (Berlejung 1998: 138 n. 774). Its fragmentary state nevertheless allows identification as a ritual instruction, where a priest puts the *tapsû* on the king's head. Besides the ritual contexts, the veiling of ordinary people's faces was a general requirement when they were given an audience by the king (Parpola 1980: 172 n. 12). It cannot be determined whether or not the *tapsû* was also used for covering the head. But if so, then either the initiate's head or that of the divine statue was covered before the initiate presented himself to the god.

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[41] See also the map in George 1992: 17 and 24.

[42] A similar rubric, gudu₄ ku₃-ge-da, occurs in the Old Babylonian purification ritual for the gudu₄-priest (Farber and Farber 2003: iii 16´ and iv 13´); see also footnote 13.

[43] Cf. references in Maul 1994: Index *s.v.* 'Fluß'. A Ninevite incantation of the *mīs pî* ritual thematises the Tigris (Berlejung 1998: 424–36; SAALT 1 56 l. 52), and another of Šurpu IX ll. 119–28 the Euphrates (Reiner 1958: 49).

[44] The arrangement in ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* XIX does not contribute to the identification of the *tapsû* ('garment of the bailiff, garment of the image, *tapsû*, sumptuous garment, garment of Ḫana, ...' (*ša rēdî, ša ṣalmi, tapsû, ša illūku, ša ḫanû* ...), MSL 10 135, ll. 271–5).

[45] DINGIR.BI *ina* UGU GI.KID.MAḪ *ina tap-se-e* GADA TUŠ-*šú*.

[46] [ᵗᵘᵍDU₈]-a ⌜gada tuḫ-a⌝ [...] // [*i*]*na tap-se-e ki-*⌜*te*⌝-[*e* ...].

CONCLUSION

In recapitulation we can draw the following picture: Incantations I–XII repeatedly indicate the temple as the seat of the divine and as an area clearly separated from the profane world. Any trespasses by unauthorised parties involved great dangers. In order to avert these dangers the future priest had to undergo a purifying ritual. Therefore, the aim of Incantations I–XII is to gain access to the temple. The necessary procedure begins with seven washings (and shavings) that wipe away any pollution. Immediately afterwards the adhering evil is literally cut off with the fingernails, thus concluding the separation from the previous environment. Now the initiate is allowed to wear a special turban of divine origin, which gives the purification ceremony an outwardly visible new status. The preparations for entry into the temple are now performed.[47]

Before the initiate proceeds to the Ekur, he has to avoid the pollutions of the profane area, i.e., the street, because it risks compromising his cultic purity. Since the preamble locates the inspection of the initiate in the 'bathroom', where the washing ceremony was also likely to have taken place, the initiate may really have walked along a street in order to reach the temple. With the elimination of all evil now concluded, the initiate is permitted to do so.

But access to the temple is only one step within the ritual, because at least the following three incantations (XIII–XV) prescribe some kind of mouth washing. Like the often-cited *mīs pî* ('mouth-opening') ritual, this ceremony was performed on the banks of a river, and comparable to the *mīs pî* ritual, the final goal here is a person who is permanently able to communicate with the divine sphere (as the *mīs pî* of a divine statue enabled the deity to communicate with the human sphere).[48] With Incantation XV the initiate reaches the stage of ritual purity: he can contact the deity orally (purity of the mouth), perform ritual acts (purity of the hands) and walk around in the temple without endangering its cultic purity (purity of the feet).

If Incantation XVI is an immediate continuation of the ritual, we can assume that the initiate is presented to the deity while veiled. In any case, at the end of the ritual a priest emerges who has access to the temple and is able to act as intermediary between the earthly and the divine spheres.

Addendum

The article of Waerzeggers and Jursa (2008), which appeared after the submission of this contribution, is worth mentioning here since it examines the purity of priestly initiates from the perspective of Late Babylonian legal and administrative documents, thus meshing nicely with the preamble to the 'Consecration of a priest of Enlil'. For a survey of installation procedures according to Neo-Assyrian documents see now Löhnert (2007).

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[47] At this point the Hittite instructions for the temple personnel offer a nice parallel since they apply to the deity's kitchen staff: 'Let them be bathed and shaven, let their (body?) hair and their nails be removed. Let them wear pure garments' (after Wilhelm 1999: 198).

[48] Another example of a short-term 'mouth washing' is the preparations of the divination-priest before he can carry out his work for the king: he washes his hands, clothes himself with a new garment, rinses his mouth with cedar sap, washes his mouth and hands again, etc. (Zimmern 1901: 75–8, ll. 13–18; Maul 2003: 76).

NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFICS AND DISCOVERIES: EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS TO MESOPOTAMIA

Ellen McAdam—Glasgow

I first met Jeremy Black in 1977 at a screening in Oxford of *Grand Hotel*, the film in which Greta Garbo says 'I want to be alone'. However, we came to know each other well in the early 80s, when we were living and working in Baghdad under the auspices of the British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq. Apart from diplomatic cocktail parties and the Baghdad Play-reading Circle we had few social engagements, and we whiled away the long Iraqi evenings in the Expedition house in Mansur with conversation, music and the occasional glass of gin. Jeremy was fond of quoting an examination paper he had once faced which had asked 'Which statement is the more reasonable: I wish I were in China, or I wish I were in the eighteenth century?' And in the course of discussing which was the more foreign country, we often referred to the accounts of the early travellers. This paper is in memory of those evenings.

THE FIRST TRAVELLERS

My first introduction to the writings of early travellers to Mesopotamia was through Seton Lloyd's excellent *Foundations in the dust* (1980), which draws on them, and on his own experience, to tell the story of Mesopotamian archaeology. As a young postgraduate writing a thesis on domestic architecture in ancient times I hoped that they would prove a similarly fruitful source of information on the architecture of the villages and towns through which they passed. Unfortunately the writers I read at that time were almost entirely silent on the subject, although on the rare occasions on which they did stay overnight in village houses the nuisance caused by fleas was a recurrent theme. This silence was understandable in the case of the very early writers. Obadyah the Proselyte (Scheiber 1954) and Benjamin of Tudela (1907), who visited Jewish communities in the east in the twelfth century, did so with the intention of recording the state of those communities, not of writing travelogues. It was more frustrating in the case of later writers, who seemed to be prepared to describe every conceivable sort of natural and man-made feature, but not the ordinary domestic arrangements in which I was interested. When travellers left descriptions of house interiors, they were all of high-status dwellings. However, despite their incomprehensible lack of interest in mud brick, the early travellers to Mesopotamia have left us accounts that are not only immensely readable, but a potential resource for research on a wide range of topics, including the social, political and environmental history of the region. It is a resource that must be used with caution, because the writers inevitably filter their experiences through their own culture as well as lending their personal bias, but it is too rich to be ignored. Many travellers wrote of their journeys, and this paper focuses on those from the early nineteenth century and earlier. This necessarily subjective selection is offered as a taster of the riches that are available.

THE DESERT ROUTE TO INDIA

Mesopotamia attracted travellers, not because of its intrinsic interest, but because it lay on the trade route to and from India. Goods and travellers could and did make their way by a variety of routes and conveyances: by boat upriver from Basra to Baghdad, or downriver from Bir to Baghdad; downriver by kelek from Mosul to Baghdad; by caravan from Aleppo to Mosul, or from Basra to Aleppo (the most frequently used route); on horseback from Baghdad through the mountains of Kurdistan to Persia, or from Mosul to Baghdad; and, after the period with which we are dealing, by train, bus or plane to Baghdad.

Carruthers (1929) provides a useful summary of the history of the desert route to India and its use by European travellers. The Portuguese figure largely among the first travellers to cross the desert from Aleppo to Basra in the sixteenth century, followed by Venetians, Swiss and English. Europeans continued to use the route until 1638, after which there was a period of considerable unrest; the Dutch and English were competing in the Gulf, and there was a recrudescence of piracy (Carruthers 1929: 23). By 1700 the East India Company, founded in 1600, had secured important trading posts in India, and under Robert Clive outmanoeuvred the French East India Company. Victory in Bengal in 1757 initiated a century of expansion, as the trading venture grew into an empire. From the mid-eighteenth century therefore, travellers, mostly British, were once again using the desert route.

HONEST MERCHANTS

The first Englishmen to travel the route were agents and emissaries of the Levant Company in the palmy days of the Factory at Aleppo, when the city was a major centre of overland trade with the east, second only in size and importance to Constantinople. Cloth was the staple item of trade from England, currants, silk, oils, wines and cottons from the Levant, and spices and other luxury merchandise from India. Goods from India arrived by ship at Basra, and from there were transported upriver to Baghdad in boats drawn by teams of men, or overland through the desert on the eastern fringe of Mesopotamia by camel caravan to Aleppo. One of the best-known of the sixteenth-century English merchants was John Eldred (1583), who

departed out of London in the ship called the Tiger, in the company of M. John Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and six or seven other honest merchants on Shrove munday 1583, and arrived in Tripolis of Syria the first day of May.

On 21 May he reached Aleppo,

the greatest place of traffique for a dry town that is in all these parts, for hither resort Jews, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and injoy freedome of their consciences.

He describes the citadel of Aleppo and the surrounding countryside, before setting sail down the Euphrates on 'a small bark'. In many places the party encountered 'troops of Arabians', and he notes their customs and appearance, remarking on the women's nose-rings of gold, silver and iron. The party bought milk, butter, eggs and lambs from the Arabs in exchange for glasses, combs, coral and amber, 'for they care not for money'. He observes that 'these people are very thievish; they stole a casket from under my man's head as he slepte'. In due course he arrived at 'New Babylon' (Baghdad), a city 'above two English miles round', with buildings of sun-dried brick, flat-roofed and low, where he records that the women wear nose-rings with pearls and turquoises. He also visited the site of 'Babylon'—probably modern 'Aqar Quf—with the 'ruins of the old tower of Babel … almost as high as the stone work of Paule's steeple in London'. He then sailed down the Tigris through a country 'very fertile of corn, rice, pulse and dates' to Basra, to which port 'come monthly divers ships from Ormuz laden with all sorts of Indian merchandise'. Laden with merchandise himself, he returned by boat and camel caravan to Aleppo on 11 June 1584. After two more trips to Baghdad he visited 'Antioch, Tripolis, Joppa, Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, to the river of Jordan, and the sea or lake of Zodoma'. He reached England once more on 26 March 1588 'in the Hercules of London, the richest ship of English merchants goods ever to come into this realm'. He became a wealthy merchant, a subscriber to and member of the first court of directors in the East India Company. His property included the manor house of Great Saxham in Suffolk, where his monument in the local church bears this inscription:

The Holy Land so called I have seen
And in the Land of Babilon have been
But in that Land where glorious Saints doe live
My Soul doth crave of Christ a roome to give.

Eldred's account of his travels is not unique—some other 'honest merchants' have left records—but it is exceptionally detailed and interesting, not only to archaeologists but to historians of European trade with the Ottoman Empire and beyond. Apart from the generalisation about thievishness, his commentary on the people and customs of the lands in which he travels is neutral, and the same is true of his contemporaries Barret (1584), Aldersley (1586) and Wrag (1593). Aldersley (1586: 94) writes of the people of Alexandria, 'The people be rude, insomuch that a man cannot traveile without a Janizary to conduct him …', and with prudent Tudor loyalty Wrag (1593: 103) contrasts the peace and prosperity of Queen Elizabeth's rule with 'the miserable condition of Christians and others living under such an infidell prince'. For the most part they appear to accept differences in religion as a fact of life, complying with 'such religious rites as their law requireth' (Wrag 1593: 95) and mixing without comment with 'passengers of divers nations, Tartars, Persians, Jews and sundry Christians. … I had often conference with a Jew' (Wrag 1593: 110). Eldred's most severe strictures are reserved for the 'traiterous behaviour of the Portuguese in Goa' (1583: 7).

It is interesting to contrast this with one of the few available accounts by an early Ottoman traveller. Evliya Efendi (1834) was born in Constantinople in 1611, the son of the chief goldsmith. His record of his travels to all parts of the Ottoman Empire, Europe, Asia and Africa in the early seventeenth century contains numerous explicitly anti-Christian references: the 'corpses of infidels doomed to hell'; 'purified with rose-water from all the pollutions of the infidels'; 'polluted hosts'; 'the terror of the infidels doomed to hell'; 'deluged with the blood of the idolators'; 'neither Jews nor Christians are allowed to enter its blessed doors'; and so on. The difference in attitude is not difficult to explain. The English merchants came from a small, poor, rain-sodden country on the edge of the continent of Europe, just beginning to overcome the effects of centuries of civil war and religious strife and desperate for foreign trade. The Ottoman Empire was at the height of its powers and riches, and controlled access to the wealth of India.

The noble birth of the Italian Pietro della Valle, who travelled from India to Italy via Basra and Aleppo in 1625, seems to have given him a different perspective from the English merchants (della Valle 1665). He too speaks unfavourably of the cruelty of the Portuguese, and is generally more critical of the Turks and Arabs he encounters. He arrived at Basra on 11 March, describing it as 'large and populous, but ill-built', the first of a long succession of travellers to take exception to the city. The people are 'Arabians with some Turks', partly Sunni and partly Shi'a, 'with liberty of conscience to both'. He also encounters some Sabaean Christians or Mandeans, whom he describes as idiots. He regularly refers to the 'Moors' as barbarians, and animadverts on their unpunctuality and dishonesty, especially towards Christians:

herewith the reader may observe, how we Christians are used by these barbarians in their own jurisdictions … I have related this adventure, that thereby the dealings of these uncivil Barbarians may be known … what Tyranny these barbarians exercise in their own countries toward us, who in ours very often, with ill-employed courtesy, are wont to be undeservedly caressed and honoured when they come hither.

However, he describes the Bedu as 'the noblest among them, never residing in walled places but wandering about the fields with black tents', and he is interested in antiquities, visiting a site called Muqeijer (Muqayyar?), where he found bricks and stones with cuneiform inscriptions, as well as Babylon and Birs Nimrud. Some of his strictures about the honesty of the Arabs relate to the theft of certain articles belonging to his wife, who had died in India, and whose body he was conveying home in a chest for burial in Italy. In the circumstances, his distress is understandable.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The towns of southern Iraq did not strike European travellers favourably. In 1745 William Beawes, travelling from Aleppo to Basra, wrote of Najaf, 'The houses, if such they may be called, look more like heaps of rubbish than dwellings, and the inhabitants more despicable than anything mentioned'. Like other travellers, he speaks of the 'danger of being plundered by wanderers of the desert', but he praises Arab hospitality:

We have certainly the utmost reason to acknowledge that this virtue is possessed by the Arabs in the highest degree. While it is in their interests to fulfil their obligations to travellers who have paid them and they may fear the consequences if they do not, this is true everywhere. They charge reasonably for their civility and security, and are worthy the greatest commendation.

He also notes their punctual compliance with the set time of prayer and their 'laudable scruple' in abstaining from intoxicating liquors, suggesting that the 'greatest unhappiness of the Arabians immediately under Ottoman tyranny is disagreement amongst themselves'.

Five years later Bartholomew Plaisted (1750) fails to warm to Basra, which

has the meanest aspect and is the worst built of any I ever saw. The houses are generally two stories high, flat on the top, and constructed with bricks burnt in the sun, but in such a clumsy manner that the Governor's own house was no better than a dog-hole.

Plaisted has a poor opinion of everyone. Arabs are 'very bold, cunning and revengeful', the Carmelite Roman missionaries are 'mean, scandalous wretches', whom he alleges made a tavern out of their church and procured mistresses for their customers, and the Turks are 'very insolent to foreign merchants'. His account of joining a caravan bound for Aleppo deals at tedious length with the dishonesty of the Arabs:

… especially those of the desert, for there is not one of them but is villain enough to cut your throat for ten piastres … men so wickedly inclined as these Arabs, whose godliness is gain, will stop at nothing to enrich themselves. …The bulk of the caravan is made up of Arabs of the desert, who are an ignorant, brutish, low-lived set of people; which is no wonder, considering their manner of life, and the meanness of their education, in a place where they can have little or no knowledge of the rest of the world. … As for the Arabs of the desert, I cannot see how they can be trusted; for they make a trade of robbery, and are brought up to it from their infancy … However they pretend to stand much on their honour, and if their wives or daughters happen to make a slip, they make no more ado but to take them on one side and strike off their heads. … The Arabs value themselves highly on being a free and unconquered people; a circumstance to be solely attributed to their poverty and the sterril [sic] state of their country—a better security against the rage of conquerors than the greatest virtue or the most consummate valour. … They are certainly a bad people, though better than the commonality of Egypt and Turkey. There is no danger of being ill treated by them in the caravan, further than a few insolent freedoms they think themselves justified in taking, on the strength of being Mahomet's countryman, on which account they conclude themselves superior to the rest of mankind.

The reader has the uncomfortable sensation of what it might be like to travel in a camel caravan with a black-cab driver, and is grateful for some practical advice:

Provisions—boiled butter, cheese, thirty or forty tongues well cured, and a little salt … Onions should be never forgot, because you will meet with hares every day, and these are all the fresh meat you must expect. It is not worth while to carry a great quantity of liquor, for the bottles will be apt to break … but you must never forget tea and coffee …

As the caravan approaches Aleppo Plaisted notes the well-known traditional house form of the region, a response to the scarcity of timber for flat roofs: 'all the houses had domes in the fashion of bee-hives'. He provides an attractive and detailed description of Aleppo, not just of the impressive Citadel but also of the houses. The ground floor is usually arched, terraced with plaster

or paved with stone. The rooms open off a courtyard, usually with a fountain surrounded by a little garden. The ceilings are of wood, neatly painted and gilded, as are the shutters, panels and cupboard doors, of which there are many. There are quotations from the Koran or their own verses over the doors and windows on the inside. There are no external windows, so the streets are disagreeable to Europeans. The better sort of houses have an arched alcove open to the north opposite the fountain. The pavement of the alcove is raised about a foot and a half above the courtyard, and the courtyard is usually paved with mosaic. There is also a large hall with cupola, which provides a cool room in summer. The divan is raised above the floor, covered with carpet in winter and in summer with fine mats. Along the sides there are thick mattresses, commonly covered with scarlet cloth; and bolsters of brocade stuffed with cotton. There are no chairs. There are only one or two rooms for the family in the outer court, and the rest are for servants and stabling. Above stairs there is a colonnade, at least on the west side of the house, with windows projecting into the street and raised floors forming kiosks. Behind this court is another with the women's apartments. Unfortunately he dispels the pleasant picture conjured up by this description with a crass story about a flirtation with his hostess and her daughter: 'For besides that the women in these parts have a natural turn for gallantry I knew there were charms in money which few are able to resist'.

Scale of 6'; one Foot to the half inch.
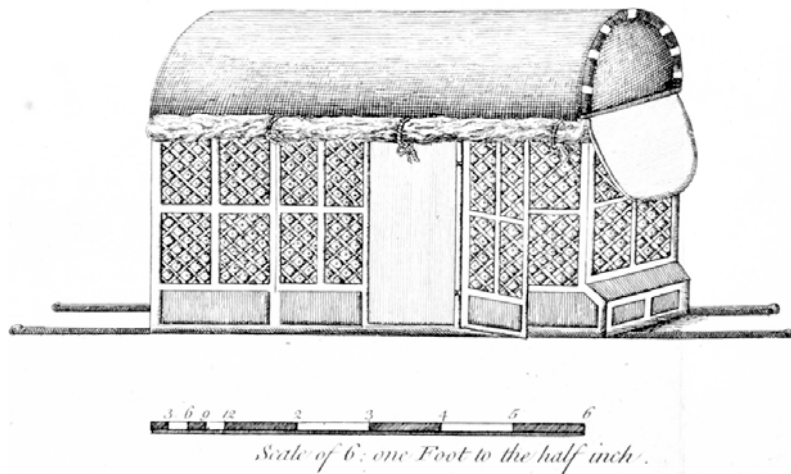
Figure 1: A Takht-Revan (Ives 1773: 278)

No such lapses of taste are perpetrated by Edward Ives, 'formerly surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship and of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies', who made the journey from Basra to Baghdad by river in 1758 on his way home from India to England (Ives 1773). Like many from this period, his account was intended as a guide for other travellers, and provides essential and detailed advice on how to obtain money and how many horses will be needed, illustrated by surveyed maps of the journey showing the course of the rivers, caravan routes, and wells. Once again Basra evokes mixed feelings: he says that the streets are narrow and stink abominably, and the houses are all built of mud, and bricks dried in the sun. On the other hand, he is pleased with the caravanserai, which was large and full of shops selling different kinds of merchandise, including a market for fresh produce, 'well furnished with all sorts of meat, except pork; the mutton you buy here is excellent'. At this time, he notes, Basra and Baghdad had different currencies.

The journey upriver by boat to Hilla was pleasant, through a fertile landscape which he describes as 'picturesque and delightful', with ripe corn being harvested in the fields and a wealth of bird life, including 'pigeon, turtle, song birds, pelicans, ducks, partridges, king's fishers and swallows'. He makes special note of the mosquitoes.

The Governor at Hilla received the party warmly and offered them hospitality. He intimated to the party at supper that 'it was his particular request that in regard to our liquors, we would be quite free and unrestrained'. Surgeon Ives and his party said grace before and after supper: 'the Turks thought it a very odd custom, I believe, for they talked to one another about it a good deal'. They caused more amusement by taking off their hats, to which the Governor's treasurer responded by taking off his turban. The spectators were also entertained by their manner of eating with knives and forks, chairs and tables. Quite undeterred by this level of scrutiny, the party responded to another message from the Governor, begging them to be gay and enjoy themselves: 'Upon receiving this message, the bottle passed about very briskly; the governor's health was drunk, and a chorus song was sung'. Despite their toping, they resumed their journey at 5 o'clock the next morning.

As more and more British officials and merchants took the overland route to and from India it became less necessary to provide detailed guidance on provisioning and landmarks. This did not mean that the flow of published accounts dried up—quite the reverse—but that they became more descriptive and instructive and less practical and advisory. In some cases they also develop literary pretensions. The narrative of Lieutenant William Heude, who made the journey from Malabar to England via Muscat, Basra, Baghdad, Suleimaniyah and Arbil in 1816–7, appears at first to be an example of this trend (Heude 1819). After a Preface which he describes as 'a proemial discourse' he opens his account with prose of great elegance and refinement:

Whenever the like coincidence of times and circumstances, of habits and inclinations shall arise; I trust the following representation of men and manners, of countries, and the peculiar incidents of a journey overland, will be allowed, at the worst, the humble merit of a strict adherence to truth, and fidelity of narration.

This is followed by a description of Malabar:

The loftiest wood crowns the boldest clift; the chasm frowns, and the cataract, rushing impetuously, threatens destruction to the smiling vale that opens its bosom to receive its spell-bound, and now sportive streams.

Fortunately for the reader, the military man (he is 28, having joined up at 15) wins out over the author on page 6. He begins to criticise the civil administration of the East India Company, and rapidly becomes so impassioned that he lapses into the clear, forcible prose that is obviously his normal style, and prevails for the rest of the book.

Heude's journey begins in September, when he takes passage for Mangalore in a pattamar, 'the most miserable, noisome bark that sails the seas … seasoned with quantities of rancid oil, covered with half-putrid salt fish'. On 26 October he sets sail from Bombay, making the excellent natural harbour of Muscat in Oman on 12 November. Muscat was an important trading port, independent from the Ottoman Empire, and a major centre of the slave trade. Heude describes the slave market, where 20 or 30 young Africans, brought across the desert chiefly from the coast of Zanzibar, were exposed for sale three times a week.

At Masket, … slaves are treated with a degree of humanity that would do honour to our climes. … They live at their master's, and are never again exposed to *public* sale, unless they misbehave.

On 21 November he reaches Basra, which once again is described as 'meanly built and extremely dirty, although enjoying the advantages of a healthy climate and a very considerable trade'. Throughout his journey his soldier's eye notices details like the size of the garrison and the state of the city walls, and he occasionally reflects on 'British military and naval superiority allied to respectable conduct and enlightened policy'.
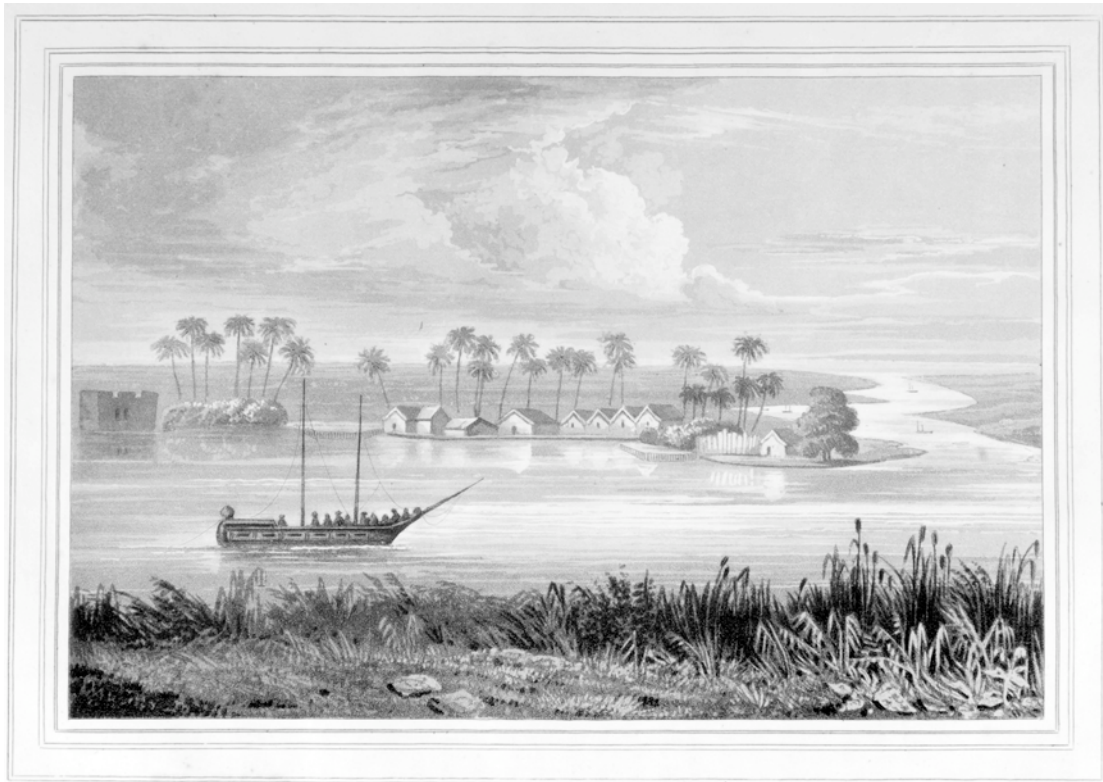
Figure 2: Korma in the Garden of Eden (Heude 1819, facing page 56)

On 17 January he dresses himself in Arab dress and sets off by boat up river with a problematic Turkish guide called Aly Aga. Described as 'extremely filthy, even for a Turk' and 'a great drinker', Aly Aga takes the first opportunity of going on shore to get drunk, and continues to misbehave throughout the journey. On 19 January they reach Qurna, surrounded by 'barren, black, desolated wilderness'. The landscape of the marshes also fails to please: 'we came to a desert, marshy tract entirely covered with bull-rushes on either side … [with a] dismal, melancholy aspect'. Fortunately on 22 January they reach 'more cheerful, cultivated scenes'.

After Qut he leaves the boat and sets off on horseback to visit some of the tribes, reaching

the tent of Shaik Mohamood, brother of Shaik Hamood, chief of the Montifics, a principal tribe amongst the Bedooins, as described by Niehbuhr. The pen cannot describe the unassuming courtesy, the open, generous hospitality of these lawless robbers of the desert, to the confiding traveller who throws himself on the honour of their tribes.

Impressed by their letters of introduction, the Shaik invites them to a feast. Three or four buffalo hides sown together are spread out, and servants and slaves lay down 'a mighty tray, loaded with coarse black rice, and the legs, heads, and bodies, of many a slaughtered sheep … my stomach being in a very critical unsettled state …'. The Shaik offers him half a sheep's head, and he is obliged to resign his seat due to 'the sickly feeling that was stealing over all my faculties'. On 27 January they reach Shatra, where the Turk behaves badly again, infuriating the Shaik by 'devoting … all the females of their tribe, to every kind of insult'. Their course now lay through desert, 'the only vegetation a weak, sickly furze, which the camels alone can eat', and he notes the presence of various ancient sites, including Babylon, Wasit, and Ctesiphon. Finally, in early February, he reaches Baghdad:
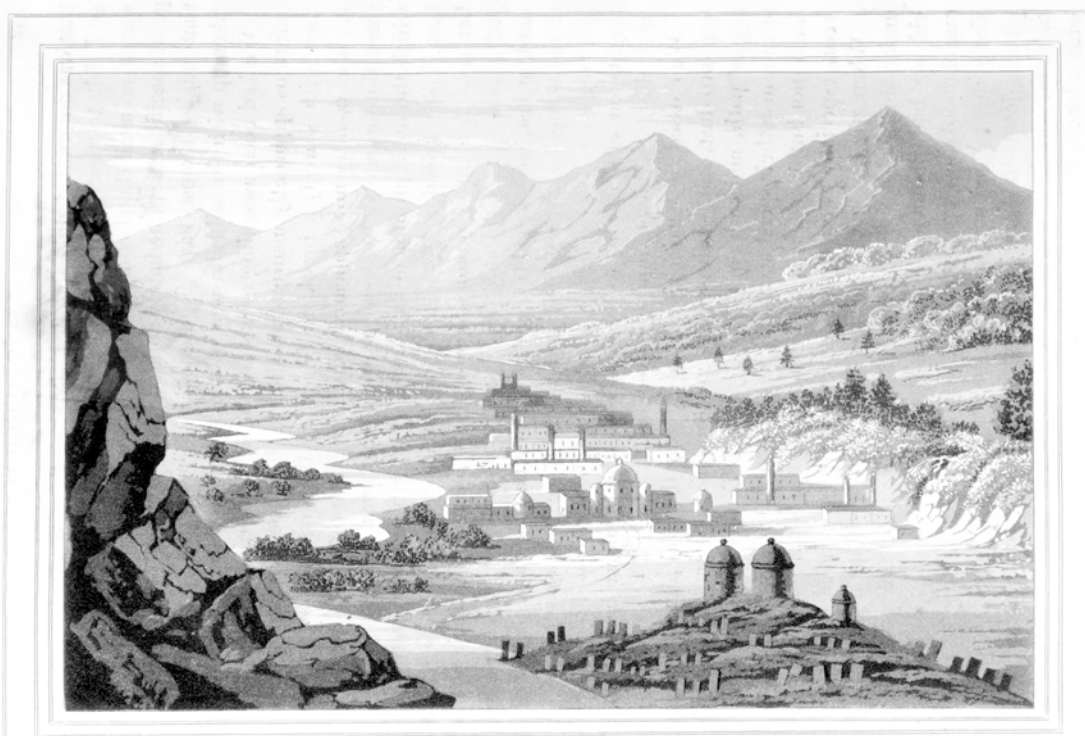
Figure 3: Sulimâney, the Capital of Kurdistan (Heude 1819, facing page 198)

The walls of Bagdad are 7 miles in circumference but part lies waste or occupied by ruins. The houses are built of brick, seldom above two stories high, and with no windows towards the streets, which are extremely narrow, (as in Mahomedan cities in general,) though tolerably clean. There are no public buildings … remarkable for their architecture, though its vaulted bazaars, numerous domes, inlaid with Mosaic of painted tiles, and lofty minarets, certainly present a novel, and, as I must think, a very pleasing appearance to the eye of the traveller. The defences are very badly built. … The contrast of its splendid bazars, the constant bustle of its populous streets, as compared with the mournful and desolate stillness of the wilderness, is even yet left to raise the wonder of the traveller. The bazars are as splendid as the Turkish capital, the fruits as delicious, the people as highly civilised, and perhaps more courteous than those of any other Mahomedan city.

Heude writes in the highest terms of the Arabs, and devotes an entire chapter to

this extraordinary race, amongst whom I have dwelt, even in their tents in the desert land, and at whose hands I have received every kindness and hospitality it was possible to experience … the liberality and hospitality of the Bedouins … their honour and good faith … are equally unimpeached.

He is not so enthusiastic about the Kurds, and is critical, although not unreasonably, of Turkish despotism. The overall impression is of a plain, upright military man, with a propensity for faintly improper stories. One note jars. In the middle of his description of Baghdad he suddenly displays a degree of anti-Semitism that is as violent as it is unexpected: he writes that the Jews 'are here, as elsewhere, the leeches of the state … their rapacity being well known …', and much more along the same repugnant lines.

Another traveller was passing through Mesopotamia at this time, but in the opposite direction. However, the account of James Silk Buckingham (1827) is much better known to archaeologists, and Lloyd (1980: 43–56) devotes an entire chapter to him. Having reached Aleppo, Buckingham joined a small caravan bound for Mosul, adopting Arab dress and attaching himself to a respectable Moslawi merchant, whose son turned out to be rather less reliable. Buckingham comes across as a robust young man with great *joie de vivre* who threw himself whole-heartedly into this adventure.

He describes, with very few generalisations or judgements, everything he encounters: landscape, wildlife, architecture, religion, history, ruins, fortifications, houses, manufactures, foods, people, customs, dress and language. The result is not only a mine of information on northern Mesopotamia two centuries ago but a very readable book, despite being adorned by lengthy Biblical and classical quotations. He is particularly interested in the opposite sex, or perhaps just in sex, although in a way that seems to spring from his generally insatiable curiosity rather than any Orientalist prurience. One immensely long, extremely scholarly and highly pornographic footnote, occasioned by an episode where Muslim and Christian male pilgrims dance together, deals exhaustively with erotic dances as described by writers from Juvenal onwards. Even if one is unable to share his interest in this subject, it is hard not to warm to a man who asserts that the most useful employment is increasing human comfort, and that emissaries dispersed for this purpose would do more good than Christian missionaries.

Buckingham's caravan left Aleppo in May and made its way to Bir, Urfa and Mardin, encountering Turcoman and Arab camps and villages en route, and then 'passed over the dangerous plain of Sinjar by night … [to] escape the prying sight of the Yezeedis under cover of darkness'. On 5 July they reached Mosul, which inspired Buckingham with much the same sensations as Basra had evoked in other travellers: '… on the whole it struck me as being the worst-built, and altogether the least interesting city, especially considering its large size, that I had yet seem in the East'. In Mosul he met some Christians, and they celebrated in a way that evokes memories of Thursday evenings on many a British excavation in Iraq:

Our evening feast was crowned by the copious draughts of ardent spirits, without which no Christian meeting in these countries would be considered an orthodox one, and before midnight many had measured their lengths on the floor where they sat, and few were able to find their way home to their own dwellings.

Buckingham made his way, with some difficulty, to Baghdad, where he stayed with Claudius and Mary Rich, and was characteristically delighted to discover that the view from the roof encompassed 'all the families of Bagdad, with their sleeping apartments unroofed, and those near our own abode in sufficiently interesting situations'. He explored Baghdad exhaustively and left a detailed but not entirely accurate account, and visited the sites of Aqar Quf, Ctesiphon, Babylon and Birs Nimrud. Despite this, he has time to establish that the Georgian and Circassian women of the harems are the handsomest, and muses on the role of women, and their opportunities for clandestine meetings, stating that 'the disguise of a Turkish or Arab female, in her walking dress, is so complete, that her husband himself could not recognise her beneath it …', and alleging that thus disguised the married women of Baghdad were easily able to attend assignations with lovers. He ends Volume 2 with a discussion of female tattooing in which he reflects with generous satisfaction on the abundant opportunities the tattoo artists of Baghdad must possess 'of studying, in perfection, the beauties of the human form …'.

Claudius Rich, British Resident in Baghdad and host to the irrepressible Buckingham, writes in a very different tone (1836; see also Lloyd 1980). Rich was a notable linguist; by the age of 15 he had learned Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian and Turkish, and was given a writership by the East India Company on the strength of this prowess. In 1807, at the age of 20, he married Mary, daughter of Sir James Mackintosh, and in the same year he was appointed Resident in Baghdad on behalf of the East India Company. His *Narrative* describes a trip to Kurdistan to escape the heat of summer, leaving Baghdad in April with Mary and a party of 50 or 60 people, including Christians, Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians and Indians. The attitude of mind that enabled him to survive six years in Baghdad with no European society but his wife and the surgeon, Mr Hines, is perhaps revealed in an early remark: 'I always made a rule of conforming to the native customs, so far as my conscience and the honour of my country would admit …', especially in relation to the seclusion of women. His descriptions of the terrain, climate and customs are calm and systematic. As they ascend the hills, everyone feels better for leaving the plain, and he describes

… a wood of poplars, willows, fig, plum, and rose-trees, the latter all in full bloom … tenanted by nightingales. … There is no mind, however brutish, but is affected by the beauties of nature. The principal cause of the Koords deserting their chiefs in their disgrace is the fear and irresistible repugnance they feel to quitting their country for the hideous desert of Bagdad.

Figure 4: A Yezid man and woman (Rich 1836, facing page 85)

Like most travellers, Rich has few good words for the Turks: 'Their political conduct is blind, arrogant, and treacherous'. He feels differently, however, about the Kurds:

From what I have seen of Koordish gentlemen, both at Baghdad and since entering their country, I am inclined to think very favourably of their manners and hospitality.

As he approaches Suleimaniyah he meets first Mahmud Pasha, the Pasha of Kurdistan, 'a plain, reasonable, and, at the same time, a mild and gentlemanlike man' and then his brother, Osman Bey, 'a very handsome young man … perfectly well bred in his manners'. Later on he remarks that the Kurds are

… a remarkably cheerful social people, with no pride or ceremony among them; and they are neither envious of one another, nor have I ever heard a Koord speak an ill-natured word of another.

Rich himself has very few ill-natured words to say, although he does describe one individual as 'a plain stupid man, with a most preposterous beard', and the occasional critical remark to the effect that the Arabs 'now that I have not seen them for a long time, look a squalid, yellow-skinned, ill-favoured people', or that the Yezidis are even greater drinkers than the Christians, seems out of character. It is a relief to read that even the serious Mr Rich was not above a fit of the giggles.

The Riches stayed for some time in Suleimaniyah, which then consisted of '2000 houses of Mahometans, 130 houses of Jews, nine houses of Chaldean Christians, who have a wretched small church, five houses of Armenians, who have no priest or church …'. He provides an excellent description of the construction and layout of the house in which they stayed, which is worth

quoting in full because all the features he mentions were in use into the 1980s, although by that time traditional construction techniques were under threat from concrete breeze blocks:

… it is a square building of one story, standing on a basement of about three feet high, and built of bricks dried in the sun, having a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw over the whole. One or two rooms inside have been white-limed over the mud coating. The roof is flat, and is formed by rafters, reed, and a coating of earth. This house stands in a large open enclosure, or as we would say in India in a compound: this is subdivided into two courts by a cross wall, which joins the house at each side near its centre, leaving the front in one enclosure and the back in another: this makes the Haram and Divan (that part of the house where the master receives his visitors, and in which the men servants reside) Khaneh; but there is no communication between them by a door in the house itself, as in all Turkish houses; you must go round by a door in the wall which divides the compound in two…in both the haram and divan khaneh is a *talar*, or room quite open in the front, which is the general receiving and sleeping room in summer. No one but the poorest persons … sleeps on the roof. Some … use a sekoo or low platform … during summer, many construct tchardahs, or huts made of boughs … to escape from the fleas, which are a terrible nuisance all over the East.
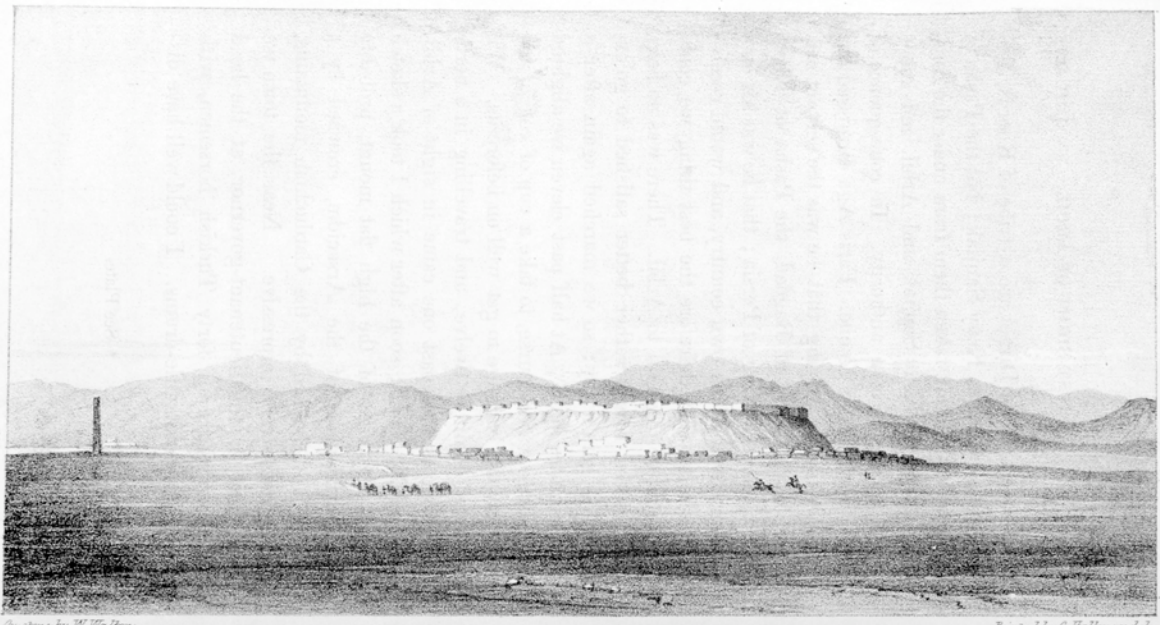
Figure 5: The city of Arbela (Rich 1836, frontispiece to volume 2)

My last early nineteenth-century traveller came from a completely different stratum of society. Captain the Hon. George Keppel, later 6th Earl of Albemarle, had been serving as aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General of India, when he and some other gentlemen resolved in January 1824 to set out on an overland journey to England (Keppel 1827). Despite his elevated rank Keppel's account of his travels conveys the impression of a modest and agreeable youth, from the dedication subscribed at Dublin Castle to the Earl of Albemarle, 'my dear Father', to his eventual homecoming at the end of Volume 2.

By the time Keppel set off on his travels the position of Europe, and particularly Britain, in relation to trade with India and the Ottoman Empire had been reversed, 'as most articles of a finer quality are imported from Europe into the East, and the greater portion of them from England'. Keppel does not expand on the theme of English superiority, confining himself to observations on his journey. They left India in HMS Alligator on 27 January and made landfall at Muscat on 4 February, where his reaction to the slave market is rather different to Heude's: 'I felt almost angry at myself, for not experiencing more disgust at witnessing so disgraceful and unnatural a traffic'.

Figure 6: A curious tree at Babylon (Keppel 1827, 207)

Once again the landscape of southern Mesopotamia 'than which nothing can be more uninteresting in appearance' fails to please, as does Basra:

Bussorah is the dirtiest town even in the Turkish dominions. Spouts convey filth into the streets—a passenger is in frequent danger of an Edinburgh salutation, without the friendly caution of Gardez loo. The old bazaar is extremely mean.

Keppel is sympathetic to local customs. Of the 'John Bull policy' of 'keeping on our shoes in the presence of the Pasha' he observes that it is

one that cannot but be highly offensive to their Asiatic feelings. Let us put the question to ourselves. Would any of us be pleased, if a foreigner were to claim the right of coming from the streets, in his dirty boots, and of dancing up and down our dinner-table?

On 6 March Keppel set off by boat for Baghdad up the Tigris. He provides excellent descriptions of the marshes, the few dry, salty patches of soil, the houses made of bundles of reeds and date palm matting and the dress of the men and women. He writes admiringly that 'any of the boatmen would have made an excellent model for a Hercules' and that the women

came to our boat with the frankness of innocence, and there was a freedom in their manners bordering on the masculine; nevertheless their fine features, and well-turned limbs, presented a *tout ensemble* of beauty, not often surpassed, perhaps, even in the brilliant assemblies of civilized life.

He went shooting and had excellent sport, noting immense quantities of animals including lions, hogs, pelicans, swans, geese, ducks, and snipes. Less predictably, he demonstrates a developed interest in archaeology, observing that the 'now desert tract bears marks of having been covered with large and populous cities', visiting many sites and monuments, and quoting not only classical authors including Pliny and Herodotus but earlier travellers such as Ives and della Valle.

Keppel describes Turkish rule as extortionate and avaricious. He finds himself in two minds about Baghdad, about which he had read so much as a boy:

A traveller coming by water from Bussorah is likely to be much struck with Bagdad on his first arrival ... He continues winding up the Tigris through all its innumerable headlands, when this once renowned city of gardens bursts suddenly on his sight. His first view justified the idea that he is approaching the residence of the renowned Caliph, Haroun Alraschid, in the height of its splendour …

Baghdad is surrounded by a battlemented wall; the part towards the palace, as was the case in ancient Babylon, is ornamented with glazed tiles of various colours. The graceful minarets, and the beautifully shaped domes of the mosques, are sure to attract his eye. One or two of these are gaudily decorated with glazed tiles of blue, white, and yellow, which, formed into a mosaic of flowers, reflect the rays of the sun; the variegated foliage of the trees of these numerous gardens, which most probably have given the name to the city, serve as a beautiful background to the picture. Thus far the traveller is allowed to indulge his reverie, but on entering the walls, his vision is dispelled.

The walls are of mud: the streets which are scarcely wide enough to allow two persons to pass, are so empty, that he could almost fancy the inhabitants had died of the plague … he now enters the bazaar … a mass of dirty wretches render his road almost impassable … he jostles through a succession of narrow cloistered passages … the light … gives to the sallow features of the crowd below a truly consumptive appearance, agreeing well with the close, hot, fulsome smell of bad ventilation. The traveller … has seen sufficient to cure him of the dreams of earlier life … he makes a woeful comparison between the reality of the scenes and the picture imagination has drawn.

He describes the enveloping blue check robe and thick horse-hair veil which the ladies of Baghdad wore when they went out, accompanied by a female servant similarly clad. He alleges that on evening rides, if no-one else was present, 'females would lift up their veils and show a disposition to become better acquainted'. He further suggests that ladies are able to indulge in improper courtship in the gardens outside Baghdad, and that their concealing dress is useful in preventing discovery, because no-one will challenge them when they are wearing it. There follows this piece of sententious nonsense:

From these circumstances it would appear that Turkish women have more liberty than is usually supposed, and though by the customs of the East they are deprived of that respect and admiration of the men which are the birthright of Englishwomen, they have, perhaps, more power of indulging their licentious inclinations, and with less fear of detection than our ladies, who like our monarch, have a legitimate though limited sway.

The imputation and moralising tone of this passage are completely out of keeping with the plain observational style of the diary entries that form the rest of the book, and with the modesty and sensitivity of his other remarks about women, in which he stresses the 'distance and fastidious reserve of Oriental females in general'. In fact, the entire section on Baghdad, some 30 pages long, reads as if it had been written, or perhaps rewritten, by a different person. One imagines the Hon. George Keppel showing his manuscript to the gentlemen in the billiard room at Dublin Castle, and being advised to 'spice it up a bit, my boy, spice it up'. It is a relief when he announces that on 8 April they decided to leave Baghdad, and the diary entries resume. They duly set out for the Diyala and Baqubah, en route for Kermanshah, St Petersburg, and eventually England:

At the dawn of a dull, misty, but to me delightful morning of November, we made the Suffolk coast … [I] hailed a herring-smack, which landed me at Lowestoft, thirty-five miles from my own home, and I had the gratification of dining with my family the same evening.

VICTORIAN TRAVELLERS
The narratives of the early travellers, with their maps, bearings and advice on provisioning, were intended as guides for other travellers, with the added bonus of containing an interesting account of exotic lands and peoples. By the time Keppel was writing the story-telling had begun to take over from the travel guide. As the 19th century progressed the literary form took over, and travel books, often with a strong Biblical flavour and aimed at a growing middle-class readership, proliferated.

One of the foremost exponents of the Victorian genre was Layard, whose prodigious energy and enthusiasm bore fruit in many published volumes, to say nothing of the collection of the British Museum. Unlike the earlier writers, Layard could be described as a professional traveller, whose books provide not only an account of his archaeological explorations but a comprehensive description of the customs, beliefs and history of the many ethnic and religious groups inhabiting Mesopotamia, and of the violence which from time to time broke out between them. He wrote at

length about the customs and beliefs of the Yezidis (Layard 1849; 1853), whom many subsequent travellers were to find both attractive and fascinating, and about the cruelty with which they were treated by the Turks. He also took a special interest in the Chaldean Christians, who had been massacred by Kurds in 1843 in the Tijari district. He visited Lizan on the river Zab, which had seen one of the most terrible incidents of the massacre: a 1000 foot slope, at the foot of a cliff, was covered with skeletons of people who had been thrown down from above, or who had tried to escape the sword by jumping from the rock. Out of 1000 people said to have reached here only one escaped. Layard's chilling account lingers in the memory:

We soon saw evidences of the slaughter. At first a solitary skull rolling down with the rubbish; then heaps of blanched bones; further up fragments of rotten garments. … As we approached the wall of rock, the declivity became covered with bones, mingled within the long platted tresses of the women, shreds of discoloured linen, and well-worn shoes. There were skulls of all ages, from the child unborn to the toothless old man. We could not avoid treading on the bones as we advanced, and rolling them with the loose stones into the valley below. (Layard 1849: 188–91)

The reason for Layard's interest in the Chaldean Christians was not purely humanitarian. As a member of the Church of England, he believed that the similarities in doctrine between the Chaldaean church and Protestantism confirmed the correctness of what he referred to as 'the Reformed religion', and connected Protestant beliefs with those of the primitive church (1849: 268). It therefore followed that he resented attempts by Roman Catholic missionaries to convert the Chaldeans. The Church of England despatched a number of missionaries throughout the 19th century and into the early 20th century in recognition of the 'duty of the Anglican Church to promote the spiritual welfare of the ancient Christian communities in the East' (Badger 1852: 7). Although Badger's account contains useful contemporary information, it often makes depressing reading, combining ignorance of and bigotry towards Islam with small-minded sectarianism in relation to his own religion. It comes as no surprise when he quarrels with the American Board of Missionaries, 'dissenters … [who] will taint the Eastern Churches with latitudinarianism and rationalism' (1852: 10–11). The reader turns backs with relief to the workmanlike prose and straightforward mercantile ambitions of the honest merchants who left us the first accounts of their journeys to Mesopotamia, their navigations, voyages, traffics and discoveries.

Bibliographical Note
It can be difficult to find some travellers' accounts, because different authorities cite them differently, and libraries take varying decisions about cataloguing. For example, a collection of several accounts published by the Hakluyt Society can be cited or catalogued by the names of the travellers, that of the editor, or under Hakluyt Society. The fact that the Society is often republishing collections made by earlier editors further complicates matters. In such cases I have tried to be consistent in citing by the name of the traveller and date of journey, and to supply enough bibliographic information to support other avenues of exploration. All the illustrations in this article are published by permission of the University of Glasgow Library, Department of Special Collections.

SCRIBAL SCHOOLING IN OLD BABYLONIAN KISH: THE EVIDENCE OF THE OXFORD TABLETS

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The study of Old Babylonian scribal education has been transformed in recent years by work that initially focused on the city of Nippur. Niek Veldhuis (1997) used the material culture of school tablets from that city to establish the usual order of the elementary curriculum there. He found four phases, which moved through 1) basic writing exercises; 2) the long thematic list of nouns anachronistically known as Proto-Ur$_5$-ra;[1] 3) advanced lexical and sign lists; to 4) Sumerian prose (model contracts) and literary phrases (proverbs). Steve Tinney (1999) combined evidence from compilation tablets and ancient catalogues to establish the existence of two curricular groupings of Sumerian literary compositions: the Tetrad, comprising four hymns to kings of the Isin dynasty and to Nisaba, patronal goddess of scribes; and the much more varied Decad.[2] Eleanor Robson (2001; 2002) analysed the tablet assemblage from one excavated schoolhouse from Nippur to determine the particularities of the curriculum there.

More recently scholars have started to compare the conclusions about Nippur with evidence from other cities: Michel Tanret (2002) has studied the home schooling of a *galamah*'s son called Ur-Utu in Sippar-Amnānum, while Brigitte Lion and Eleanor Robson (2006) have examined the evidence for women's scribal training in Sippar. Building on Dominique Charpin's (1986) pioneering study of the priests and their houses in OB Ur, Jöran Friberg (2000) has examined the mathematics from those houses.

This contribution builds on those trends by examining the OB school tablets found at Kish during the Oxford-Chicago expedition of 1923–33, discussed briefly below.[3] The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford received all of the inscribed objects from the Kish expedition (Moorey 1978: 15), almost all of which have since been published in the series OECT, AAICAB, and MSL SS 1.[4] We have thus been able to re-examine every tablet discussed here ourselves, but have also relied heavily on the work of Oliver Gurney, McGuire Gibson (1972a) and especially Roger Moorey (1978)—not only their published work but also their annotations to the card catalogue in the museum have proved invaluable.[5] William Pestle of the Field Museum is currently leading a project to publish a web-based catalogue in English and Arabic of the more than 100,000 Kish artefacts from those seasons, held in Chicago, London and Baghdad, along with field notes and site

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[1] Named after the first half of the first line of the standard first-millennium series ur$_5$-ra = *hubullu*, though in fact the first line of the OB Nippur recension is ^{giš}taskarin, 'boxwood' (see Veldhuis 1997: 52); the prefix 'Proto-' indicates that it is unilingual.

[2] Tetrad: Lipit-Eštar Hymn B (ETCSL 2.5.5.2), Iddin-Dagan Hymn B (ETCSL 2.5.3.2), Enlil-bani Hymn A (ETCSL 2.5.8.1), Nisaba Hymn A (ETCSL 4.16.1). Decad: Šulgi Hymn A (ETCSL 2.4.2.01), Lipit-Eštar Hymn A (ETCSL 2.5.5.1), *Song of the hoe* (ETCSL 5.5.4), Inana Hymn B (ETCSL 4.07.2), Enlil Hymn A (ETCSL 4.05.1), Keš Temple Hymn (ETCSL 4.80.2), *Enki's Journey to Nippur* (ETCSL 1.1.4), *Inana and Ebih* (ETCSL 1.3.2), *Nungal Hymn* (ETCSL 4.28.1), *Gilgameš and Huwawa* (A) (ETCSL 1.8.1.5).

[3] Robson 2004b: 42–4 presents some preliminary conclusions on mathematics and its teaching in OB Kish.

[4] Exceptions are several hundred NB school tablets, and the few OB school tablets published here in Appendix A and in Robson 2004: nos. 15–17, 19, 20, 24, 25 (OB maths); 27–29, 35, 39, 41 (NB maths).

[5] We are also extremely grateful to Helen Whitehouse, curator of the Ashmolean tablet collection, who has cheerfully tolerated our comings and goings at a time of much upheaval. And we warmly thank Magnus Bernhardsson, June Barrow-Green, Olof Pedersén, and Niek Veldhuis for assistance on matters historical and lexicographical.

photographs.[6] Restrictions of space and time have precluded us from incorporating systematic discussion of similar tablets found in de Genouillac's excavations at Kish (de Genouillac 1924–25; Donbaz and Yoffee 1986).

We dedicate to Jeremy's memory this small contribution to the social geography of scribal education, in gratitude for his incomparable abilities as our teacher, and in the full knowledge that we, and it, would have benefitted enormously from the stimulating and pleasurable conversations with him that so often accompanied our writing, both as DPhil students and (for ER) in the decade since then as his colleague.

THE OXFORD-FIELD MUSEUM EXPEDITION, 1923–33

Although Gibson (1972a: 70–2) and Moorey (1978: 1–18) have already given detailed accounts of the history of excavation at Kish, it may be useful to summarise the most salient points here, recasting the story of the Oxford-Field Museum expedition in the light of British-Iraqi political history (Bernhardsson 2005).

The ancient city of Kish, around 14 km east of Babylon, comprises at least forty tells extending over an area of some 8 km east-west by 2.5 km north-south (Moorey 1978: xx; fig. C). It had been explored several times in the nineteenth century, and was first excavated by Jules Oppert and colleagues in 1852, though frustratingly their finds were lost in the Tigris on the way to Basra. Its ancient name was identified only in 1873–74, when George Smith deciphered an inscribed brick of Adad-apla-iddina, brought back to London by Robert Ker Porter nearly sixty years before. Clandestine excavations in the late nineteenth century yielded tablets and small finds for the antiquities market, enabling further work on the identity and history of the city, especially by François Thureau-Dangin.

Then in 1912 French excavations began in earnest, this time under the direction of Henri de Genouillac. Following the looters' traces, he excavated first at Tell Uhaimir, at the west of the tell complex, uncovering a ziggurat and the urban residential quarters to the west of it. He eventually found over 1400 tablets and fragments in the OB town on Uhaimir, which were shared between the archaeological museum of the Ottoman capital Istanbul and the Louvre. In particular he claimed to have found one set of rooms somewhere near the ziggurat that yielded a particularly large number of tablets, which he thus identified as a school (de Genouillac 1924–25: I 23). However, lack of documentation means that it is almost impossible to reconstruct or verify this interpretation. De Genouillac's team also investigated an NB monumental building on Tell Ingharra, the main mound of the eastern half of the city. A second season in 1913–14 was halted owing to the imminent outbreak of war.

Baghdad was occupied by British forces in 1917, and Iraq was eventually created as a British Mandate nation in August 1921 from the former Ottoman vilayets of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra. These major political upheavals proved terminal for the French expedition, as archaeological power now lay in the firm grasp of Francophobe British officials in the new Iraq. As early as May 1919, H.R. Hall of the British Museum wrote a memo to the British India Office (under whose jurisdiction Iraq fell), laying out the historical claims of Britain, France, and America to particular archaeological sites in the region (Bernhardsson 2005: 114). He placed 'Oheimir' second on the list of French concessions, noting: 'French prevented from resuming excavations by German influence' and with the general comment that the French right to dig in Iraq should be 'dependent on their abandonment of their unscientific exclusive claim to excavate in Persia'.[7] By late 1920 the Oxford Assyriologist Stephen Langdon was already clamouring for permission from the India Office to

[6] See http://www.fieldmuseum.org/kish/.
[7] British Library India Office Political and Secret Department Records/10/742, sheets 175–81. The covering letter, written from Ur itself, explains that the memo was drawn up in response to rumours of French interest in obtaining 'a general concession to excavated in the Mosul district'. Hall also vigorously defends British rights to Kuyunjik, adding that 'the mound of Nebi Yunus, close by, remains to be excavated by the [British] Museum if the mosque can be got rid of.'

scout for a likely excavation site, but was told to wait until antiquities laws had been put in place (Bernhardsson 2005: 113). A year later, Langdon approached the Field Museum in Chicago, proposing a joint expedition (Gibson 1972a: 70). In October 1922, the very month that Gertrude Bell took office as its Honorary Director, the Iraqi Department of Antiquities granted the Expedition a permit to excavate Kish, their preferred choice of site (Gibson 1972a: 70; Bernhardsson 2005: 117). The prior French claims to the dig were apparently never discussed. When de Genouillac eventually published his final report on the 1912 season, after considerable delay in accessing artefacts stored in Istanbul, he did not refrain from expressing his understandable anger at the British coup (de Genouillac 1924–25: I 29).

It is impossible not to see the Oxford-Field Museum expedition as part of the British colonial enterprise in Iraq. At its outset in 1923 it was one of just two pioneer archaeological projects in Iraq, the first of the new regime—the other being Leonard Woolley's at Ur, which had already started in 1922 (Bernhardsson 2005: 131). Langdon's preface to the first volume of *Excavations at Kish*, written in 1924, gives an idea of how exclusively British the archaeological infrastructure of Iraq was at the time, with not a single Iraqi yet in any position of power or influence:

The Expedition is grateful to those in official and unofficial positions in 'Iraq for their unfailing sympathy and assistance. A list of all their names would be a long one, but we wish to mention in particular Miss Gertrude Bell, *Honorary Director of Antiquities*, Major J. M. Wilson, *Ministry of Public Works*, Mr. R. S. Cooke, *Ministry of Awqaf*, Mr. Lionel Smith, M.A., *Ministry of Education, The Photographic Department of the Air Force*, and Mr. A. G. Frazer, *Manager of the Eastern Bank*, Hillah. (Langdon 1924: III)[8]

When the British Mandate ended in 1932, Iraqis at last found themselves in control of their archaeology; there was much agitation in the Iraqi news media for the replacement of Bell's antiquities laws of 1922 with legislation more favourable to Iraq in the division of finds (Bernhardsson 2005: 170–2). The new Minister of Education, under whose authority archaeology now fell, tested the waters in May 1933 by intervening directly in the division of finds from Max Mallowan's dig at Arpachiyah. All hell broke loose in the British archaeological community, which announced a boycott of Iraq for the following season, 1933–34. For many expedition directors, including Langdon, this boycott was as much an expedient means of withdrawing from excavation at a time of financial insecurity, even when presented as a moral stand:

We were unable to return to Kish for the season 1933–4 owing to the unfavourable attitude of the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Iraq with regard to the division of archaeological objects and other threatening regulations, which would harass the work of an excavator. (Langdon 1934: I)

The Arpachiyah dispute was resolved in the autumn of 1933, and the new antiquities legislation would not be enacted until three years later, but the Kish expedition was effectively over.[9] Its first

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[8] On Gertrude Bell see most recently Lukitz 2004. Wilson, Richard Cooke (Honorary Director of Antiquities, 1926–28: see Bernhardsson 2005: 158), and Lionel Smith (1880–1972: see Ellis 2004) were close friends of Bell's, who typically accompanied her to visit archaeological sites and to oversee the division of archaeological finds (Bernhardsson 2005: 143). See Bernhardsson 2005: 144 for an amusing account by Bell of dividing finds with Langdon in 1924 and Bernhardsson 2005: 156–63 for Cooke's later involvement in, and deportation for, smuggling antiquities out of Iraq.

[9] With memories of World War I still fresh, Langdon and his Oxford colleagues saw the incident as evidence of 'German intrigue' in Iraq, doubtless because the then Director of Antiquities was Julius Jordan (Bernhardsson 2005: 274 n. 49). In 1933 and 1934 they wrote to the Foreign Office in protest against the proposed changes in Iraqi law. An internal FO memo dismisses their first letter as 'a typically donnish combination of sarcasm and acerbity which would be much resented by the Iraqi Government if they could indeed understand it.' A second FO memo comments that 'nothing will be gained by adopting the irritating and condescending attitude that [the Oxford archaeologists] are, from purely altruistic motives, conferring a benefit on [Iraq] … that the country is itself able neither to perform nor appreciate.' (Bernhardsson 2005: 181, 185).

field director, Ernest Mackay, had already moved on to Harappan archaeology in 1926 during a hiatus in the project, and his replacement Louis Watelin died unexpectedly in 1934. Langdon himself died in 1937.

As Gibson and Moorey have each discussed, the Expedition's creation and preservation of documentation was at best haphazard, and the premature departures or deaths of its principle investigators resulted in incomplete publication and dispersal of records that have hampered subsequent analysis. Nevertheless, both scholars have demonstrated that Kish is not a hopeless case. Gibson (1972a) and Yoffee (1977) each made preliminary surveys of the chronological and geographical distribution of the tablets excavated by the Expedition. Now that the bulk of the tablets have been published, and the Field Museum's Kish Project promises to unite all the primary documentation for the first time, we are optimistic that yet more can be salvaged from the Kish Expedition's findings. This short article is but a test case.

We consider here the content and—where possible—the archaeological context of 124 Old Babylonian school tablets found at Kish, which fall into two groups of roughly equal size:

• 23 tablets (19%, Tables 1–3) excavated from Uhaimir (Mound Z, ancient Kiš) in 1923–4, plus 15 (12%, Tables 4, 15) with missing provenance but which are probably also from Uhaimir;

• 51 tablets (41%, Tables 5–7, 9–12) excavated from Ingharra (Mound E, ancient Hursaĝ-kalama) in 1929–32, plus 7 (6%, Table 15) lacking provenance but which are probably also from Ingharra,

as well as two stray tablets from Mound W near Ingharra (Table 13) and 27 others (22%, Table 14) of unclear origin. Copies of previously unpublished tablets are presented in Appendix A and a concordance of museum numbers and publications is given in Appendix B.

UHAIMIR

Uhaimir, or Mound Z, was excavated in 1923–4; at least sixteen school tablets are documented from this site, and another eight possible school tablets. Forty further school tablets from Kish with 1924 museum numbers, which we consider below, may also be from Uhaimir. Two areas were excavated: the ziggurat of Zababa and its surrounding courtyard, and a domestic zone (known as the 'town area' or 'house ruins') to the west of it. Objects found in these two areas were assigned HMR and HMR-w excavation numbers respectively (Moorey 1978: 14). Only OB tablets were found on the mound, with the exception of two Ur III pieces, both from the 'great wall E–F' near the ziggurat.[10]

The ziggurat and 'house ruins'

The OB ziggurat and rooms around it date to the reign of Samsu-iluna (Gibson 1972a: 73; Moorey 1978: 24). Twenty OB tablets are documented from the southeast area of the complex (Table 1), including administrative records, legal documents, and letters as well as two, possibly four, fragmentary school tablets (see Moorey 1978: pl. D for a plan). All the tablets are broken, and the dated ones predate Samsu-iluna's rebuilding of the ziggurat, strongly suggesting that they were simply used as rubble and do not witness a school on temple premises. **1924.586** is the only unambiguously identifiable school tablet,[11] an elementary exercise on a Type IV tablet, which in

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[10] HMR 203 = 1924.582 (AAICAB 1 103, pl. 60), a fragmentary ration list, sealed; HMR 194 = 1924.616 (Gurney 1977: 93), a fragment of an unattributed cylinder inscription.

[11] **1924.617** was catalogued as a 'practice tablet' in OECT 13, presumably because of its round Type IV-like shape and the apparent repetition of the text on the obverse. It reads: obv. [...]1 KA₂.DIĜIR.RA^{ki} // [......] ^{d}MARDUK-*la-ma-sà-šu* // [......] GU.ZA.LA₂ // (erasures) // [...]5 KA₂.DIĜIR.RA^{ki} // [......] ^{d}MARDUK-*la-ma-sà-šu* // [......] GU.ZA.LA₂; rev. 4 × 600 + 9 [......] // ⌜46⌝ KA₂.DIĜIR.RA^{ki}, with 52 written near the bottom of the reverse. It may be a draft account rather than a school tablet, as suggested by the non-sexagesimal writing 600 = DIŠ+U. On the other hand, two model accounts were found with the other school tablets in the *galamahs'* house in Sippar-Amnānum (Tanret 2002: nos. 50, 56). **1924.608** and **1924.1532** were catalogued as lexical in MSL SS1 67, but they are such tiny, abraded fragments that it is now impossible to determine their contents.

Nippur are typically found in non-school domestic contexts.[12]

Table 1: OB tablets found around the Uhaimir ziggurat

Locus	Museum number	Excavation number	Publication	Description	Tablet type[13]
2	1924.522	HMR 156	OECT 13 20	OB admin document	
2	1924.534	HMR 157	OECT 13 28	OB admin document	
5	**1924.586**	HMR 178	OECT 15 149	OB school: fragment of calculation (Robson 2004b: no. 21)	IV
5	1924.565	HMR 167	OECT 13 36	OB admin document	
5	1924.609	HMR 177	OECT 13 56	OB admin document	
5	1924.611	HMR 176	OECT 13 58	OB admin document	
5	**1924.617**	HMR 166	OECT 13 62	OB school? Elementary exercise?	IV?
6	1924.515	HMR 163	OECT 13 15	OB letter (AbB 10: 76)	
8	1924.526	HMR 175	OECT 13 24	OB admin document	
8	**1924.1532**	HMR 232	OECT 13 128	OB school? Unidentified fragment	—
13	1924.584	HMR 324	AAICAB 1 103, pl. 60	OB legal record	
17	1924.597	HMR 269	OECT 13 49	OB admin document	
17	1924.612	HMR 253	OECT 13 59	OB admin document: Ha 36	
18	1924.1411	HMR 363	OECT 13 124	OB admin document: Ha 34	
S corner	1924.523	HMR 1	OECT 13 21	OB admin document	
S corner	1924.532	HMR 118	OECT 13 27	OB letter (AbB 10: 83)	
SE face	1924.607	HMR 68	OECT 13 55	OB legal record: Sin-mu 14 (Goddeeris 2002: 287)	
SE face	**1924.608**	HMR 112	OECT 15 150	OB school? Unidentified fragment	—
SE side	1924.588	HMR 172	OECT 13 43	OB letter (AbB 10: 88)	
E corner	1924.619	HMR 155	OECT 13 63	OB admin document	

For the findspots of the 48 OB tablets documented as coming from the 'house ruins' to the west of the ziggurat, the evidence is just as scanty (Table 2). Dated tablets are few and far between, and half, including all but four of the school tablets, have no identifiable locus. No plan of the area survives, either from the Oxford-Chicago expedition, or from de Genouillac's previous excavations. However, it is possible to group together eight small assemblages based on room number, even though the location of those rooms is unknown.

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[12] In Nippur Area TA, the school House F yielded just five Type IV tablets, or less than 0.5% of the total tablet assemblage. Its domestic neighbours Houses G, H, I, and K, on the contrary, produced 22 Type IV tablets between them—over half of the 42 elementary school tablets found in those houses.

[13] For elementary exercises we follow the tablet typology I–IV laid out by Civil (MSL 14 5–7) and often described in the Nippur curricular literature (e.g., Robson 2001; 2002). For Sumerian literature we use Tinney's S for single-column tablets and M*n* for multi-column tablets, where *n* is the number of columns on each side, adding a Type H for horizontally orientated literary manuscripts, whose writing is parallel to the long side of the tablet (Tinney 1999).

Table 2: OB tablets from named loci in the 'house ruins', Uhaimir

Locus	Museum number	Excavation number[14]	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1	1924.858	HMR 549w	OECT 13 67	OB legal record	
1	1924.1418	HMR 547w	OECT 13 125	OB admin document: Ap-Si 9 (Goddeeris 2002: 287)	
3	**1924.519**	HMR 551w	AAICAB 1 100, pl. 58	OB school: lexical, noun list	III
3	**1924.854**	HMR 522w	OECT 13 66	OB school: PN list	III
3	**1924.867**	HMR 523w	OECT 13 68	OB school: PN list	III
3	1924.914	HMR 582w	OECT 13 73	OB admin document	
5	**1924.1474**	HMR 552w	OECT 11 10	OB school? Unidentified literary Sumerian	—
8	1924.847	HMR 609w[15]	OECT 13 65	OB letter (AbB 10: 93)	
8	1924.912	HMR 609w	OECT 13 71	OB letter (AbB 10: 96)	
8	1924.915	HMR 609w	OECT 13 74	OB letter (AbB 10: 97)	
10	1924.913	HMR 583w	OECT 13 72	OB admin document	
14	1924.517	HMR 679w	OECT 13 16	OB letter (AbB 10: 77)	
14	1924.520	HMR 685w	OECT 13 18	OB letter (AbB 10: 79)	
14	1924.525	HMR 678w	OECT 13 23	OB letter (AbB 10: 82)	
14	1924.543	HMR 682w	OECT 13 29	OB admin document	
14	1924.875	HMR 684w	OECT 13 69	OB letter (AbB 10: 94)	
14	1924.1244	HMR 689w	OECT 13 100	OB letter (AbB 10: 98)	
14	1924.1291	HMR 687w	OECT 13 105	OB letter (AbB 10: 99)	
14	1924.1378	HMR 686w	OECT 13 121	OB letter (AbB 10: 107)	
20	1924.524	HMR 711w	OECT 13 22	OB letter (AbB 10: 81)	
25	1924.527	HMR 973w	OECT 13 25	OB admin document, date illegible	
25	1924.529	HMR 972w	OECT 13 26	OB admin document	

There is only one identifiable cluster of school tablets. According to the card catalogue, the three Type III tablets were found together 'in the rubbish above' Room 3. Two bear short lists of personal names, in large clumsy handwriting as one would expect,[16] and the third is a precursor to SB Ur$_5$-ra = *hubullu* tablet I. It belongs to a northern Babylonian school tradition, attested also at Sippar and Babylon (not witnessed as far south as Nippur), as can be seen by comparison with lines from the first column of AO 7796, a Type I tablet from Sippar:

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[14] We have omitted the worthless 'stratigraphic' information on individual finds, which were recorded only to the nearest metre below the undulating surface of the tell. The OECT volumes' catalogues generally reproduce this data, however.

[15] These three pieces were assigned the same excavation number.

[16] Both are extremely difficult to decipher, but **1924.854** provisionally reads: [ᵐ]*a-hu-ni* // ᵐ*ib-ꜥni꜠-ia* // ᵐDIĜIR-*šu-ib-ni* // ᵐDIĜIR-*ku-ur-ba-ni* (?) // ᵐmu-an-MU / ᵈAN-AN-AN // ᵐ*ì-lí*-LUGAL // ᵐ*ì-lí-a*-X // ᵐLUGAL-*ni-šu* // ᵐ*ì-lí-a-bi* // ᵐ *ì-lí-a-bi*-X // ᵐ*ha-ma-tum* (?) // ᵐ (blank). **1924.867** reads: […] // [ᵐ]AN-AN-AN // ᵐ*u-hu-rum* // ᵐ*u-hu*-ᵈURAŠ // ᵐ*ì-lí*-X // ᵐ ARAD-*ba-ni* // ᵐARAD- […]

	Ash 1924.519 (AAICAB 1: 100)		AO 7796 (Jean 1936)		SB Ur$_5$-ra hubullu I line numbers
obv. 1	mur-gu$_4$	14	šag$_4$-gal	fodder	28/26
	—	15	šag$_4$-ga		cf. 27: šag$_4$-ĝar
2	igi-kar$_2$	16	igi-kar$_2$$^!$	inspection	31
3	sa$_2$-dug$_4$	17	[sa$_2$]-dug$_4$	regular offering	33
4	kaš-de$_2$-a	18	kaš-de$_2$-a	banquet	35
5	niĝ$_2$-de$_2$-a		—	marriage gift	36
6	niĝ$_2$-mi$_2$-us$_2$-e		—	bride payment	cf. 37: niĝ$_2$-mi$_2$-us-sa
7	nig$_2$-šu-tak$_4$-a	19	niĝ$_2$-šu-tak$_4$-a	gift, shipment	cf. 38: niĝ$_2$-šu-sum-mu
	—	20	pad-DU		cf. 43: kug pad-DU
8	KA TAK$_4$ GA		—		—
9	da he$_2$-gub-ba$^!$		—		—
10	x-bi		—		—
rev. 1	maš$_2$	21	maš$_2$	interest	48
2	maš-bi	22	maš$_2$-bi	its interest	49
3	maš$_2$-bi-še$_3$		—	to its interest	50
4	maš$_2$-bi-gim		—	like its interest	—
		23	maš$_2$ ^{d}utu	Šamaš's interest	52

The only other possible school tablet in Table 2 is **1924.1474**, a corner fragment of a tablet bearing line-ends of an unidentified Sumerian text, with four bilingual lines at the end. Only one of the administrative documents bears a legible date, from around 30 years before Hammurabi's accession.

A further twenty-five tablets, of which at least fourteen are school exercises, have Uhaimir 'town ruins' excavation numbers, with no further findspot information (Table 3).

Summarising the school tablets from Uhaimir according to the Nippur curricular order (for ease of comparison only):

- Personal name lists: three on Type III tablets;
- Lexical lists: a Type II tablet with an extract from the first section of Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš) on the obverse, and Proto Ea on the reverse; a surface flake from the reverse of a Type I or II tablet, with Proto-Izi I; one Type III with a forerunner to Ur$_5$-ra = hubullu I; three unidentified pieces, one of which may be also be from Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš);
- Metrology and mathematics: the standard metrological list of weights on surface flake from the reverse of a Type I or Type II tablet; a standard multiplication table on a Type III tablet; a calculation on a Type IV tablet.
- Elementary Sumerian sentences: an unidentified extract on a Type IV tablet;
- Curricular Sumerian literature: Ninurta's exploits, scored out, with a colophon (iti dul$_6$-kug ud-21-kam // im-gid$_2$-da e-ṭél- KA-^{d}na-na-⌜a⌝) on a Type S tablet; three unidentified fragments;
- Akkadian letter exercises: two on Type III/S tablets.

With the exception of the Akkadian letters, hitherto unidentified in the Nippur scribal curriculum, this small assemblage conforms almost exactly to parts of the enormous Nippur school corpus, both in the types of exercises attested and in the use of particular tablet types for particular exercises. The only exception is the order of exercises on the Type II lexical tablet: in Nippur, where the order reverse–obverse correlates highly with the curricular sequence, not a single one of the 170-odd Type II tablets known to have Proto-Ea on the reverse also has Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš) on the obverse; and only four have extracts from later in the Proto-Ur$_5$-ra sequence.[17] We cannot determine whether this suggests that the curricular order was different at Kish, or that Type II

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[17] CBS 15409 (unpublished): obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra udu (sheep); IM 57965 (MSL 11 96 V1; MSL 14 18 Am): obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra an-za-gar$_3$ (tower); CBS 6923 (MSL 11 112 L1; MSL 14 20 Cg): obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ninda (bread); N 3994 (MSL 11 111 M; MSL 14 20 Dc): obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra sumun$_2$ (beer mash).

tablets served a different function, or whether this was simply an exceptional combination. On the other hand, the sole identifiable piece of Sumerian literature in this group is also well known as a curricular composition at Nippur, as one of the so-called House F Fourteen (Robson 2001). Notable absences are the very elementary exercises such as Syllable Alphabet A, Sumerian proverbs and model contracts, and the Tetrad-Decad groupings of curricular literature (Tinney 1999).

Table 3: OB tablets from unknown locations in the 'town ruins', Uhaimir

Museum number	Excavation number	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1924.554	HMR 312w	OECT 13 30	OB school: unidentified lexical list (^{ĝiš}ellag$^?$ × 3)	III
1924.558	HMR 303w	OECT 13 32	OB school: PN list fragment[18]	III
1924.560	HMR 277w	OECT 5 1	OB school Sumerian literature: *Ninurta's Exploits* (ETCSL 1.6.2)	S
1924.562	HMR 310w	MSL SS1 117	OB school: obv. missing, rev. Proto-Izi I cf. 397–406	I or II
1924.563	HMR 278w	MSL SS1 93	OB school: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ĝiš (wood), rev. Proto-Ea	II
1924.564	HMR 290w	OECT 13 35	OB school: metrological list of weights (Robson 2004: no. 23)	I or II
1924.566	HMR 293w	OECT 5 56	OB school: obv. 3 lines, unidentified elementary Sumerian, rev. blank[19]	IV
1924.568	HMR 301w	OECT 13 38	OB admin document[20]	III
1924.569	HMR 288w	OECT 5 54	OB school? Unidentified fragment of Sumerian	II?
1924.571	HMR 289w	OECT 13 40	OB school: Akkadian letter exercise (AbB 10: 85)	III/S
1924.572	HMR 291w	OECT 13 41	OB school: Akkadian letter exercise (AbB 10: 86)	III/S
1924.573	HMR 311w	Robson 2004: 20	OB school: multiplication table × 4;30 (Robson 2004: no. 20)	III
1924.589	HMR 307w	OECT 13 44	OB admin document	
1924.591	HMR 306w	OECT 13 45	OB letter?	
1924.592	HMR 283w	OECT 13 46	OB letter	
1924.598	HMR 313w	OECT 13 50	OB letter	
1924.599	HMR 309w	MSL SS1 118	OB school: unidentified lexical fragment	I or III
1924.601	HMR 286w	OECT 13 51	OB school: unidentified lexical fragment	II
1924.604	HMR 321w	OECT 13 52	OB admin document	
1924.606	HMR 296w	OECT 13 54	OB letter (AbB 10: 91)	
1924.610	HMR 319w	OECT 13 57	OB letter (AbB 10: 92)	
1924.613	HMR 316w	OECT 13 60	OB school? Unidentified fragment of Sumerian	—
1924.615	HMR –w[21]	OECT 13 61	OB admin document	
1924.620	HMR 295w	OECT 13 64	OB school: calculation (Robson 2004: no. 22)	IV
1924.1404	HMR 810w	OECT 13 123	OB admin document	

[18] OECT 13 does not catalogue **1924.588** as a school tablet, but its layout—very similar to the two school PN lists discussed above (footnote 16), with rulings, Personenkeilen, and large writing across the width of the tablet—is suggestive. It reads: ^{m}KUG-EŠ$_8$.TAR$_2$ // ^{m}*a-wi-il*-EŠ$_8$.TAR$_2$ // ^{m}*mi-nam-e-pu-uš*-DIĜIR // ^{m}*ap-lum* // (rest missing; reverse erased).

[19] […] ⌜X arad X⌝ […] // bala-zu mu-[…] // KA kug-zu […] '…… slave (?) …… your reign …… your holy mouth/word'

[20] The OECT 13 catalogue (p. 9) has 'practice tablet?' but the gap at the left suggests an undated administrative roster like 1924.526 (OECT 13 24) from the ziggurat area (Table 1).

[21] The excavation number, originally written on the tablet, has been almost completely eroded.

On the other hand, this profile is very close to the assemblage of school tablets from the *galamahs'* house in Sippar-Amnānum, where Ur-Utu was home-schooled in about 1650 BCE, about 150 years later (Tanret 2002).[22] That distribution, in combination with the low numbers of the tablets found, strongly suggests that we are dealing with the remains of similar, domestically based education for non-scribal professionals, rather than the remains of a school like Nippur House F.

School tablets probably from Uhaimir
Thirty-seven OB school tablets from Kish were registered by the Ashmolean in the 1924 series without further findspot information. While Uhaimir is their probable mound of origin, it is not the only possibility: in 1923–4 the NB 'library' on Mound W was also yielding many tablets that were assigned 1924 museum numbers. However, the archaeological context of that building seemingly precludes OB finds (Gibson 1972a: 76–7; Moorey 1978: 48–50).[23] Further, it is known that tablets with museum numbers in the range 1924.943–1786 were assigned those numbers only in 1950, when field records had long been dispersed (OECT 10: p. 1); doubtless tablets from other mounds were included in the series, as internal evidence suggests (see the discussion below). Nevertheless, despite the haphazard nature of record keeping and preservation it is possible to make judgements on the probability of an Uhaimir provenance. Sixty of the documented Uhaimir tablets have museum numbers in the range 1924.519–916; the other eight are in the range 1924.1244–1532. Thus we judge the thirteen undocumented school tablets with museum numbers 1924.559–887 to be most likely from Uhaimir (Table 4), and the twenty-four in the range 1924.1062–2405 to be of unknown origin within Kish (Table 14). We discuss this latter group separately at the end.

Table 4: OB school tablets from Kish, probably from Uhaimir

Museum number	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1924.559	OECT 13 40	Akkadian letter exercise (Kraus 1959–62: letter u; AbB 10: 84)	III
1924.570	MSL SS1 114	Lexical: obv. unidentified, rev. SA A 54–58	II?
1924.575	MSL SS1 p. 66	Lexical: unidentified fragment (4 signs)	—
1924.576	MSL SS1 94	Lexical: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš, 3 lines), rev. metrological list of areas	II
1924.580	MSL SS1 p. 67	Lexical: PN list. Missing, presumed joined to another piece	—
1924.581	MSL SS1 111	Lexical: obv. SA A 43–48, rev. blank	I or III
1924.587	MSL SS1 98	Lexical: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš), obv. 326–328, rev. 359–361	III
1924.590	Robson 2004: 15	Mathematics: reciprocal table fragment	III
1924.593	OECT 13 47	Akkadian letter exercise (Kraus 1959–62: letter m; AbB 10: 89)	III/S
1924.595	OECT 13 48	Akkadian letter exercise (Kraus 1959–62: letter l; AbB 10: 90)	III/S
1924.833	Appendix A: 1	Mathematics: erased calculations	IV
1924.863	OECT 5 52	Lexical: obv. PN list; rev. blank	IV
1924.887	OECT 15 151	School: obv. unidentified elementary Sumerian (3 lines),[24] rev. illegible lexical list (8 lines)	IV

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[22] Ur-Utu's house also has exemplars of Syllabary A (Tanret 2002 nos. 16–22), as well as (illegible) long-lined texts written at right-angles on the reverse of Type II tablets (Tanret 2002 nos. 23, 26–29); but these differences may be chronological rather than geographical.

[23] The only two OB literary tablets securely documented from Mound W were not accessioned until 1930 (Table 13).

[24] Obverse: ⸢ud⸣-ba AN a-⸢X⸣ […] // diĝir gal X-bi […] // […] ⸢X⸣ ud ka/saĝ ir ⸢X⸣ […...].

Summarising the contents and formats by curricular genre again produces a very close match with the documented Uhaimir school tablets; while the addition of Syllable Alphabet A brings the contents of the Uhaimir tablets closer still to those from Ur-Utu's house in Sippar-Amnānum:
- Syllable Alphabet A: one type II reverse?, one type I or III;
- Personal name lists: one Type IV, one missing fragment;
- Lexical lists: one Type II tablet, with Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš) on the obverse, metrological list of areas on the reverse; one unidentified fragment;
- Metrology and mathematics: one Type II reverse with a metrological list (see above), one Type III reciprocal table, dated iti šu-numun-a ud 8-kam; one Type IV calculation;
- Elementary Sumerian sentences: one Type IV with an unidentified lexical extract on the reverse;
- Akkadian letter exercises: three Type III/S tablets.

Once again, though, the combination of exercises on the Type II tablet 1924.576 (MSL SS1: 94) is exceptional by Nippur standards, where amongst the 3000-plus known examples of this format not a single exemplar is attested with Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš) on the obverse, and metrology or mathematics on the reverse.[25]

INGHARRA

Tell Ingharra, ancient Hursaĝ-kalama, is not a single mound but a square area comprising several mounds huddled together. It was excavated during the 1927–32 seasons under the direction of Louis Watelin, who named each of the four corners respectively D, E, F, and G anti-clockwise from the north (Moorey 1978: 81). Trenches C-1 to C-15 were excavated in 1929–32, to the north-west of the Neo-Babylonian temple complex located on mound E. The trenches were huge, 'five meters wide, five meters high or deep, and as long as the mound was wide' (Gibson 1976–80: 615), but the locations of objects were recorded only in metres down from the mound surface. No records were kept, nor photographs taken, of the buildings in the area.

The C Trenches yielded a substantial number of Old Babylonian tablets, including school tablets and literary tablets, but their exact archaeological context is unknown due to the rough methods used to excavate the area.[26] Tablets were assigned trench numbers, which give us a vague idea of which tablets might have been excavated together. Further findspot information may cautiously be inferred from museum numbering practices: it may be reasonable to assume that tablets sharing the same museum number, distinguished only by additional letters, may have been found together. However, since the trenches are so enormous, the lots described below might well comprise tablets which do not belong together at all. Conversely, it is quite possible that apparently distinct lots of tablets might actually cross the trench boundaries and thus belong together.

A variety of Old Akkadian, OB and NB tablets were found on the mound, and were often assigned single museum numbers together. In the following section, however, we discuss only the OB school and literary tablets as well as the OB administrative and legal tablets which bear the same museum numbers as them, in order to get a general idea of the time span in which the former might have been written.

Sumerian literary tablets from Trenches C-6, C-7, and perhaps C-8
Trenches C-6 and C-7 were dug adjacent to each other in the 1929–30 season, with C-8 added next to C-7 in 1930–31 (Gibson 1972a: figs. 58–59). Sounding YWN was also cut in 1929–30, partially overlapping Trench C-6 near its northern limit. As mentioned above, nothing is now known of the

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[25] Just five Type II tablets from OB Nippur have metrological lists on the reverse and extracts from later in the Proto-Ur$_5$-ra series on the obverse: CBS 4867 (SLT 19; MSL 11 111 H) obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra kaš (beer); CBS 10181+10207 (BE 20/1 38) obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra wild animals; CBS 15051 (unpublished) obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ninda (bread); N 3853 (unpublished) obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra na$_4$ (stone); UM 29-13-711 + Ni 4840 (MSL 10 54 V33) obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra na$_4$ (stone).

[26] Moorey's 1966 analysis of Watelin's excavations at Ingharra has little to say about the C trenches.

built structures in the area. Twelve OB literary and school tablets can confidently be attributed to these trenches (Tables 5 and 6), and another four assigned to them with a little less certainty (Table 7). A further five tablets from Ingharra, discussed separately below, may also have come from here (Table 12).

Table 5: Sumerian literary tablets from Trench C-6

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1930.341a	—	OECT 5 18	Emesal literature: collection of laments (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	M3
1930.341b	C-6	OECT 11 14	Sumerian literature? OECT 11: p. 5 compares it to 1930.366i (below)	M2
1930.344 + 1930.363c	C-6	OECT 5 40	Emesal literature; see (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	H
1930.345b	C-6, 2m (3)[27]	OECT 13 165	OB legal contract, no date extant	
1930.345c	C-6, 2m	OECT 5 43	Emesal literature: lament (fragment)	—
1930.366b	C-6, 2m (8)	OECT 13 172	OB legal contract: Ha 20	
1930.366c	C-6, 2m (8)	OECT 13 173	OB legal contract: Ha 17	
1930.366d	C-6, 2m (8)	OECT 13 174	OB legal contract: Ha 17	
1930.366i	C-6, 2m (8)[28]	OECT 5 57	Emesal literature: lament to Ninisina (Krecher 1974–77: 195)	M3

Table 6: Sumerian literary tablets from Trench C-7

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1924.1341[29]	C-7	OECT 15 157; Robson 2004: 26	OB school: metrological table of weights (Robson 2004 no. 26)	III
1930.399b	C-7	OECT 5 42	Emesal literature, concerning Dumuzid and Geštinana (Krecher 1974–77: 194; Civil 1983c: 49)	S?
1930.400c	C-7, 3m[30]	OECT 5 17	Emesal literature: lament by a goddess (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	S
1930.402a	C-7, 1m	OECT 13 177	OB legal contract; date lost	
1930.402c	C-7, 1m	OECT 5 44	Emesal literature: unidentified fragment	—
1930.402d	C-8, 2m	OECT 5 41	Sumerian literature: phonetically written fragment (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	—
1930.402e	C-7, 1m	OECT 5 37	Sumerian list of gods, with epithets (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	S
1931.149	C-7, 1m (3)	Appendix A 4	OB school: 3-line PN list in Ur-, rev. blank	IV

[27] Attributed to C-6, 2m (3) on the tablet itself; YWN, 1 m on museum photo 30b.

[28] Attributed to C-6, 2m (8) in the card catalogue; C-8 (3) on the tablet itself; and C-8, 2m on a museum photograph.

[29] There is no reason to believe that the findspot information associated with this tablet is incorrect despite the apparent mismatch with the museum number: as discussed above, tablets in the range 1924.943–1786 were assigned those numbers in 1950.

[30] Attributed to C-7, 3m on the tablet itself; C-8, 2m on museum photograph M47c.

The literary tablets found in Trenches C-6 (Table 5) and C-7 (Table 6) all contain difficult Emesal or syllabically written works that have mostly resisted full translation and interpretation since their publication some decades ago. We do not attempt to add to their textual interpretation here, but restrict our comments to their find circumstances. Michalowski (1978b: 343) has already drawn attention to the clustering of Emesal and syllabic literature in these trenches. Further, it may not be coincidental that all five tablets in Trench C-6 are in multi-column (Mn) or horizontal (H) format, while the five from Trench C-7 are single-column tablets (S), where known. Some of the Trench C-6 tablets share museum numbers with legal contracts dated to the middle of Hammurabi's reign. 1930.345b, an undated legal fragment, may localise the group to the intersection of Trench C-6 and Sounding YWN.

There are no museological grounds for supposing that the two unexceptional school tablets from Trench C-7 belong to the same group(s) as the literary tablets: the Type IV personal name exercise was accessioned a year after the literary tablets, while the Type III metrological table did not receive its museum number until 1950.

Table 7: Sumerian literary tablets from Trench C-6 or C-8

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1930.363a	C-8, 2m	OECT 13 169	OB legal contract: Si-mu 10 (Goddeeris 2002: 286, 380)	
1930.363b +i	Ingharra?	OECT 5 16	Emesal literature: lament concerning Kish (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	S
1930.363f	Ingharra	OECT 15 170	OB admin document, no date extant	
1930.363g	Ingharra[31]	Appendix A 3	OB school: 3-line PN list in Nin- (Watelin 1934: pl. XLIV 6)	IV
1930.363h + 1924.2070	Ingharra?	OECT 5 36	Sumerian literature: unidentified fragment (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	—
1930.363j	Ingharra?	OECT 5 39	Sumerian literature: lament (Krecher 1974–77: 194)	—
1930.363k	Ingharra?	OECT 13 171	OB legal contract: Si-mu 2 (Goddeeris 2002: 287)	

The provenance of the tablets with museum number 1930.363 (Table 7) is a little more problematic. None of the school or literary tablets in this lot has a surviving provenance, but one of the two legal contracts (both dated to the reign of Sin-muballit) is attributed to Trench C-8. However, **1930.363h**, presumably from the same findspot as the other tablets in this lot, joins 1930.344 from Trench C-6 (Table 5), which is separated from C-8 by C-7. As the break between the two fragments is a very clean one, with no gaps or abrasions, it is most unlikely that they were separated in antiquity. Therefore either the 1930.363 lot is not coherent, or the provenance of **1930.363a** is an error for C-6, 2m[32]—which would place it at a similar find level (for what that is worth) to many of the other C-6 tablets.[33] Further, the museum number of this lot falls squarely

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[31] Langdon and Watelin wrongly attributed this tablet to the Early Dynastic 'Red Stratum' of Cutting Y on Ingharra (Watelin 1934: 62). As Moorey 1978: 98 notes, 'Watelin's account of finds from the Red Stratum is singularly faulty. A number of the objects he mentions when traced to the field cards are found to come from elsewhere, either in his "C" trenches or in cuttings YW or YWN (as he states) at levels higher than the Red Stratum in cutting "Y".'

[32] Similar confusions arose in the provenancing of 1930.345b and 1930.366i (Table 5; footnotes 27–8), which must be from C-6 like the rest of the 1930.366 lot, not C-8. See also 1930.400c and 1930.402d (Table 6; footnote 30), which must be from C-7, not C-8.

[33] Against that argument, but not fatally, **1930.363b+i** is a single-column (S) format tablet, while the C-6 literary tablets are mostly multi-columnar.

within the range of the other known C-6 tablets (1930.338–366), while the three known C-8 tablets bear numbers 1931.80 (OECT 13: 186), 1931.150, and 1931.184 (both Table 9). It is thus more probable than not that the 1930.363 lot is from C-6.

Whether or not the Emesal literary tablets are from Trenches C-6 to C-8 or just from C-6 and C-7, the dated legal records found with them are from a very short time span: just forty years across the reigns of Sin-muballit and Hammurabi. This is particularly striking when considered in the context of the dates of other OB legal and administrative tablets from Ingharra (Table 8, where those found with the literary tablets are shown in bold).

Table 8: Dated legal contracts and administrative records from Ingharra[34]

Museum number	Publication	Findspot	Description	Date
1931.100	OECT 13 197	C-9, 2m (5)	OB legal contract (Goddeeris 2002: 287, 360)	Su-la 27? (1854)
1930.363k	OECT 13 171	Ingharra	OB legal contract (Goddeeris 2002: 287)	Si-mu 2 (1811)
1931.83	OECT 13 189	1930–31	OB receipt (Goddeeris 2002: 287)	Si-mu 7 (1806)
1931.129a	OECT 13 202	Ingharra	OB legal contract (Goddeeris 2002: 286)	Si-mu 9 (1804)
1930.363a	OECT 13 169	C-8, 2m	OB legal contract (Goddeeris 2002: 286, 380)	Si-mu 10 (1803)
1930.338	OECT 13 156	C-6, 2m (7)	OB legal contract	Ha 10 (1783)
1930.366c	OECT 13 173	C-6, 2m (8)	OB legal contract	Ha 17 (1776)
1930.366d	OECT 13 174	C-6, 2m (8)	OB legal contract	Ha 17 (1776)
1930.366b	OECT 13 172	C-6, 2m (8)	OB legal contract	Ha 20 (1773)
1931.78	OECT 13 183	1930–31	OB admin document	Ha 37 (1756)
1931.79	OECT 13 184	1930–31	OB legal contract	Ha 38 (1755)
1931.77	OECT 13 182	1930–31	OB admin document	Ha 39 (1754)
1929.831	OECT 13 146	C-2, 2m	OB legal contract	Ha 40? (1753)
1931.99	OECT 13 196	C-9, 2m (5)	OB legal contract	Ha 42? (1751)
1931.76	OECT 13 181	1930–31	OB receipt	Sa-il 7 (1743)
1930.172a	OECT 13 151	C-3, 4m	OB legal contract	Am-di 'F' (1683–47)
1930.158	OECT 13 147	C-2, 2m	Year name proclamation	Am-di 14 (1670)
1929.826	OECT 13 145	From a 'monument' at the top of C-4	OB legal contract	Am-sa 10 (1637)

The eleven provenanced tablets are all from Trenches C-2 to C-4, C-6, C-8, and C-9. A further five are attributed to the 1930–31 season, when excavations were carried out in several parts of the mound, including Trench C-8 (Moorey 1978: 93). As none of the other excavation areas from that season yielded any recorded OB tablets at all, it is highly likely that these five tablets are also from C-8 or perhaps from C-9.[35] Thus, with the possible exception of **1931.100**—whose year formula is

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[34] The provenance of the tablets accessioned in 1931 is given simply as 'Ingharra' in the museum card catalogue; the origin of the more detailed provenances given in OECT 13, and reproduced here, is not clear to us.

[35] Attributions of tablets to Trenches C-9 and C-10 in the 1930–31 season may be erroneous, as according to Moorey 1978: 93 those trenches were not opened until 1931–32. The eleven tablets affected are, for C-9:

so badly damaged that the identity and even existence of its date must remain uncertain[36]—it appears that the legal contracts found with the literary tablets are from the oldest periods of OB occupation of this part of Ingharra, from the late nineteenth to early eighteenth centuries BCE. The area continued to produce tablets for another 30 years (to Samsu-iluna 7) and then again in the seventeenth century.

In short, all of the provenanced Emesal and syllabically written Sumerian literature from the Oxford-Chicago Kish excavations appears to come from a restricted area of Trenches C-6, C-7, and perhaps C-8 of Ingharra, associated with legal documents from the reign of Sin-muballit and early in Hammurabi's rule. It seems to have very little to do with the few elementary school tablets also found in the same general area, which we discuss below.

School tablets from Trenches C-8, C-10, C-11, and C-15

Trenches C-9 to C-11 were dug parallel to C-8 in the following season, 1931–32, at the same time as C-15, a much shorter trench at the north-east corner of the mound (Gibson 1972a: fig. 60). Twenty-nine school tablets were found in these trenches; a further three from Ingharra, which are also likely to come from here, are listed separately below (Table 12). The fact that no administrative or legal tablets share a museum number with these tablets makes it impossible to estimate their date.

Trenches C-8 and C-10 were excavated during the 1930–31 and 1931–32 seasons respectively (Moorey 1978: 93). Since each trench was 5 m wide, the two tablets from C-8 and the three from C-10 must have been found at least 5 m apart from each other, separated by Trench C-9. Nevertheless, the similarity of the character of the five tablets is striking (Table 9). All contain well known elementary school exercises on Type IV tablets, in three lines where applicable, except for **1931.184**, a Type I exemplar of Syllabary A (Sᵃ).

Table 9: School tablets from Trenches C-8 and C-10

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1931.150	C-8, 1 m (8)	Appendix A 5	OB school: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra na$_4$ (stone)? 3 lines, rev. blank	IV
1931.184	C-8, 1.5 m (8)	MSL SS1 p. 66; Appendix A 6	OB school: Syllabary A	I
1931.91	C-10, 1 m (2)[37]	Robson 2004: 24	OB school: diagram of triangle	IV
1931.92	C-10, 1 m (2)	OECT 15 173	OB school: obv. 3-line PN list in Ur-, rev. blank	IV
1931.93	C-10	OECT 15 174	OB school: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ĝiš (wood) cf. ll. 214–216 of the OB Nippur recension (Veldhuis 1997: 156)	IV

1931.81 (OECT 13 187; AbB 10 112), 1931.95 (OECT 13 192), 1931.96 (OECT 13 193), and 1931.98–104 (OECT 13 195–201); for C-10: 1931.94 (OECT 13 191).

[36] The editors of OECT 13 presumably read the traces of the final line as [mu bad$_3$ gu$_2$]-du$_8$-aᵏⁱ but collation shows that traces look more like […] GAL KAM 2 ᵐᵈ[…]. Note also that it was found with 1931.99 in C-9, 2m (5) (Table 8). However, the date of this tablet is also problematic: after collation it apparently reads mu bad$_3$ gal kur saĝ, which does not quite fit any of the possibilities: mu bad$_3$ gal ka$_2$-diĝir-ra (Su-ab 1b; Su-la 5, also tin-tirᵏⁱ); mu bad$_3$ gal ha-bu-uzᵏⁱ (Su-la 31); mu bad$_3$ gal ĝa$_2$-gi$_4$-aᵏⁱ (Ha 4); mu bad$_3$ gal zimbirᵏⁱ (Ha 25); mu bad$_3$ gal gu$_2$ ⁱᵈ²idigna (Ha 42); mu bad$_3$ gal uri$_2$ᵏⁱ (Sa-il 11b); mu bad$_3$ gal kišᵏⁱ (Sa-il 24b): see http://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/yn_index.html.

[37] The Ashmolean card catalogue also attributes this tablet to the 1930–31 season, which must be an error.

Robson (2004: 40–1) has briefly discussed the fourteen OB elementary school tablets and fragments from C-11 (Table 10). As in Trenches C-8 and C-10, by and large these exercises parallel the first three phases of the Nippur elementary curriculum (although there is practically no evidence for curricular order in Ingharra). They are also analogous to those from Ur-Utu's house in Sippar-Amnanum (Tanret 2002) in that either group contains model contracts, proverbs, or literary exercises. The tablet typology is similar too, though the format and function of the Type II tablets are different. On exemplars from Ur-Utu's house, as in Nippur, the left column of the obverse contains the teacher's example and the right column(s) the pupil's. Here, however, both columns contain identical pupil's exercises, and the line rulings run across the columns. Indeed both obverse and reverse of **1932.182** follow that format. In Nippur, as here, the reverse is orientated normally to the obverse. On Type II tablets from Ur-Utu's house, by contrast, however, the long exercise on the reverse is often written at 90º to the obverse (Tanret 2002: 61). Among the nine tablets with museum number 1932.187 that are likely to have been found together are six exemplars of Syllable Alphabet A (SA A), the northern equivalent to Syllable Alphabet B (SA B) in Nippur. On **1932.187i+u** Syllabary A is followed immediately by SA A in the middle of the third column, separated only by a double ruling.

Table 10: School tablets from Trench C-11

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1932.176	C-11	MSL SS1 91	OB school: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ĝiš (wood)	III
1932.177	C-11	MSL SS1 99	OB school: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra urud (copper); rev. blank; possibly from the same tablet as the unprovenanced fragment 1924.2098 (Table 14)	I or II
1932.180	C-11	Robson 2004: 25	OB school: multiplication × 12 30	III
1932.182	C-11	MSL SS1 p. 66; Appendix A 7	OB school: SA A	II
1932.187b	C-11	OECT 15 179; MSL SS1 p. 66	OB school: obv. SA A; rev. missing	—
1932.187d	C-11	OECT 15 180; MSL SS1 p. 67	OB school: unidentified fragment; rev. missing	II
1932.187g	C-11	OECT 15 181; MSL SS1 p. 66	OB school: SA A	IV
1932.187i + u	C-11	MSL SS1 112	OB school: SA A and Syllabary A	I?
1932.187n	C-11	OECT 15 182; MSL SS1 p. 66	OB school: obv. unidentified; rev. SA A	II
1932.187r	C-11	OECT 15 183; MSL SS1 p. 66	OB school: unidentified	II
1932.187s	C-11	OECT 15 183a	OB school: SA A	II
1932.187t	C-11	MSL SS1 116	OB school: unidentified; rev. Proto-Ea?	II
1932.187w	C-11	OECT 15 184; MSL SS1 p. 67	OB school: obv. SA A, rev. blank	I?
1932.287	C-11a[38]	OECT 15 249	OB school: unidentified elementary Sumerian	IV

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[38] The meaning of this designation is unknown; but note that the museum number of the tablet is isolated. Was it a lone find? The text of **1932.287** reads: nam-e$_2$-gal-a-ni // saĝ nam-mi-in-zu-ub.

Perhaps, then, the tablets from this trench were used as in Ur-Utu's house, for the non-professional scribal education of priests or the like.

Ten OB literary and lexical tablets were excavated from Trench C-15 (Table 11). Once again, the elementary exercises are equivalent to those found only in the first three phases of the Nippur curriculum, with the possible addition of Syllabary A. Unusually, all of them are (fragments of) large Type I tablets. The literary works are all well known from the Nippur scribal curriculum too: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* is the final member of the Decad (Tinney 1999), while the *Instructions of Šuruppag* belongs to the House F Fourteen (Robson 2001: 54). The *Hymn to Nisaba for King Išbi-Erra* and *Ninĝišzida's Journey* are also attested in Nippur, though not studied so frequently there. Only the Akkadian incantation is unusual from a Nippur perspective, although they are known from an OB 'scholarly library' in Me-Turan (Cavigneaux 1999: 251).

Table 11: School tablets from Trench C-15

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1932.153	C-15	OECT 4 157	OB school: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (fields); returned to Baghdad	I
1932.154	C-15	OECT 4 158	OB school: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (food)	I
1932.155	C-15, 2 m	Langdon 1932	OB school Sumerian literature: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A* (ETCSL 1.8.1.4) (Edzard 1990: KiA)	M2
1932.156a	C-15	OECT 5 4	OB school Sumerian literature: *Hymn to Nisaba for Išbi-Erra* (ETCSL 2.5.1.5) (Michalowski 1978b: 344; Kutscher 1982: 583)	M2
1932.156b	C-15	OECT 5 33	OB school Sumerian literature: *Instructions of Šuruppag* (ETCSL 5.6.1) (Kutscher 1982: 583)	M2
1932.156c	C-15	MSL SS1 105	OB school: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (birds)	I
1932.156d	C-15	MSL SS1 115	OB school: Proto-Ea?	I
1932.156e	C-15	OECT 15 177	OB school Sumerian literature: *Ninĝišzida's Journey to Netherworld* (ETCSL 1.7.3; Zólyomi 2003)	S
1932.156g	C-15	OECT 11 11	Akkadian incantation, fragment (Cunningham 1997: 345)	—

In short, the identified loci on Ingharra yielded assemblages of school and literary tablets with three distinct characters. Trenches C-6 to C-8 yielded Sumerian literary works that are otherwise unknown, written in a variety of formats (Tables 5–7), and associated with legal contracts from the reigns of Sin-muballit and Hammurabi (Table 8). A few elementary exercises were found there too. Trenches C-10 and C-11, by contrast, exclusively produced elementary tablets (Tables 9–10). Trench C-15 produced both elementary exercises—exclusively on Type I tablets—and four 'mainstream' Sumerian literary compositions that are known from curricular contexts in Nippur and elsewhere. In Trench C-11 'pseudo-Type II' tablets predominate, on which both copies of the obverse exercise appear to have been written by the same hand instead of by a teacher and trainee as expected. In Trenches C-8 and C-10, by contrast, the elementary exercises are mostly on Type IV tablets, while in Trench C-15 Type I tablets are in the majority. Similarly, there is a contrast between the Type M*n* and Type H literary tablets in Trench C-6 and the Type S tablets in C-7. It is not clear to us what, if anything, these differences signify.

Tablets from unidentified locations on Ingharra
A further six school and literary tablets are recorded to have come from Ingharra. It is possible to posit a likely provenance for each of them.

Table 12: School and literary tablets from unidentified locations on Ingharra

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type	Proposed provenance
1930.385	Ingharra YW 'just below the flood level'	OECT 5 38	Sumerian literature: unidentified fragment	—	C-6
1931.84	Ingharra	Unpublished	OB school: uninscribed	IV	C-8
1931.137a	Ingharra 1929–30	MSL SS1 107	OB school: obv. Proto-Saĝ (MSL SS1 13 H); rev. Proto-Izi	II	C-6 or C-7
1931.137b	Ingharra 1929–30	MSL SS1 106; OECT 15 175	OB school: obv. unidentified Sumerian; rev. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (food)	II	C-6 or C-7
1932.373a	Ingharra '5'	OECT 13 216	OB letter (AbB 10: 122)		
1932.373b	Ingharra '5'	OECT 13 217	OB admin document, no date extant		
1932.373c	Ingharra '5'	OECT 13 218	OB letter (AbB 10: 123)		
1932.373e	Ingharra '5'	OECT 13 219	OB admin document, no date extant		
1932.373f	Ingharra '5'	OECT 11 6	Sumerian literature: unidentified fragment		C-10
1937.646	Ingharra	OECT 5 8	OB school Sumerian literature: Išme-Dagan hymn D (ETCSL 2.5.4.04) (Krecher 1974–77: 193; Kutscher 1982: 583)	S	C-15

The attribution of **1930.385** to Sounding YW 'just below the flood level' (card catalogue) must be erroneous. YW was a deep sounding made in 1929–30, partially through the south-western ends of Trenches C-5 and C-6. The exact dating of the 'flood level' and the subsequent ziggurat collapse overlying it is still unclear, but they are certainly of late Early Dynastic date (Moorey 1978: 96–99). The museum number and contents are consistent with a findspot higher up in Trench C-6 (Table 5).

The uninscribed school tablet **1931.84** is likely to have been found in the 1930–31 season along with all the other tablets bearing museum numbers in the range 1931.75–85 (OECT 13: 180–190). The OB legal document 1931.80 (OECT 13: 186) is attributed to C-8, 1.5m (8), while the OB letter 1931.81 (OECT 13: 187; AbB 10: 112) is attributed to C-9, 2m (5). Dated tablets in this group range from Sin-muballit 7 (1931.83, OECT 13: 189) to Samsu-iluna 7 (1931.76, OECT 13: 182), with three in Hammurabi 37–39 (1931.77–79, OECT 13: 182, 183, 185). As no OB school tablets were found in C-9, we tentatively suggest a C-8 provenance. If correct, that might date the other elementary school tablets from C-8 (Table 9) to the late 19th to mid-18th centuries too.

According to Moorey (1978: 93), in the 1929–30 season only Trenches C-5 to C-7 were excavated. As there are no known OB tablets from C-5, **1931.137a** and **1931.137b** are most likely from C-6 or C-7—which, however, otherwise yielded OB tablets in the range 1930.341–402 (Tables 5 and 6).

The notation 'Ingharra "5"' does not apparently mean Trench C-5 as one might intuit, as shown by three OB administrative documents and legal records which bear double attributions: 1931.139 (OECT 13: 205): Ingharra '3' C-10, 2m (3); 1931.140 (OECT 13: 206): Ingharra '4' C-9, 3m (6); 1931.141 (OECT 13: 207): Ingharra '5' C-9, 2m (3). Thus the lot of tablets **1932.373**, which

includes an unidentified fragment of Sumerian literature, is presumably also from C-9 or (more likely) C-10, where other OB school tablets were found (Table 9).

1937.646 is the only OB tablet from Kish to have been accessioned in 1937, five years after excavations there had ceased. It could thus come from anywhere on the mound, but is perhaps to be attributed to C-15, where all the other 'mainstream' Sumerian literature originates (Table 11).

Listing the identified curricular exercises found on Ingharra in the same order as for Uhaimir gives:
- seven extracts of SA A (all Type I, II, and IV, or fragments) and three of S^a (one Type I, one Type II reverse);
- two Type IV personal name exercises;
- one Type IV and one Type III extract from Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ĝiš 'wood'; one Type I or II fragment of urud 'copper'; one Type IV list of na$_4$ 'stones'; one each of birds, fields, and food (all Type I); and one reverse Type II of food;
- two possible extracts of Proto-Ea, one Type I and one on the reverse of a Type II tablet; one type II with Proto-Saĝ and Proto-Izi;
- a Type III multiplication table, a Type III metrological table, and a Type IV mathematical diagram;
- an uninscribed Type IV tablet and six unidentified elementary exercises, on Type II and Type IV tablets;
- five works of curricular Sumerian literature: *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*, *Išbi-Erra E*, *The Instructions of Šuruppag*, all on type M2 tablets; *Ninĝišzida's Journey* and *Išme-Dagan D* on Type S tablets; and three unidentified fragments that may or may not be curricular.

Uhaimir, by contrast to Ingharra, has no securely attested SA A or SA, and precious little Proto-Ur$_5$-ra or curricular literature. On the other hand, most Akkadian letter exercises are entirely absent from Ingharra. The range of advanced lexical lists and mathematical/metrological exercises is much the same in both locations. Given the low number of finds, it is doubtful whether any of the tablet assemblages could justifiably be identified as the remnants of a school, but C-15 has the greatest claim on that label, given the preponderance of Type I tablets found there.

MOUND W

Mound W is a large tell between Uhaimir and Ingharra, where an NB library and some Achaemenid houses were discovered in 1923–4 (Moorey 1978: 48–50). Digging continued on the mound intermittently until 1927, and then again, very briefly, in 1932 (Gibson 1972a: 174–6), but 'it is doubted whether this excavation [in the library area] reached levels of the Old Babylonian period, except in the most superficial way' (Moorey 1978: 50). Two OB literary tablets are said to have been found on Mound W (Table 13).

Table 13: Sumerian literary tablets from Mound W

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1930.230g	Mound W	OECT 5 45	Emesal literature: 10th tablet of the balaĝ uru$_2$-am$_3$-ma-ir-ra-bi (Civil 1983c)	M2+
1930.232b	Mound W	OECT 13 155	OB admin document, no date extant	
1930.232h	Mound W?	OECT 11 7	OB school Sumerian literature: *Inana B* (ETCSL 4.07.2)	—

The dating of **1920.230g** is controversial. Cohen (1988: 536 source N) counts this tablet amongst the first-millennium sources of the balaĝ, but Civil (1983c: 47) considers it to be OB, perhaps from

the same tablet as 1924.1062, which is unprovenanced within Kish (Table 14). The other tablets registered in the 1932.230 and 1930.232 lots are all NB.

UNPROVENANCED TABLETS
There are 33 further identifiable OB school tablets from the Oxford-Chicago expedition to Kish and three whose provenance is ambiguous.

Table 14: Unprovenanced OB school tablets from Kish in the 1924 series

Museum number	Publication	Description	Tablet type
1924.1062	OECT 5 46	Emesal literature: tablet 10 of the balaĝ uru$_2$ am$_3$-ma-ir-ra-bi; same tablet as 1930.230g from Mound W (Table 13)? (Civil 1983c: 47)	M
1924.1066	MSL SS1 p. 67	OB school: unidentified lexical fragment, very abraded	—
1924.1214	Robson 2004: 17	OB school maths: obv. table of squares, rev. missing	I?
1924.1222	MSL SS1 104	OB school: unidentified sign list; two columns each side; cf. 1929.818, perhaps from Uhaimir (Table 15)	I
1924.1273	MSL SS1 p. 66; OECT 13 103	OB school: obv. SA A; rev. missing	II?
1924.1303	OECT 15 155	OB school: Sumerian verbal paradigms with Akkadian translations	H
1924.1342	MSL SS1 109	OB school: obv. missing, rev. Proto-Lu	I or II
1924.1374	OECT 11 9	OB school: Sumerian proverbs; cf. SP 9 a.14; SP 19 b.5; SP 24.4 (ETCSL 6.1.9, 6.1.19, 6.1.24)	I or II
1924.1405	MSL SS1 92	OB school: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ĝiš (wood); rev. proto-Ea	II
1924.1443	OECT 5 49	Emesal literature: obv. From the balaĝ uru$_2$-am$_3$-ma-ir-ra-bi (Black 1987: 50), rev. blank	H
1924.1530	MSL SS1 p. 67	OB school: unidentified lexical fragment. Missing, presumed joined to another piece; not in Kish catalogue	—
1924.1540	OECT 5 3	Emesal literature: hymn to Enki; duplicates VAS 2: 67 (Alster 1988)	S
1924.1573	OECT 11 13	Akkadian incantation: unidentified	—
1924.1575	OECT 15 159	OB school: unidentified Sumerian fragment	II?
1924.1612	OECT 5 5	Emesal literature: hymn to Ninurta (OECT 5: p. 2)	S
1924.1716	MSL SS1 102; OECT 15 164	OB school: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra sila$_4$, kir$_{11}$ (male and female lambs); rev. unidentified exercise	II
1924.1779	OECT 5 53	OB school: obv. PN list; rev. blank	IV
1924.2017	MSL SS1 p. 66	OB school: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra ĝiš (wood); rev. missing	—
1924.2041	OECT 11 12	Sumerian incantation (Cunningham 1997: 170)	—
1924.2058	OECT 11 8	Sumerian literature: unidentified	—
1924.2090	MSL SS1 p. 66	OB school: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra (ĝiš signs only); rev. missing	—
1924.2098	MSL SS1 p. 66; Appendix A 2	OB school: obv. Proto-Ur$_5$-ra urud (copper); perhaps from the same tablet as 1932.177 from Ingharra C-11 (Table 10)	I or II
1924.2139	MSL SS1 110	OB school: SA A	III
1924.2405	OECT 11 31	OB school Sumerian literature: Enlil Hymn A (ETCSL 4.05.1); identified by Paul Delnero (pers. comm. 2005)	M?

Tablets from Kish in the 1924 series

Twenty-four OB school tablets with Ashmolean museum numbers in the range 1924.1062–2405 were registered in 1950 without detailed provenance (Table 14).

The tabular grammatical paradigm **1924.1303** is perhaps the most interesting of the tablets in this group. It was mis-catalogued as a tabular account and thus came to light only by happenstance, much to Jeremy's delight. The transliteration and commentary presented here are heavily influenced by his notes, written for ER in May 2002.[39]

Obverse

1.	mu-un-ĝar	in-ĝar	bi₂-in-ĝar	*iš-ku-un*	(s)he placed
	mu-ĝar	i₃-˹ĝar˺	˹bi₂˺-ĝar	*aš-ku-un*	I placed
	mu-e-ĝar	e-˹ĝar˺	˹bi₂˺-i-ĝar	*ta-aš-ku-un*	you placed
	mu-un-ĝar	e		*i-ša-[ka]-an*	(s)he places
5.	mu-un-ĝar	[......]	[...] *šu-nu*	*iš-ku-*˹*un*˺ [...] x-*nam*	
	mu-ĝar	[...]-ra	[......]	[......]	
	mu-e-ĝar	[......]	[......]	[......]	
		[......]	[...] *šu-nu*	[......]	
	mu-un-ĝar		[......]	[......]	
10.	mu-ĝar	[......]	[......]	[......]	

Edge

1.	mu-e			[......]
	šu-ĝu₁₀	*qá-ti*		my hand
3.	šu-zuˡ	*qá-[at]-ka*		your hand
	šu-ni	*qá-*˹*ásˀ*˺*-sú*		his/her hand

Reverse

1.	ĝa₂-nu	*al-kam*		come!
	dug₄-ma-ab	*qí-bi-a-am*		speak to me!
	ul₄-am₃-mu	*ur-ri-ha-<am> «ha»*		hurry here
	am₃- ul₄	*ú-ri-ha-am*	(upside down:)	(s)he hurried here
5.	ma-ab-dug₄	*iq-bi-a-am*	54	(s)he spoke to me
	i-im-ĝen	*il-li-kam*	1 48	(s)he came
	mu-un-DU	˹*il*˺ (erasures)	3 36	(s)he ……

The verbal paradigms on the obverse are unusual in having up to three sets of Sumerian forms for each Akkadian translation, but, at least in lines 1–3, as usual with finite forms, they are listed in the order of persons 3–1–2. The heavily damaged lines 4–8 are more problematic, with apparent Akkadian glosses *šunu* perhaps indicating plurality (?) in at least two lines of the third column. The unprovenanced OBGT VI (MSL 4 79–87), a long paradigm of ĝar, has the following parallel entries:

124	mu-un-ĝar	*iš-ku-un*	cf. i 1
125	mu-ĝar	(blank, for *aškun*)	cf. i 2
126	mu-ĝar	(blank, for *taškun*)	
100	i₃-ĝar	*iš-ku-un*	
101	i₃-ĝar	(blank, for *aškun*)	cf. ii 2
102	i₃-ĝar	(blank, for *taškun*)	
103	bi₂-in-ĝar	*iš-ku-un*	cf. iii 1
104	bi₂-ĝar	(blank, for *aškun*)	cf. iii 2
105	bi₂-ĝar	(blank, for *taškun*)	

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[39] Gábor Zólyomi also provided some very helpful suggestions during the editorial process.

Only the second person forms are systematically different. There are no entries in OBGT VI for the simple present tense of ĝar, as attested in line 4 here.

The three lines on the edge have no parallel in the published OBGT corpus, but šu-ĝu$_{10}$ is also found in the OB vocabulary of body parts Ugumu, line 171 (MSL 9 57).

The seven entries on the reverse, with only one Sumerian entry per Akkadian translation, are unusually organised primarily by modality rather than by stem, as is more usual: Akkadian imperatives (the normal starting point for OB verbal paradigms) are followed by ventive preterites. Reverse lines 1–6 form a mirror-like arrangement: a b c c b a. The seventh line was partially erased unfinished. Long paradigms of ĝen = *alākum* 'to go' are attested from Nippur (OBGT VII: MSL 4 88–99)—with parallels [ĝa$_2$-nu-um *al-kam*] in line 1 (Black 1984/1991: 11), [i]-ˈim-ĝenˈ *il-li-kam* in line 74—and Ur (UET 7 97, 98, 100, 101 Black 1984/1991: 137–45)—with parallels ĝen-ˈam$_3$ˈ [*al*]-*kam* in line 1, i-im-ĝen *i-li-*[*kam*] in line 59. However, paradigms for ul$_4$ = *urruḫum* 'to hurry' and dug$_4$ = *qabûm* 'to speak' are previously unknown.

Upside down on the reverse is a sequence of three sexagesimally regular numbers, comprising successive doublings of the number 54. This may be related to the standard OB sequence of successively doubled and halved reciprocal pairs, otherwise unattested at Kish, of which these would form the latter half of the sixth, fifth, and fourth entries respectively (Robson 2002: 352–6).

Table 15: Unprovenanced tablets from Kish in the range 1929–1932

Museum number	Findspot information	Publication	Description	Tablet type	Proposed provenance
1929.808	Kish	OECT 5 50	Sumerian literature: hymn to Azimua?	H	Ingharra C-2 to C-4
1929.810	Bought from an Arab, who found it in Arab diggings at Uhaimir	OECT 13 143	OB school: Akkadian letter exercise (AbB 10: 108); duplicates 1924.572 from Uhaimir 'town ruins' (Table 3)	III/S	Uhaimir 'town ruins'
1929.812	Kish	OECT 15 167	OB school: unidentified exercise	IV	Ingharra C-2 to C-4
1929.818	Bought from an Arab, who found it in Arab diggings at Uhaimir	MSL SS1 103	OB school: unidentified sign list fragment, possibly from the same tablet as 1924.1222, unprovenanced within Kish (Table 14)	—	Uhaimir
1929.833	Kish	Robson 2004: 16	OB school: multiplications × 2;24 and 2	III	Ingharra C-2 to C-4
1930.177j	1928–29 Season	OECT 13 153	OB letter (AbB 10: 110)		
1930.177m	1928–29 Season	OECT 13 154	OB legal contract: Ap-Si 9 (Goddeeris 2002: 287)		
1930.177o	1928–29 Season	MSL SS1 100	OB school: Proto-Ur$_5$-ra na$_4$ (stone)	I	Ingharra C-1 to C-5
1930.362	—	OECT 5 10	Emesal literature: hymn to Šulpae and Aruru (Krecher 1974–77: 194; Black 2005)	S	Ingharra C-6
1930.365	Kish	OECT 15 170; Robson 2004: 18	OB school: two tablets (unidentified Sumerian exercise and calculation) squashed together	—	Ingharra C-6
1932.392	Kish (excavated or bought?)	MSL SS1 108	OB school: Proto-Lu	I	—

Tablets from Kish in the 1929–1932 series
Provenances can be tentatively proposed for all but one of these eight tablets (Table 15). The attribution of **1929.810** to Uhaimir is convincing, especially as it duplicates a tablet found in the 'town ruins' there, an exercise type found only in that area within Kish. There are no grounds for proving or disproving the possible Uhaimir provenance of **1929.818**.[40]

The three other school tablets accessioned in 1929 are presumably from Ingharra C-2 to C-4. No provenanced school tablets were accessioned that year, but all other provenanced finds from Kish with museum numbers in the range 1929.796–831 are from Ingharra C-2 to C-4. They include an OB administrative document 1929.831 (OECT 13 146) from C-2 and an OB legal record 1929.826 (OECT 13 145) dated to Ammi-ṣaduqa 10 from C-4—much later than the legal documents with museum numbers in the same range as school and literary tablets (Table 8).

The 1928–29 Season focussed on Ingharra C-1 to C-5 and Y, to the southwest of the NB temple (Gibson 1972a: 175; Moorey 1978: 93). As Sounding Y appears to be of ED date and earlier (Moorey 1978: 99–114), it is probably safe to discount that as the provenance of **1920.177o**. A legal contract in the same lot is dated to Apil-Sin 9, just a little earlier than the other dated tablets associated with OB school and literary tablets (Table 8).

On grounds of their museum numbers, **1930.362** and **1930.365** are perhaps to be located in Ingharra C-6 along with the literary tablets in the range 1930.341–366 (Table 5). There is no means of identifying the provenance of **1932.392**.

Tablets with uncertain provenance
Three school tablets are given a Kish provenance in the card catalogue but are not included in the separate register of Kish tablets: **1924.567** (MSL SS1 113), a Type II tablet containing a PN list and SA A, whose museum number suggests an Uhaimir provenance and is treated as such in Table 4; **1931.137** (Robson 2004: 19), an almost complete Type I metrological list, far bigger than anything else found at the site and therefore of uncertain attribution; and **1932.415** (OECT 5 12), a Type S manuscript of the Ur Lament (ETCSL 2.2.2).

CONCLUSIONS
Scribal education in Old Babylonian Kish
In his preliminary survey of the chronological and geographical distribution of tablets from Kish, Gibson (1972b: 121) posited 'the existence of two possible scribal schools at Uhaimir, and one at Ingharra' in Trench C-15. Moorey (1978: 29) more cautiously talks of 'an important scribal centre' in the town ruins of Uhaimir. Of course, in the absence of any archaeological evidence, such as the pu$_3$-im-ma 'clay well', or recycling facility typical of scribal establishments (Tanret 2002: 143–51), those hypotheses are impossible to verify. However, none of the individual assemblages from anywhere on the site is large enough or varied enough to warrant the appellation 'school', whether by the high standards of Nippur House F or the more modest remains of Ur-Utu's house in Sippar-Amnanum. Nevertheless, the Kish tablets are indubitably the remains of scribal schooling and other intellectual activity, wherever that took place—and they are highly significant for the light they shed on the variability of educational practice across a single settlement. That variability has been posited for Nippur (Robson 2001; 2002), but never demonstrated so clearly before.

At both Uhaimir and Ingharra C-8 to C-11, the assemblages of school tablets are in many ways strikingly similar to parts of that found in Ur-Utu's house in Sippar-Amnanum. However, basic sign-writing exercises are entirely absent, or unrecorded, at Kish (cf. Tanret 2002: 25–51), while Syllable Alphabet A, Syllabary A, and Ur$_5$-ra are rare or non-existent at Uhaimir (cf. Tanret 2002: 31–61). The Akkadian letter-writing exercises from that mound are of a type elsewhere unattested in archaeologically documented schooling environments, while the 'pseudo-Type II' tablets from Ingharra are also unique as far as we know. The few dated economic and legal documents found at

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[40] According to the card catalogue the OB letter 1929.823 (OECT 13 144; AbB 10 109) was also bought 'from an Arab, who said it came from Arab digging on Uhaimir'.

Uhaimir, and those from nearby trenches at Ingharra, suggest a date for the school tablets no later than the reign of Hammurabi, while Ur-Utu was educated many kilometres away over a hundred years later, during the reign of Ammi-ṣaduqa (Tanret 2002: 156), so we should not expect an exact match between curricula. Nevertheless, the similarities suggest that the tablets may be the remnants of home schooling for literate, but non-scribal, professionals.

None of the Type II tablets from anywhere on the site contain combinations of exercises familiar from the enormous Nippur corpus, which implies that elementary curricular order, if there was such a thing, was radically different here in Kish to that established for Nippur by Veldhuis (1997: 40–63), quite apart from the obvious difference in content. Yet the small assemblage from Ingharra Trench C-15 (which yielded only Type I and literary tablets) appears much closer to what we have come to expect from Nippur. However, Trenches C-6, C-7, and perhaps C-8, from the same mound are a salutary reminder that the past half-century's intensive study of Nippur has skewed our collective understanding of the range and variety of Sumerian literature. Over twenty tablets from these findspots, as well as from unidentified places within Kish, bear compositions in both Emegir and Emesal that are so far unedited or even unidentified. Further study by Sumerologists more competent than us would greatly enrich our knowledge of Sumerian literary culture. We can only regret that Jeremy is no longer with us—for who better to undertake that challenging task?

Contextualising the cuneiform tablets from the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition to Kish
Gibson (1972b: 121) and Moorey (1978: 90) have rightly deplored the interpretative opportunities lost through careless excavation and record-keeping by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition to Kish. But this study by no means exhausts the possibilities for the contextual study of the tablets that it yielded. In particular, all the administrative and legal documents from the city that are housed in the Ashmolean have now been published, with whatever findspot information is known about them. The sixteen Early Dynastic tablets from Kish are listed in AAICAB 1/1: 24. There are sixty-five Sargonic tablets from Ingharra in MAD 5, with additions and corrections to provenances in Gibson (1972b: 122–3) and nine further tablets in AAICAB 1/1 24. The forty-six OB tablets administrative and legal tablets attributed to Uhaimir (Tables 1–3) and seventy from Ingharra (of which eighteen are listed in Table 8) are published in OECT 13, with a few more in OECT 15 and AAICAB 1. Around four hundred NB legal records—mostly from Mound W, plus around thirty from the Ingharra C trenches—are published with provenances in OECT 10. (The five Seleucid legal tablets from Kish published as OECT 9 71–75, however, have no detailed provenance.) Thus in most cases useful contextual work along the lines presented here could be done without recourse to Ashmolean Museum records.

More intractable, though potentially equally susceptible to such an analysis, especially in the light of Petra Gesche's (2000) study of NB scribal schooling, are the NB school exercises and library tablets from Mound W and Ingharra. Many of the relevant tablets are copied in OECT 4, 5, and 11, as well as MSL SS1, though usually without findspot information. A large number of the elementary exercises remain unpublished, however, while others have been returned to Baghdad. A first attempt at identifying the core contents of the Mound W library has recently been made (Robson 2004: 46–62) but much more could still be done, given access to the tablets and the card catalogue.

APPENDIX A: PREVIOUSLY UNPUBLISHED OB SCHOOL TABLETS FROM KISH

1. Ashmolean 1924.833
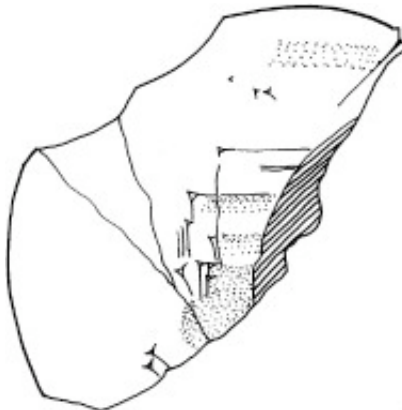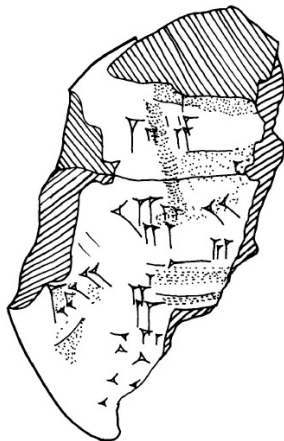
Fragment of Type IV tablet: erased calcula-tions on the obverse, and an erased numbered dia-gram (?) on the reverse. Maxi-mum diameter 8.5 cm; probably from Uhaimir (Table 4). Copy by ER.

2. Ashmolean 1924.2098
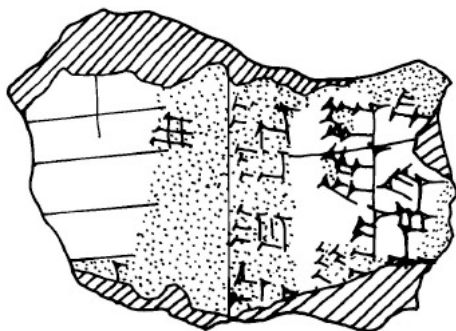
Fragment of a Type II (?) tablet: obverse blank; reverse two columns of Proto-Ur$_5$-ra urud (copper); perhaps the same tablet as 1932.177 from Ingharra C-11 (Table 10). Maximum measurements 5* × 3.5* cm; exact provenance unknown (Table 14). Copy by ER.

3. Ashmolean 1930.363g
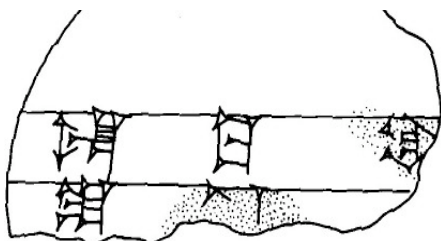
Fragment of a Type IV tablet: obverse personal names, reverse blank. Maximum diameter 7 cm; from Ingharra C-6 or C-8 (Table 7). Copy by NO.

1.	nin-teš$_2$-HAR
2.	nin-x-[…]
	[……]

4. Ashmolean 1931.149

Complete Type IV tablet: obverse personal names, reverse blank. Maximum diameter 7.5 cm; from Ingharra C-7 (Table 6). Copy by NO.

1.	ur-igi
2.	ur-igi-bar-ra
3.	ur-rum/bar

5. Ashmolean 1931.150

Damaged Type IV tablet: obverse Proto-Ur$_5$-ra na$_4$ (stone), reverse blank. Maximum diameter 6.5 cm; from Ingharra C-8 (Table 9). Copy by NO.

1.	⌜na$_4$⌝-ni-kar$_2$
2.	⌜na$_4$⌝-ki-aĝ$_2$
3.	[na$_4$]-⌜x⌝-ḫi-li-a

7. Ashmolean 1932.182
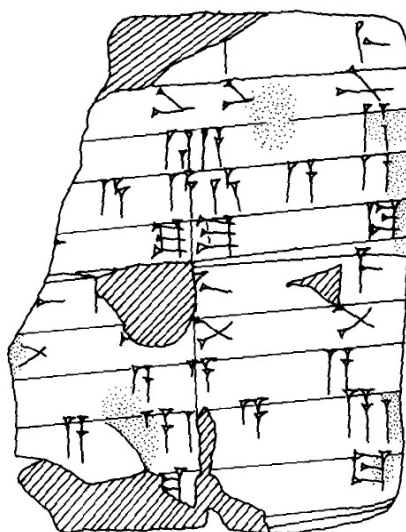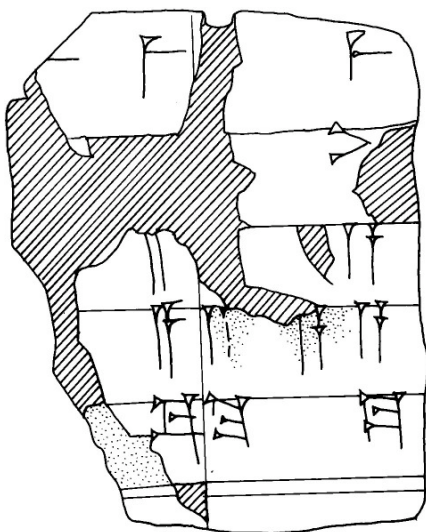
Pseudo-Type II tablet: obverse Syllable Alphabet A 1–5, reverse Syllable Alphabet A 1–5 repeated. Both faces have two columns, each written by a beginning student to judge from the uncertain orthography. A double ruling marks the end of the extract each time. Measurements 7.5 × 10 cm; from Ingharra C-11 (Table 10). Copy by NO.

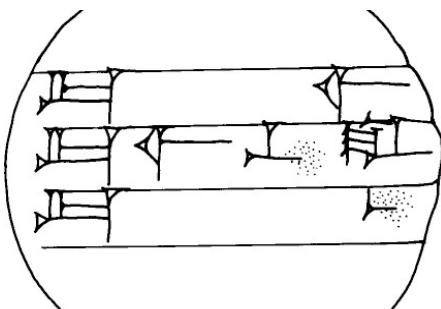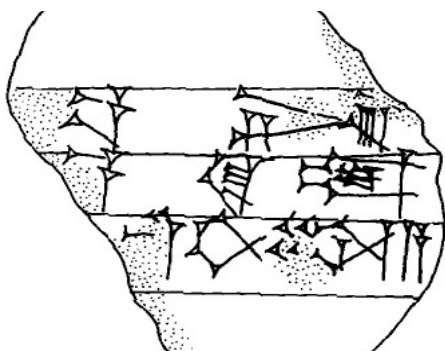## 6. Ashmolean 1931.184

Badly damaged Type I tablet, originally containing all of Syllabary A. Crude restoration with plaster-of-paris resulted in the misplacement of one fragment upside-down on the reverse and the addition of two pieces that do not belong to the tablet at all. Measurements 20* × 19* cm; from Ingharra C-8 (Table 9). Line numbers of the SB recension (MSL 3 1–45) are given on the right. Copy by ER.

Obverse I
Top of column missing

1′	[¶] ⌜RI⌝	15
2′	[¶] ⌜BI⌝	16
3′	[¶] ⌜BI⌝	17
4′	[¶] ⌜BI⌝	—
5′	[¶] ⌜NI⌝	18
6′	[¶] ⌜NI⌝	19

Rest of column missing

Obverse II
Top of column missing

1′	¶ DIM$_2$	57
2′	¶ NUMUN //	—
	¶ NUMUN	—
3′	¶ MU	59
4′	¶ ⌜ĜIŠ⌝	61
5′	¶ ĜIŠ	62
6′	¶ ĜA$_2$	63
7′	¶ ĜA$_2$	64
8′	¶ GANA$_2$	67
9′	⌜¶⌝ EN	69
10′	[¶] IN	70
11′	⌜¶⌝ SIKIL	72
12′	⌜¶⌝ SIKIL	73
13′	[¶] IGI	74
14′	[¶] IGI	75
15′	¶ IGI	78
16′	¶ IGI	79
17′	¶ HI	81

Ash 1931.184 obverse

18′	[¶ HI	82	12′	⸢¶⸣ DU	115	9′	¶ ⸢AM⸣	144
19′	[¶ HI	83	13′	⸢¶⸣ DU	116	10′	[¶] ⸢X⸣	—
20′	[¶ HI	84	14′	¶ DU-šeššig	118	11′	¶ ⸢X⸣	—
21′	[¶ ⸢KAM⸣	85	15′	¶ SUHUŠ	117	12′	[¶] IŠ	146
22′	[¶ ⸢KAM⸣	863 lines	16′	¶ I	119	13′	[¶] ⸢IŠ⸣	147

damaged;
end of column missing

			17′	¶ IA	120	14′	[¶] ⸢GAL⸣	149
			18′	[¶] ŠU	121	15′	¶ ME	151
			19′	⸢¶ ŠA⸣	123	16′	¶ MI	152

Obverse III
Top of column missing; approx. 6
lines damaged

			20′	¶ ⸢UH₂⸣	124	17′	[¶] MI	153

1 line damaged;
rest of column missing

1′	¶ ⸢KA⸣	106				18′	¶ ⸢X⸣	—
2′	¶ KA	107				19′	¶ ⸢X⸣	—
3′	¶ KA	108	Obverse IV			20′	¶ ⸢KASKAL⸣?	177?
4′	¶ KA	109	Top of column missing			21′	¶ DIN	157
5′	¶ ⸢KA⸣	110	1′	[¶] ⸢DA⸣	137	22′	¶ ⸢KU₄⸣	162
6′	¶ ⸢SAĜ⸣	111	2′	¶ TA	138	23′	¶ ⸢TU⸣	163
7′	¶ DUL₃	112	3′	¶ TI	139	24′	¶ TU	164
8′	¶ ⸢DUL₃⸣	—	4′	¶ UM	140	25′	¶ TUM	165
9′	¶ AN-⸢DUL₃⸣	—	5′	¶ DUB	141	26′	¶ TUM	166
10′	¶ ⸢DU⸣	113	6′	¶ MES	142			
11′	¶ DU	114	7′	¶ ⸢URUD⸣	143			
			8′	¶ ⸢X⸣	—			

2 lines damaged;
rest of column missing

Obverse V
Only line-starts extant
Extraneous obverse fragment:
1′   [......] di-kud!
2′   [......] di-kud
3′   [......] ⌜sar?⌝
4′   [......] sar

Reverse I′
Only line-starts extant

Reverse II′
Top of column missing

1′   [¶] ⌜IG⌝   310
2′   [¶] IG   311
3′   [¶] GEME₂   312
4′   [¶] GEME₂   313
5′   [¶] AMA   314
6′   [¶] DAĜAL   315
7′   [¶] ⌜UN⌝   342
No other signs extant in this
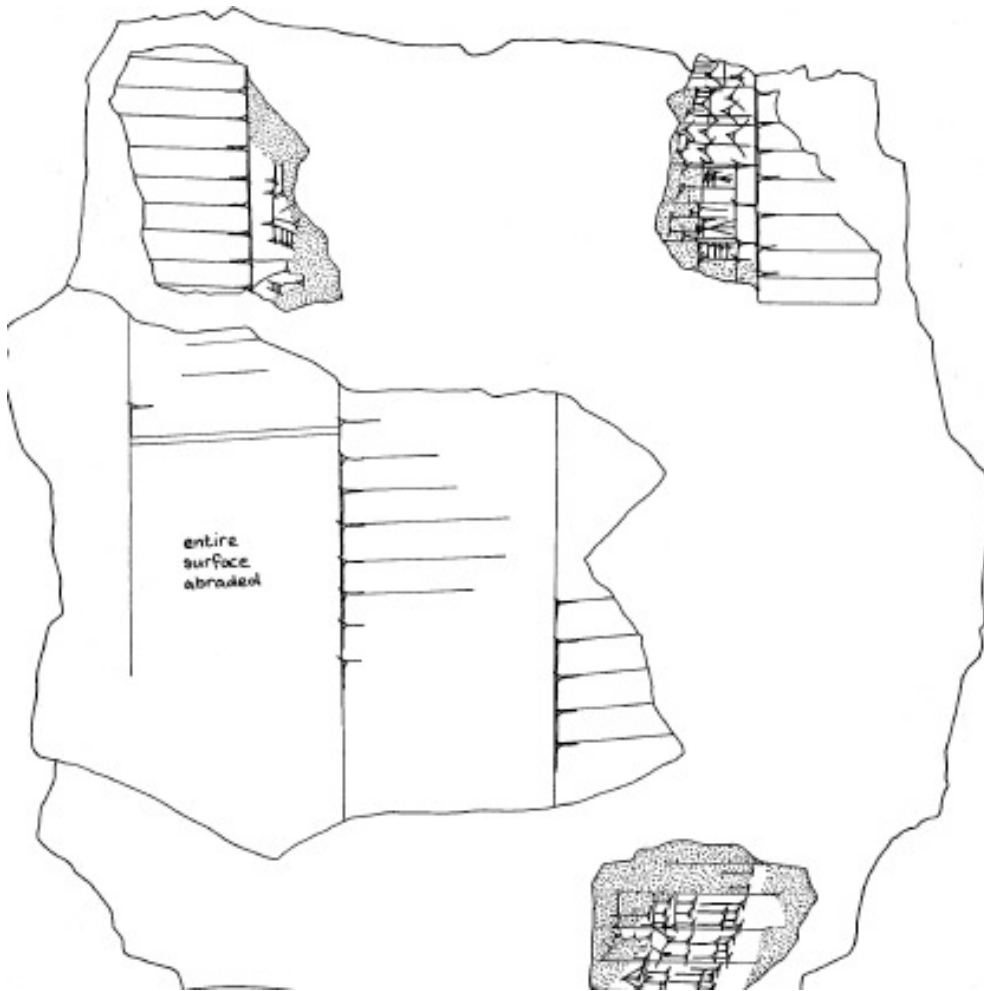column

Reverse III′ and IV′
Only line-starts extant

Reverse V′ blank

Misplaced fragment, probably from
this tablet, with two unidentified
signs and A

Extraneous reverse fragment:
1′   [...] ⌜dumu X⌝ [......]
2′   [...] dumu gu-[......]
3′   [...] dumu bi-⌜X⌝ [...]
4′   [...] dumu ku-⌜un⌝
Traces of two further lines

entire
surface
abraded

Ash 1931.184 reverse

APPENDIX B: CONCORDANCE OF MUSEUM NUMBERS AND PUBLICATIONS

Publication	Mus. No.	Table
AAICAB 1 100, pl. 58	1924.519	2
AAICAB 1 103, pl. 60	1924.582	1,
	1924.584	n. 10
AbB 10 76	1924.515	1
AbB 10 77	1924.517	2
AbB 10 79	1924.520	2
AbB 10 81	1924.524	3
AbB 10 82	1924.525	2
AbB 10 83	1924.532	1
AbB 10 84	1924.559	4
AbB 10 85	1924.571	3
AbB 10 86	1924.572	3
AbB 10 88	1924.588	1
AbB 10 89	1924.593	4
AbB 10 90	1924.595	4
AbB 10 91	1924.606	3
AbB 10 92	1924.610	3
AbB 10 93	1924.847	2
AbB 10 94	1924.875	2
AbB 10 96	1924.912	2
AbB 10 97	1924.915	2
AbB 10 98	1924.1244	2
AbB 10 99	1924.1291	2
AbB 10 107	1924.1378	2
AbB 10 108	1929.810	15
AbB 10 109	1929.823	n. 38
AbB 10 110	1930.177j	15
AbB 10 112	1931.81	n. 36
AbB 10 122	1932.373a	12
AbB 10 123	1932.373c	12
Goddeeris 2002: 286	1930.363a	7, 8
	1931.129a	7
Goddeeris 2002: 287	1924.607	1
	1924.1418	2
	1930.177m	15
	1930.363k	7, 8
	1931.83	8
	1931.100	8
Goddeeris 2002: 360	1931.100	8
Goddeeris 2002: 380	1930.363k	7, 8
Gurney 1977	1924.616	n. 10
Langdon 1932	1932.155	11
MSL SS1 91	1932.176	10
MSL SS1 92	1924.1405	14
MSL SS1 93	1924.563	3
MSL SS1 94	1924.576	4
MSL SS1 98	1924.587	4
MSL SS1 99	1932.177	10
MSL SS1 100	1930.177o	15
MSL SS1 102	1924.1716	14
MSL SS1 103	1929.818	15
MSL SS1 104	1924.1222	14
MSL SS1 105	1932.156c	11
MSL SS1 106	1931.137b	12
MSL SS1 107	1931.137a	12
MSL SS1 108	1932.392	15
MSL SS1 109	1924.1342	14
MSL SS1 110	1924.2139	14
MSL SS1 111	1924.581	4
MSL SS1 112	1932.187i+u	10
MSL SS1 113	1924.567	–
MSL SS1 114	1924.570	4
MSL SS1 115	1932.156d	11
MSL SS1 116	1932.187t	10
MSL SS1 118	1924.599	3
MSL SS1 p. 66	1924.575	4
	1924.1273	14
	1924.2017	14
	1924.2090	14
	1924.2098	14
	1931.184	9
	1932.156h	11
	1932.182	10
	1932.187b	10
	1932.187d	10
	1932.187g	10
	1932.187n	10
	1932.187r	10
MSL SS1 p. 67	1924.580	4
	1924.1066	14
	1924.1530	14
	1932.187w	10
OECT 4 157	1932.153	11
OECT 4 158	1932.154	11
OECT 5 1	1924.560	3
OECT 5 3	1924.1540	14
OECT 5 4	1932.156a	11
OECT 5 5	1924.1612	14
OECT 5 8	1937.646	12
OECT 5 10	1930.362	15
OECT 5 12	1932.415	–
OECT 5 16	1930.363b+i	7
OECT 5 17	1930.400c	6
OECT 5 18	1930.341a	5
OECT 5 33	1932.156b	11
OECT 5 36	1930.363h +	7
OECT 5 37	1930.402e	6
OECT 5 38	1930.385	12
OECT 5 39	1930.363j	7
OECT 5 40	1930.344 +	5
OECT 5 41	1930.402d	6
OECT 5 42	1930.399b	6
OECT 5 43	1930.345c	5
OECT 5 44	1930.402c	6
OECT 5 45	1930.230g	13
OECT 5 46	1924.1062	14
OECT 5 49	1924.1443	14
OECT 5 50	1929.808	15
OECT 5 52	1924.863	4
OECT 5 53	1924.1779	14

OECT 5 54	1924.569	3	OECT 13 71	1924.912	2
OECT 5 56	1924.566	3	OECT 13 72	1924.913	2
OECT 5 57	1930.366i	5	OECT 13 73	1924.914	2
			OECT 13 74	1924.915	2
OECT 11 6	1932.373f	12	OECT 13 100	1924.1244	2
OECT 11 7	1930.232h	13	OECT 13 103	1924.1273	14
OECT 11 8	1924.2058	14	OECT 13 105	1924.1291	2
OECT 11 9	1924.1374	14	OECT 13 121	1924.1378	2
OECT 11 10	1924.1474	2	OECT 13 123	1924.1404	3
OECT 11 11	1932.156g	11	OECT 13 124	1924.1411	1
OECT 11 12	1924.2041	14	OECT 13 125	1924.1418	2
OECT 11 13	1924.1573	14	OECT 13 128	1924.1532	1
OECT 11 14	1930.341b	5	OECT 13 143	1929.810	15
OECT 11 31	1924.2405	14	OECT 13 144	1929.823	n. 38
			OECT 13 145	1929.826	8
OECT 13 15	1924.515	1	OECT 13 146	1929.831	8
OECT 13 16	1924.517	2	OECT 13 147	1930.158	8
OECT 13 18	1924.520	2	OECT 13 151	1930.172a	8
OECT 13 20	1924.522	1	OECT 13 153	1930.177j	15
OECT 13 21	1924.523	1	OECT 13 154	1930.177m	15
OECT 13 22	1924.524	2	OECT 13 155	1930.232b	13
OECT 13 23	1924.525	2	OECT 13 156	1930.338	8
OECT 13 24	1924.526	1	OECT 13 165	1930.345b	5
OECT 13 25	1924.527	2	OECT 13 169	1930.363a	7, 8
OECT 13 26	1924.529	2	OECT 13 171	1930.363k	7, 8
OECT 13 27	1924.532	1	OECT 13 172	1930.366b	5, 8
OECT 13 28	1924.534	1	OECT 13 173	1930.366c	5, 8
OECT 13 29	1924.543	2	OECT 13 174	1930.366d	5, 8
OECT 13 30	1924.554	3	OECT 13 177	1930.402a	6
OECT 13 32	1924.558	3	OECT 13 181	1931.76	8
OECT 13 35	1924.564	3	OECT 13 182	1931.77	8
OECT 13 36	1924.565	1	OECT 13 183	1931.78	8
OECT 13 38	1924.568	3	OECT 13 184	1931.79	8
OECT 13 40	1924.559	4	OECT 13 186	1931.80	−
OECT 13 40	1924.571	3	OECT 13 187	1931.81	n. 36
OECT 13 41	1924.572	3	OECT 13 189	1931.83	8
OECT 13 43	1924.588	1	OECT 13 191	1931.94	n. 36
OECT 13 44	1924.589	3	OECT 13 192	1931.95	n. 36
OECT 13 45	1924.591	3	OECT 13 193	1931.96	n. 36
OECT 13 46	1924.592	3	OECT 13 195	1931.98	n. 36
OECT 13 47	1924.593	4	OECT 13 196	1931.99	8
OECT 13 48	1924.595	4	OECT 13 197	1931.100	8
OECT 13 49	1924.597	1	OECT 13 198	1931.101	n. 36
OECT 13 50	1924.598	3	OECT 13 199	1931.102	n. 36
OECT 13 51	1924.601	3	OECT 13 200	1931.103	n. 36
OECT 13 52	1924.604	3	OECT 13 201	1931.104	n. 36
OECT 13 54	1924.606	3	OECT 13 202	1931.129a	8
OECT 13 55	1924.607	1	OECT 13 205	1931.139	−
OECT 13 56	1924.609	1	OECT 13 206	1931.140	−
OECT 13 57	1924.610	3	OECT 13 207	1931.141	−
OECT 13 58	1924.611	1	OECT 13 216	1932.373a	12
OECT 13 59	1924.612	1	OECT 13 217	1932.373b	12
OECT 13 60	1924.613	3	OECT 13 218	1932.373c	12
OECT 13 61	1924.615	3	OECT 13 219	1932.373e	12
OECT 13 62	1924.617	1	OECT 15 149	1924.586	1
OECT 13 63	1924.619	1	OECT 15 150	1924.608	1
OECT 13 64	1924.620	3	OECT 15 151	1924.887	4
OECT 13 65	1924.847	2	OECT 15 155	1924.1303	14
OECT 13 66	1924.854	2	OECT 15 157	1924.1341	6
OECT 13 67	1924.858	2	OECT 15 159	1924.1575	14
OECT 13 68	1924.867	2	OECT 15 164	1924.1716	14
OECT 13 69	1924.875	2	OECT 15 167	1929.812	15

OECT 15 170	1930.363f	7	OECT 15 184	1932.187w	10
OECT 15 170	1930.365	15	OECT 15 249	1932.287	10
OECT 15 173	1931.92	9			
OECT 15 174	1931.93	9	Robson 2004: 15	1924.590	4
OECT 15 175	1931.137b	12	Robson 2004: 16	1929.833	15
OECT 15 177	1932.156e	11	Robson 2004: 17	1924.1214	14
OECT 15 178	1932.156h	11	Robson 2004: 18	1930.365	15
OECT 15 179	1932.187b	10	Robson 2004: 19	1931.137	–
OECT 15 180	1932.187d	10	Robson 2004: 20	1924.573	3
OECT 15 181	1932.187g	10	Robson 2004: 24	1931.91	9
OECT 15 182	1932.187n	10	Robson 2004: 25	1932.180	10
OECT 15 183	1932.187r	10	Robson 2004: 26	1924.1341	6
OECT 15 183a	1932.187s	10			

DISMEMBERING *ENKI AND NINHURSAGA*

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One of the most puzzling mythical Sumerian compositions must be *Enki and Ninhursaga*. Although it is largely complete and has been edited or studied several times,[1] descriptions of this poem by modern scholars could easily be thought to refer to different texts. In his edition Kramer (1945: 7) gave his opinion that 'the poet is translating into mythological language the results of his contemplation and speculation on certain natural phenomena involved in the agricultural life about him'. For Jacobsen too, in his contribution to Frankfort's *Before Philosophy*, it was the relationship of Enki and Ninhursaga, representing water and soil, that forms the essence of the text (Jacobsen 1949: 171–2). Commenting on Jacobsen's view, Kirk (1970: 94–5) sees the myth operating on two interrelated planes, one concerned with irrigation and the other with sexual irregularity. Like Kramer and Jacobsen before him, he treats it nevertheless as a single myth to be interpreted as a unity, finding explanations of the Dilmun sections in the central part, and vice versa.[2] Rosengarten also treats the text as a single coherent myth, like subsequent commentators, who however have tended towards Kirk's 'sexual' plane at the expense of the agricultural. Alster (1978: 19) for instance wrote that *Enki and Ninhursaga* 'is not basically concerned with agricultural life, irrigation, or any kind of natural phenomena, but primarily with the paradoxical beginning of sexual relations'. Similarly Attinger (1984: 5) concluded that 'l'idée centrale de notre mythe semble être qu'une sexualité socialement réglée (prohibition de l'inceste) est le fondement et le garant de toute société'. Finally, forty years on, Jacobsen (1987: 181) described the text again, saying that it 'consists of two originally separate and independent stories linked loosely to one another with no attempt at achieving any real integration and conformity'. He characterizes the entire composition 'as an occasional piece put together to entertain visitors from the island of Dilmun at a banquet at the royal court of Ur', and, although he describes the central part of the poem, on this occasion he does not venture to offer any very specific interpretation of the business between Enki and Ninhursaga. It might well be thought that we have enough modern interpretations already, but as with Sumerian grammar, so with much of the literature it is a case of *quot homines tot sententiae*, or to use our vernacular, the more the merrier. My discussion naturally depends on the work of the previous editors, but in citing the text, I use the ETCSL text and translation, and it is a tribute to Jeremy that thanks to his vision and effort a non-specialist in Sumerian literature feels able to tread cautiously into the field.

In the search to understand the poet's intentions it seems to me prudent not to treat it as a unified composition, but rather to follow Jacobsen's lead, and give due weight to the composite

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[1] Edited by Kramer 1945, and again by Attinger 1984, with the Ur text and an improved version of the Louvre tablet, and translated, with a commentary, by Jacobsen 1987: 181–204. For other commentaries see Attinger 1984: 32.

[2] These are not always convincing. Thus on page 96 Kirk writes that Enki 'grants abundant fresh water [to Dilmun] first by non-sexual means, but then by directing his seed into his wife, the earth.' Apart from the fact that Ninhursaga was not (at least usually) Enki's wife, it is hard to see why further provision should have been needed, or how the dissemination of his water/seed in the south Mesopotamian environment would have improved Dilmun's water supply. All the same, it is conceivable that the motif of Enki providing water (a) to Dilmun could have induced the composer of the final redaction to turn to an existing myth in which the outpouring of Enki's water or seed resulted in plants which could be recycled to yield the new deities required at the end of the myth.

nature of the text. Using Attinger's summary (1984: 2–3), but the ETCSL line numbering, the contents list of *Enki and Ninhursaga* may be summarized as:

I.   Provision of water for Dilmun (lines 1–63)
II.   Enki's incestuous relations with his daughters (lines 64–186)
III. Illness and cure of Enki (lines 187–278)

Jacobsen sees the first 'story' as *Enki and Ninsikila*, taking place in Dilmun and corresponding to Attinger's Part I. The second story, which comprises both parts II and III, he calls *Enki and Ninhursaga*. He emphasizes the text's switch from one female deity to another; and he draws attention to the fact that the final deity to whom Ninhursaga assigns a role after its birth is Ensag or Enzak, the god of Dilmun, thereby providing a linkage to the first story. Moreover, there is nothing in Part II which betrays any hint of a connection with Dilmun, and as Jacobsen (1987: 182) puts it 'the scene of the second story is most naturally seen as the marshes in southern Mesopotamia'.[3] It is hard to disagree with Jacobsen that the abruptness of the transition from the first to the second section, and the apparent discrepancies between them, point to two separate sources. On the other hand, although there are redactional differences between the three surviving versions, the scribal tradition evidently treated the text as a single composition, and even if it incorporates originally independent materials we need to understand the intentions of the final version. Hence when seeking to interpret the two 'stories' we may need to accept that one or both of them was not originally designed to address the same issues, and that not every detail in each one can necessarily be accounted for in terms of the agenda of the composite text.

   It seems possible that we might achieve a better idea of what both the final version and its component parts were aiming to achieve by concentrating on the structure of the text as it now stands, and on how the two parts were connected. To unravel this yarn, it seems easiest to begin from each end and so to consider first the Dilmun angle. Alster (1983: 55) is surely right to remark that one would not expect to find Kanesh in a piece of Sumerian mythology. This encapsulates the special place that Dilmun holds in the Mesopotamian consciousness, and the whole thrust of the composition as it stands now is to emphasize Dilmun's participation in the south Mesopotamian world. Whether or not Dilmun was also conceived of as some mythical paradise, these tablets were being written at a time when the real Dilmun, in the shape of the trading entrepôt on Bahrain, was well integrated into the everyday world of south Mesopotamia. The extra 21-line passage interpolated into the version of the poem written at Ur under Rim-Sin (in ETCSL between lines 49 and 50 of the standard version) serves to underline the commercial importance of Dilmun at the time. In Alster's words 'the text gives praise to the trade of Dilmun, with no reference to immortality beliefs or tumuli whatsoever' (1983: 55).

   To be more specific, at the start of the text the Sumer-Dilmun connection is conveyed by portraying Enki—one of the four principal Sumerian deities—'on location' in Dilmun, and in a close (if varying) relationship with Nin-sikil, a Dilmunite deity.[4] It is possible, though one could not insist on this, that the obvious reference to her name, in the use of sikil 'pure' as one of the epithets of Dilmun, constitutes a tacit claim that this was a Sumerian deity.[5] Following her

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[3] Note that Nintu(r) is regularly called 'mother of the Land' in our text. The Land (kalam) usually refers to south Mesopotamia and it would be surprising if it included Dilmun (*pace* Rosengarten 1971: 18).

[4] In *Enki and the world order* ll. 238–9 Enki himself entrusts Dilmun to Nin-sikil: [kur] dilmun^ki-na mu-un-sikil mu-un-dadag, [^d]nin-sikil-la zag-ba nam-mi-in-gub, 'He cleansed and purified the land of Dilmun. He placed Ninsikila in charge of it' (Black et al. 2004: 220; note the word play with sikil here too). The goddess written ^dNIN-sikil turns up in other contexts as Meskilak (see Falkenstein 1966: 107 with references for ^dmiš-ki-lak), and as such was indeed one of the principal deities of Dilmun as is apparent from Gudea's Cylinder A xv 11–18 where she is mentioned alongside Enzak (written ^dNIN.ZAG.GA).

[5] The syllabic rendering of her name Meskilak seems to show the Sumerian genitive ending and Jacobsen 1987: 183 gives her name as Nin-sikilak, translating 'lady of lustrations' (for the realization of the sign NIN

representations, Enki arranges for Dilmun to be supplied with fresh water, and that concludes the first part. Dilmun does not reappear until at the end of the text we find Ensag being made the 'Lord (en) of Dilmun'. He is indeed well known to us, in the writing generally rendered Enzak, as the principal deity of Dilmun.[6] His name is here written unusually as En-sa$_6$-ak, but this may well be a scribal allusion to the renowned Dilmun date industry, since the sign sa$_6$ is also used to write gišimmar 'date-palm'.[7]

In Alster's later contribution he concludes that the myth's 'aim is to show how the cult of Enki, the god of fresh water, ..., was extended into the realm of Dilmun' (1983: 59). Although this is certainly one way of looking at it, it seems to me that the emphasis is rather on how Dilmun was incorporated into the Mesopotamian scene: when Jacobsen looks for the audience among the Dilmunite visitors to the court of Ur, I feel he is approaching the intentions of the final redaction on about the right level, and that the religious dimension needs to be seen in its contemporary political context. Dilmun's participation in the south Mesopotamian world is asserted by affirming its membership of the Mesopotamian pantheon. To this end the motif of Enki's provision of sweet water to the island is used, providing the narrative content of the first section and bringing Nin-sikil into the story; and a complicated device is used in the final section to attribute Enzak's role as patron of Dilmun to the joint activities of Enki and another of the four principal Sumerian deities, Ninhursaga. Politico-geographical comment of this kind is often presented on a divine plane by literary compositions, accounting for relationships in the real world through a mythical metaphor or code. To take one example, the integration of Amorite population into the urban network of Sumer and Akkad was represented through the marriage of the god Amurru to the daughter of Numušda, the patron deity of Kazallu (cf. Postgate 1992: 271).

This Dilmun theme can thus be seen as an outer shell, enclosing the central part of the text which on closer inspection has no apparent connection with Dilmun. While the transition from Jacobsen's first story to his second is abrupt and instantly apparent, the same cannot be said for the transition from the second story to the concluding part of the poem where the Dilmun connection resurfaces. To describe this it is first necessary to summarize the plot of Parts II and III in a little more detail.

1. Enki digs his phallus into the dykes and reed beds (63–71).
2. He impregnates Ninhursaga, followed by a succession of goddesses: Nin-SAR, Nin-kura, Nin-imma, and Uttu, each the product of the previous liaison (72–185).
3. Instead of providing yet another daughter for Enki, and after an intervention by Ninhursaga, the cohabitation with Uttu, the goddess of textiles, results in the growth of eight different kinds of plant. Enki eats each one and determines its destiny (190–219).
4. Ninhursaga then curses Enki and absents herself—or so we presume from the news that the Anuna are troubled and that the fox strikes a deal with Enlil to bring her back (220–46).
5. Ninhursaga reappears and seats Enki in her vagina. Then she gives birth to eight deities in succession, each from a part of his body which is suffering, starting from the head, working downwards, and ending up with his 'side' (zag) from which she produces Ensag/Enzak (247–71).

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as a syllable beginning with m, compare *mu(l)lissu*, known to be an Akkadian form of ^{d}NIN.LIL$_2$). However, as Jacobsen implies, when she appears written ^{d}nin-sikil-la in l. 31 as the subject of gu$_3$—de$_2$, she seems to have lost her genitive suffix. The reason for this is unclear: one would have thought the name permitted an association with sikil 'pure' whether it ended -sikil.ak or merely -sikil.

[6] See, for attestations of Enzak, Vallat 1983: 95.

[7] See Jacobsen 1987: 190 n. 17 for the poet's fondness for etymological games, and Attinger 1984: 47 n. 92 for this one. Of course Attinger may well be right that this writing of the name was also intended to convey 'seigneur qui fait/a fait les choses bonnes'.

6.   Finally, she[8] allocates them, in the same order, a role in life which is in some cases associated with some aspect of their name, in others takes the form of determining their divine spouse (272–80).

Thus Enzak makes his appearance in the final lines of the composition, and this is achieved through a piece of scribal etymology. Rather as with the name Nin-sikil, the association of the name of Enzak with the Sumerian word zag, however artificial, on one level at least brings him into the Sumerian universe, and this can be seen as congruent with the overall thrust of the final version. That it is Enzag as the god of Dilmun that the author has in mind is underlined by line 277 which winds up the poem by saying 'Let Ensag be the lord of Dilmun'. It seems improbable that a foreign god would have been chosen to finish off a list of Enki's ailments by accident, and Enzak's appearance at this point (as well as that of Nin-sikila who in line 274 is assigned to Magan, cf. Attinger 1984: 46) must have been dictated by the Dilmun agenda. Hence this concluding reference to Enzak must be the work of the final redaction; but—and this is the crucial point—the same must be true not for the mention of Enzak alone, but also for the whole of the device through which he is brought into the narrative. For the entire episode in which his name, and the names of the seven other deities listed before him, are analysed to yield a connection with a part of Enki's body (lines 252–71) must surely be dependent on Enzak and his (to our eyes at least) rather less forced etymology. Although some of these seven other deities are moderately well attested in lists and onomastics, they do not otherwise feature in mythological contexts, and it is reasonable to conclude, as others have done, that they have been chosen for their potential to contribute etymological equivalents for the higher parts of Enki's anatomy. The entire list is there to provide Enzak with a Sumerian etymology and a place in the Sumerian pantheon. The presence of the seven other deities is therefore logically dependent on the theme that Enzak's name reflects the pain Enki felt in his side, and the answer to Kramer's question 'which came first in the poet's mind, the names of the organs or the names of the deities?' (1945: 8) must surely be the names of the organs. In other words, it follows that the end of the composition from line 254 at the latest must have been drafted when the opening Dilmun section of the composition (lines 1–69) was already in place or being created.

It would seem, then, that the end of the Enki and Ninhursaga episode, i.e., most of Attinger's Part III, belongs with the final redaction and the Dilmun theme; yet it is also dependent on Jacobsen's second 'story', so that it must result from an effort to connect the two. The question poses itself, how much of the Enki and Ninhursaga section of the text belonged to an earlier independent myth, and how much has been adapted or invented to supply the bridging material. If the illness episode had also wound up the hypothetical original second 'story', it would have had to be adapted to the Dilmun agenda (e.g., by substituting etymologically suitable deities); alternatively it could be a fresh motif tagged on the end of a pre-existing tale. Is it possible for us to isolate an original core to the second story which was present before anyone thought of incorporating it into a myth about Dilmun? Where should we draw the line between this core, and material created or inserted to provide the linkage between the two themes?

Here we are reduced to mere guesswork. Even if the specific details of the eight deities are dictated by the need to conclude with Enzak, the idea that new deities could be produced by the collaboration of Enki on the one hand and Ninhursaga on the other cannot have been entirely original. The author of the final version had the task of accounting for a new addition to the pantheon, and deities cannot materialize from nowhere. As Alster (1983: 59) points out, after its first section the myth 'is really a creation myth', and accounts of creation and the fixing of destinies are well known elsewhere in the literary corpus. Enki as the fixer of destinies is the subject of *Enki and the world order* (Black et al. 2004: 215–25), and in Enki and Ninmah, after a

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[8] So ETCSL and Jacobsen 1987. Attinger has Enki fixing the destiny of the eight deities, by taking line 272 (his 269) as an invitation from Ninhursaga to Enki to decree their destiny.

succession of false starts, he collaborates in the creation of a new person, the first human. There, as here, it requires the joint efforts of a male and a female deity to produce a successful result. There is no direct borrowing from these two compositions, of course, but it is sufficient to show that where the plot required the creation of a new god and the definition of his role, a story line involving Enki and a mother goddess was an obvious motif to use. At first glance, the illness episode could equally well have been a final part of the central story, before its incorporation in the new composition, or could have been invented to suit the new agenda. However, the names of the deities give the game away and in its present form at least it must belong with the final redaction.

One obvious link between Parts II and III is that the deities listed as emerging from Enki after his implantation in Ninhursaga's vagina are eight in number, just as eight plants resulted from his relations with Uttu and which he had tasted and provided with their 'destinies'. Except for the first in the list, ^{d}AB-u$_2$, whose association with plants (u$_2$) is hardly coincidental, there is no etymological or other connection we can spot between the plants named and the deities; but the facts that Enki had eaten each plant, that the new deities had somehow been extracted from his anatomy, and that there were eight of each, have led most commentators from Jastrow on (see Kramer 1945: 6 n. 23) to assume that a connection is intended. That must be right, but were both lists of eight originally part of the second story, or was one of them made up to eight so as to match the other which was already present? The creation of the plants appears to belong with the Uttu episode, since without some alternative outcome to the succession of divine daughters Enki's affair with Uttu would be left hanging in the air. This suggests, at least, that it is the eight deities that are secondary. Another consideration which might support this is the occurrence of two destiny-fixing episodes. It seems a little strange that the destinies of the plants are fixed by Enki (line 219 u$_2$ nam-bi bi$_2$-in-tar), and then that the newly created deities have their roles prescribed for them by Ninhursaga at the end of the text (though without using the phrase nam—tar).

Another consideration which might lead us to treat the motif of the birth of the eight new deities as secondary is that there is nothing in the episode of the creation of the plants and Enki's determining their destinies which hints that this is going to lead to some kind of illness.[9] Indeed, nothing is said about Enki falling ill: we merely presume that this happened because of Ninhursaga's eight times repeated question 'what part of you hurts?'.[10] The illness motif seems to be introduced so as to secure the joint ministrations of Enki and Ninhursaga in the production of the eight new deities, and to supply a lexical reference to parts of the body, thus enabling the poem to conclude with Ensag being appointed to be in charge of Dilmun. Why the final redactor should have chosen this motif we can only guess, but it might have been triggered indirectly by Enki's association with incantations against illness, which is already clear in the third millennium.[11]

If these considerations are accepted, it means that the dividing line between 'Enki and Ninhursaga' proper and the material required to give the Dilmun-oriented conclusion has to lie before section 5, but after section 3. What then of section 4, the curse by Ninhursaga and her disappearance and retrieval? Unfortunately these lines are both damaged and telegraphic. It is not explained to us why Ninhursaga had chosen to take offence, and it is far from clear that her curse in l. 220 was the cause of the illness she subsequently helps to cure Enki of. Commentators have reasonably assumed that her anger is directed against Enki's immediately preceding actions, i.e., the eating of the plants (so Kirk 1970: 92; Jacobsen 1987: 185), but the curse itself is obscure, and it is only a further assumption that it led to Enki's suffering in the eight parts of his anatomy.

There is perhaps one point at which the central story may reflect the end of the myth, and that is at its very beginning in lines 63–4 where the name of Nintu makes almost its only appearance. She is described as the 'mother of the Land (kalam)', and it is universally accepted by modern

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[9] Let alone his death. Kirk 1970 has Enki 'dying' (p. 92) or disappearing (p. 94), but this is reading more into the text than is there.

[10] Attinger 1984: 3 acknowledges the absence of reference to Enki's illness by placing (qui tombe malade) in brackets in his summary.

[11] See Cunningham 1997: 35–8 for the Pre-Sargonic period, 52 for the Sargonic, and 68–97 for Ur III.

commentators that she is the same deity as Ninhursaga in the rest of the poem, not least because her name does reappear in lines 85 [restored] and 127.[12] Not knowing how this section of the myth might have looked in an earlier form, the reasons may be lost to us, but given the authorial propensity for word-play and etymology, one possible explanation is that emphasis is here being placed on her role as the birth goddess.[13] In the account of the creation of the new deities it is plain that the author expected this to take place via the process of birth: lines 254–72 use the verb tu-ud 'be born; give birth' plain and simple. Whether we normalize her name as Nintu, Nintur or Nintud, it is composed with the sign TU, and it is not hard to imagine that this name was chosen, along with the epithet 'mother of the Land', with the explicit intention of foreshadowing the future events. In this case, the selection of this name to begin Part II could have been carried out at the final stage of the composition.[14]

One reason for the alternation in names could be that in the main body of Part II Ninhursaga in fact does not feature as a birth goddess so much as in her role connected with the earth. Although in 1987 Jacobsen rather retreats from his earlier natural-aetiological explanation, it is hard to resist the broad proposition that the growth of plants 'born of the marriage of soil, Ninhursaga, and water, Enki' (Jacobsen 1949: 171) includes reference to the process of agriculture. The congress of the two deities as a metaphor for the growth of irrigated plants is reminiscent of the opening lines of *Enuma eliš* which describe the formation of the south Mesopotamian alluvium as the result of the mingling of Tiamat, the sea, with the fresh waters of Apsu, and there is no doubt that as well as being a birth or mother goddess, Ninhursaga had a role which was closely identified with the soil of south Mesopotamia.[15]

To sum up, if, in view of the structure of the text, we should interpret the central section on its own terms, without reference to the opening or closing sections, this has clear implications for the interpretation of the different parts of the poem. It is not necessary to take account of the 'meaning' of the outer Dilmun shell when seeking the 'meaning' of the central core, and the efforts of earlier commentators to find an overarching deeper message which embraces the entire poem on the same level may have been misplaced.

Thus the Dilmun theme can be understood as an aetiological myth accounting for the incorporation of Dilmun in the Mesopotamian world through two episodes involving Enki at the beginning and end: providing fresh water and decreeing the destiny of Enzak. It is likely enough, as Jacobsen (1987: 182) implies, that the first section derived from 'disconnected bits of a longer tale'. The central theme is much more difficult to interpret, even after it is agreed how much of the latter part of the text belongs to the original Enki and Ninhursaga story, and how much is generated to provide the linkage to the creation and installation of Enzak. Since Kirk's structuralist analysis in 1970, commentators have tended to emphasize the sexual aspects of this part, and in particular have seen the episode of Enki's ailments as some kind of verdict on his behaviour earlier in the

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[12] That the two names may refer to the same goddess is evident, for instance, in Gudea, Statue A: the statue is dedicated to Ninhursaga 'the mother of (all) children' (ama-dumu-dumu-ne), but later on in the same inscription the statue's own name refers to 'Nintu, mother of the gods', surely meaning the same goddess. However, I think the role of syncretism is sometimes exaggerated. I can see no good reason for identifying Nin-sikila in our text with Nintu/Ninhursaga, as several scholars have done. As Alster 1978: 17 points out, 'The text does not explicitly state that she' [Nintu, later Ninhursaga] 'is identical with Ninsikilla, but if we assume that she is not, it is difficult to explain how she comes into the picture'—unless we acknowledge the inconsequentiality of the separate components. Nor does the text oblige us to identify any of them with Enki's regular wife, Damgalnunna (as is suggested by Attinger 1984: 3 and Rosengarten 1971: 20).

[13] A point made by Jacobsen 1987: 190.

[14] Gábor Zólyomi (pers. comm.) comments that, 'When followed by a vowel, the Auslaut of Nintu's name is always /r/, so Nintud is simply wrong' and wonders if she is not 'Lady Illness' (tur$_5$).

[15] Perhaps consciously constructed round the analysis of her name as 'mistress of the foothills' (so Jacobsen 1987: 191; compare the passage in Lugale where Ninhursaga is very explicitly assigned this role, in his translation of 1987: 254 or ETCSL *The exploits of Ninurta* 390–407), combined with an awareness that the alluvium was created from silt brought down from upstream by water.

narrative. Hence we find Kirk (1970: 97) writing that 'just as sexual regularity represses diseases in Dilmun …, so does sexual irregularity promote them'. The focus on sexual irregularity no doubt influenced Alster (1983: 59) when he described Enki's eating of the plants as an 'unnatural deed' and when he writes that 'Unlike Enki and his daughters' the eight new deities 'appear to be able to have normal sexual relations'. Independently Attinger (1984: 5) wrote that 'l'idée centrale de notre mythe semble être qu'une sexualité socialement réglée (prohibition de l'inceste) est le fondement et le garant de toute société …'.

The linkage between what seems 'unnatural' activity and Enki's illness depends on the assumption (not unreasonable at first sight) that the illness episode is part of the main central theme. However, if, as suggested here, that episode is only brought in to supply the linkage to Enzak, we need to understand the central theme without reference to it and it becomes less than certain that the poem has anything to do with sexual deviance. The connection between Enki's illness, introduced to provide the parts of the body, and his sexual activity, which belongs in a putative 'original' of Part II, is only secondary. Furthermore, it is dangerous to assume that the behaviour of deities under mythological conditions accurately reflects human social mores, given that in this particular instance the sexual activity described certainly generates plants and probably involves personified forces of nature.

Given the opacity of Sumerian as a whole, and the propensity for Sumerian poems to encapsulate crucial stages of their narrative in single enigmatic lines, or to omit them altogether, it is no surprise that modern interpretations diverge so wildly. For the central section my own inclination is to revert in part to Jacobsen's original perceptions of the effects of water on the alluvial soil of south Mesopotamia, but there remain too many unknowns to be confident of the precise message. We do not understand why the specific goddesses were chosen because we do not know enough about them, nor do we understand the choice of plants which resulted from the liaison with Uttu and were tasted, and had their destinies decreed, by Enki. Until we know more, it seems hard to propose an interpretation of the central Enki and Ninhursaga story with any confidence.

ADAMŠAH, KIMAŠ AND THE MINERS OF LAGAŠ

Daniel Potts—Sydney

In 1996 Bertrand Lafont published a short but interesting Ur III text from Tello (TCTI 2, L. 3859), which records the disbursement of cereal rations to 100 simug-hur-sag-ba-/al-me who were *en route* to Adamdun. Lafont (1996: 87) translated the Sumerian term in question as 'métallurgistes-creuseurs-de-montagne' or simply 'mineur' and pointed to two well-known references in Gudea's royal inscriptions to copper extraction in Kimaš:

Statue B vi 21–3 (Edzard 1997: 34): 'At Abullat, on the mountain range of Kimaš, he mined copper, and he (used it) to make for him the "Mace-unbearable-for-the-regions".'

Cylinder A xvi 15–17 (Edzard 1997: 79): 'From Kimaš, the copper mountain range made itself known to him and he dug its copper into baskets'.

Lafont has suggested that the Tello and Gudea references can in fact be related to each other geographically and this has led him to make a series of related propositions in which he:

1. identified Adamdun—or Adamšah, as discussed recently by Civil (1998: 11), following Landsberger—with Tepe Surkehgan, near Shushtar (Stève 2001);
2. proposed that the copper mountain of Kimaš be located somewhere in the copper-rich, central plateau region of Iran, e.g., at Veshnoveh (Holzer and Momenzadeh 1971) or Anarak-Talmessi (Vallat 1993: 140);
3. suggested that the Tello and Gudea texts taken together imply a route as follows: Lagaš > Adamšah (which he considers a transit point rather than a source of the mineral ore) > the copper mountain range of Kimaš.

In other words, 'il est alors cohérent d'apprendre, par notre petit texte de Tello, que les mineurs se rendant à Kimaš passent d'abord par Adamdun: c'est bien la route!', and Lafont has suggested a series of stages from Tello to Shushtar, and from Shushtar to the region of Tepe Sialk, near Kashan, amounting to roughly 600 km 'entre la province sumérienne de Girsu et la "montagne de cuivre" de Kimaš' (Lafont 1996: 93 and n. 27).

Lafont's interpretation of the relationship between the Tello and Gudea sources prompted a long study by D.R. Frayne (1999), who discussed the location of Kimaš from an east Tigridian perspective. One critical point in Frayne's argument was the distinction between *two* homonymous places known as Kimaš in late third-millennium sources, one in the east Tigris region, and one further east, closer to Elam (Frayne 1999: 144). The questions to be addressed in what follows include:

1. the identification of Adamšah;
2. the location of Kimaš;
3. the relationship, if any, between Gudea's mining activities in Kimaš and Bronze Age metallurgical activity on the Iranian Plateau.

ADAMŠAH

The Ur III references to Adamšah are well known (Edzard and Farber 1974: 3-5). The clearest indication that Adamšah was not located very far east is provided by the fact that the city paid gun_2-ma-da tax to the Ur III state. As Steinkeller (1987a: 37) has argued, this tax was paid by places on

the periphery of the empire throughout 'a large belt extending southeastward from the left bank of the Tigris and running parallel to the Zagros range. In the northwest its farthest extensions appear to have been Assur and Urbilum (modern Erbil), while in the southeast it reached as far as Sabum, Susa and Adamdun [i.e., Adamšah]'. Michalowski (1978a: 46) has described the areas which made these payments as 'the *limes*, the buffer zones of the "empire" which served as the defense line as well as the staging area for military expeditions against the enemy'. In contrast, areas like Nineveh, Anšan and Šimaški did not pay the tax, suggesting that Adamšah was closer to Ur than any of these areas. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that, like Susa, Adamšah received deliveries of barley from Lagaš (e.g., ITT 2 763; Steinkeller 1987a: 40–1 n. 68). If these proceeded by boat from the Sumerian city via the waterways to the head of the Persian Gulf and then up the Karun river system, then a location in Khuzistan is probable. Texts dealing with livestock sent from Adamšah to Puzriš-Dagan support this inference. Since one text (Smith College 475) records that 1331 sheep, 62 goats and 200 oxen (in addition to 225 dead cattle) from Adamšah were delivered to the high official Naša (on Naša cf. Sigrist 1992: 265) at Puzriš-Dagan as tax by Uba'a, the ensi$_2$ of Adamšah, in Šulgi's 47th year (Michalowski 1978a: 39), and another (Holma-Salonen 30) tells us that 1200 cattle were delivered in Amar-Suen's 8th and 9th years by the eren$_2$ Adam-šah, 'troops/workers of Adamšah' (Michalowski 1978a: 42), the distance covered between the two cities is unlikely to have been enormous. For the sake of comparison it is perhaps relevant to note two texts dated in the 6th year of Cambyses' reign, which show that a businessman named Itti-Marduk-balaṭu was in Babylon on the 30th day of the first month, and in Ḫumadešu, somewhere east of Susa—probably in western Fars or eastern Khuzestan—on the 15th day of the second month (Zadok 1976: 70). If he covered 30 km/day, then a distance of c. 450 km between Babylon and Ḫumadešu might be envisaged. Shepherds, cowherds and goatherds travelling with livestock would undoubtedly have travelled more slowly, but a migration covering a month is not out of the question.

Two Ur III messenger texts are also of interest. One (RTC 339) refers to an official (aga$_3$-uš; for the title, the exact function of which is unclear, see Sigrist 1992: 140) who went to Adamšah to inspect the *manu* wood/forest (Sigrist 1986: 57–8; Steinkeller 1987b: 92, willow, *Salix* sp.?). Significantly, the second (H 61 11) records a journey by a *sukkal* to Adamšah *in Elam* by boat (Sigrist 1986: 58). The qualification of Adamšah as being 'in Elam' again strengthens the suggestion that the town was not very far east.

Finally, the year formula for the 14th year of Ibbi-Sin's reign reads: 'Year: Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur, overwhelmed Susa, Adamšah and Awan like a storm, subdued them in a single day and captured the lords of their people' (Sigrist and Gomi 1991: 329). This strongly suggests that Adamšah was not located very far from Susa.

The location of Adamšah announced by Vallat in 1993 and elaborated upon in 2001 by M.-J. Stève was based on verbal information detailed in Stève's posthumous *Akkadica* article. In brief, a resident of Shushtar named Muhammad Ali Sharafeddin told Stève that his son had found a diorite tablet at Tepe Surkhegan, c. 6 km southwest of Shushtar, which bears the following Sumerian inscription:

1.	Gu$_3$-de$_2$-a	Gudea
2.	ensi$_2$	governor
3.	Lagaš (ŠIR.BUR.LA)^{ki}	of Lagaš
4.	lu$_2$ e$_2$-ninnu	who, the Eninnu
5.	^{d}[Nin-gir$_2$-su]-ka	of the god [Ningirsu]
6.	in-[du$_3$]-a	built
7.	^{d}Nan[še]	(for) the goddess Nan[še]
8.	dur$_2$(?) A-dam-⌜šah⌝$^{[ki]}$	who lives (?) at Adamšah
9.	[n]in-a-ni	his lady
10.	U+KID+UD-ga$_2$-ni	her chapel
11.	mu-n[a]-du$_3$	built

Figure 1: Tepe Surkhegan (February 2002; photo by the author)

Assuming this tablet was written at the site where it was found, there seems no reason to doubt that Tepe Surkhegan = Adamšah. Unfortunately, the situation is far from clear-cut.

In February 2002, I was invited by Dr Abbas Moghaddam (Iranian Center of Archaeological Research) to visit him in Shushtar and to see some of the Elamite sites he had discovered on the Mianab plain (Moghaddam and Miri 2003). On this occasion I came armed with a copy of Stève's article and after my arrival I explained the story related by Stève about the discovery of the tablet, wondering aloud whether there might be any chance of tracking down the family of its owner. Given the photograph published by Stève of Muhammad Ali Sharafeddin, which showed him to be elderly in 1972, I was fairly certain he must have died since Stève was shown the tablet. To my surprise, Mr. Moghaddam said that he had met a man in Shushtar by the same name, and even had his mobile telephone number. A telephone call quickly revealed that the man was none other than the son of the late Muhammad Ali Sharafeddin and when the story of the tablet was relayed to him he immediately stated that he of course remembered the tablet well, but that he was fairly certain it had *not* come from the surface of Tepe Surkhegan (no longer the name currently used in the village) and, furthermore, he himself had not found the tablet as claimed in Stève's article. Mr. Sharafeddin was unable to meet with us because he was away on business at the time of our telephone conversation. Nevertheless, we visited the site (Figure 1) which was easy enough to find using Stève's sketch map (see photos here). Several days later, before my departure from Shushtar, we were visited by a grandson of Muhammad Ali Sharafeddin who confirmed that he had a copy of the very photo of his grandfather published by Stève on his computer at home! However, by this time the son and grandson of Muhammad Ali Sharafeddin had discussed the tablet, and pointed out that their father and grandfather, respectively, had in fact lived for thirteen years in Iraq. Hence, the distinct possibility arises that the tablet was acquired in Iraq and brought to Shushtar by Mr. Sharafeddin who had a small collection of antiquities at home and obviously cherished it.

On the other hand, another scenario is possible. The tablet may indeed have come from Tepe Surkhegan, but fearing that the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization might try to re-possess the tablet, the son and grandson may have felt it better to suggest that the object originated in Iraq so that it could not be claimed as an Iranian antiquity. Whatever the truth of the matter may be, the replies of the younger Sharafeddins to queries about the text published by Stève must place a question mark over the positive identification of Tepe Surkhegan with ancient Adamšah, even if it remains a possibility.

KIMAŠ

If one accepts Lafont's suggestion that Adamšah lay on the road to Kimaš, then Kimaš must be sought to the north, east or south of Adamšah. Yet, as the history of scholarship on Kimaš clearly shows, few scholars would have supported such a proposition until recently. In 1930 Arno Poebel, correcting A.H. Sayce's reading of the legend on a cylinder seal in the Hermitage which seemed to identify its owner, Ḫu.un.NI.NI (Ḫun-ì-lí, according to Stève 2001: 16 n. 20; an Elamite name, Zadok 1984b: 11 s.v. 40, 14 s.v. 49) as both ensi$_2$ of Kimaš and šagin [= GIR$_3$.NITA$_2$, Stève 2001: 16 n. 20] of Matka (Poebel 1930: 136; cf. Sayce 1891: 162), suggested that Kimaš was located close to Matka which in turn was on a road which ran to Nuzi (Frayne 1999: 157–8) and has been identified with Matika, a locale near modern Kifri (Lewy 1968: 160), hence not far from modern Kirkuk. Over 40 years later the editors of RGTC 1 sought Kimaš more broadly between one of the Zabs (either the Upper or the Lower) and the Jabal Hamrin (Edzard and Farber 1974: 101). In 1987 Heimpel endorsed Poebel's view, suggesting that Kimaš was a 'Zwischenhandelsstation' rather than a copper source—notwithstanding the testimony of the Gudea inscriptions—since it lay on the western side of the Zagros watershed, far from the actual copper sources of the central Iranian Plateau (Heimpel 1987: 52; cf. Reiter 1997: 160 and n. 46).

Collation of the Hermitage seal inscription by Marvin Powell, however, has shown that the second title in the seal inscription should be read šagin of *ma-at* Elam^{ki}, not Matka. As Edzard and Röllig (1976–80: 593) wrote, 'dann entfallen die Lokalisierungsversuch von A. Poebel … d.h. im Bereich des heutigen Kirkuk'.

The combined title implying conjoint rule in both Kimaš and Elam is obviously an indicator of a possible location in Iran. In 1988 P. Steinkeller (1988: 201 n. 31) suggested that Puzur-Inšušinak's defeat of Kimaš and Ḫu'urti, and the subsequent capitulation of the king of Šimaški, implied that all three places—Šimaški, Kimaš and Ḫu'urti—were located in close proximity to each other. The relevant text passage reads as follows:

When Kimaš and the land of Ḫu'urti became hostile against him (i.e., Puzur-Inšušinak), he went and captured his enemies, and he defeated Ḫupšana and sprinkled (?) donkey mare's milk (over it?); in one day made x towns fall prostrate at his feet; and when the king of Šimaški came and seized his feet (in submission), (then Inšušinak heard his prayers).

The association between Kimaš and Ḫu'urti is, moreover, supported by the year formulae of Šulgi 46—'Year: Šulgi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, destroyed Kimaš, Ḫu'urti and their lands in a single day'; Šulgi 47—'Year after the year: Šulgi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, destroyed Kimaš, Ḫu'urti and their lands in a single day'; and Šulgi 48 —'Year: Ḫarši, Kimaš and Ḫu'urti and their lands were destroyed in a single day' (Sigrist and Gomi 1991: 325). It is not clear, however, why Steinkeller (1988: 201 n. 31) went on to suggest that Kimaš and Ḫu'urti 'can confidently be located in the western section of the modern province of Kermanshah, around the towns of Shahabad and Kermanshah'.

Vallat (1993: 140), on the other hand, influenced both by the circumstances of the Puzur-Inšušinak text (i.e., Puzur-Inšušinak's titles, ensi$_2$ of Susa, GIR$_3$.NITA$_2$ of Elam; and the capitulation of the king of Šimaški), which suggest an Iranian location, and by the Gudea sources, which link Kimaš with copper, has tentatively suggested that Kimaš was located in one of the richest copper ore-bearing regions on the Iranian Plateau, the Anarak-Talmessi area south of Tehran. In this he has been followed by Lafont.

Frayne, however, argues for the existence of two places called Kimaš. He suggests that the Kimaš referred to in the year formulae of Šulgi and Amar-Sin was located in the east Tigridian region. The existence of an east Tigridian Kimaš, according to Frayne, is confirmed by two Old Babylonian date formulae from Tell Ishchali which refer to campaigns against Kimaš and Ekallatum (Tell Haikal, c. 16 km north of Assur on the Tigris?) by an unnamed king of Ešnunna (Frayne 1999: 160; see Greengus 1979: 28 [yr 25] and 31 [yr 33]). On the other hand, Frayne

(1999: 144) suggests that a different Kimaš in Iran is implied by a) an Old Babylonian text from Nippur mentioning Kimaš, Ḫuḫnuri, Sabum, Kašdadun and Anšan (Ni 9717) and b) an Ur III text from Tello (ITT 4 7980) mentioning Kimaš, Susa, Adamšah, Urua, Sabum and Anšan. The nature of the Kimaš mentioned by Gudea—whether east Tigridian or Iranian—is unclear, in Frayne's opinion (1999: 159).

The fact that Ekallatum and Kimaš are mentioned in the same date formula is not, strictly speaking, a guarantee of geographical proximity particularly if, as W. Heimpel (2003: 609) has argued, Ekallatum should be sought on the west bank of the Tigris, rather than at Tell Haikal. Campaigns against two geographically separated regions may have occurred and the date formula may not have been intended to imply a link between them. In fact, in the Ur III messenger texts, envoys from Kimaš are mentioned along with several from other areas, most of which cannot be securely located. The texts include expenditures for the 'man of Kimaš and Niabru' in years ŠS 1–2; for the people of Kimaš and Zidahri in AS 8–IS 1; and for messengers of Marḫaši and Kimaš in ŠS 5–6 (Potts 1999: Table 5.3). Unless Niabru is a variant of Nibru, i.e., Nippur, it is unidentifiable. The same is true of Zidaḫri. Marḫaši can be identified with southeastern Iran, specifically the area including Tepe Yahya and the Jiroft plain (Potts 2005). Regardless of where Kimaš was located, it is unlikely that Marḫaši was contiguous with it.

Thus, there is still considerable doubt as to whether the sources refer to one or two places called Kimaš. While we cannot settle this question once and for all given the nature of the sources at our disposal, we may be able to decide whether Gudea's references to Kimaš best fit an east Tigridian or an Iranian locale by looking at some of the other toponyms associated with Kimaš, both on Gudea's Statue B and in some later sources which may be relevant.

ABULLAT

As noted above, Gudea's Statue B inscription refers to 'Abullat, on the mountain range of Kimaš'. An Akkadian text from Susa, dated in the 16th year of Gungunnum of Larsa, mentions oil from Abullat (MDP 10 73, no. 125, rev. 1; Edzard and Farber 1974: 1; Cameron 1936: 66) and in view of the scarcity of references to Abullat this is very likely the same place attested in Gudea's inscriptions. Because he supports the identification of Kimaš with Anarak-Talmessi, Vallat (1993: 4) has argued that Abullat 'doit donc être recherché sur le Plateau Iranien'. Herzfeld and, more recently Frayne, however, have suggested that Abullat is identical to Abul-Adad in the Sargon Geography ll. 14–15 (Herzfeld 1968: 233; Frayne 1992: 90; 1999: 159–60). There we read (ll. 14–15), 'From Ḫizzat to Abul-Adad: the land Akkad; From Abul-[Adad] to Ḫallaba: the land Gutium' (Grayson 1974–7: 61). Herzfeld suggested that Abullat lay along the road from Ḫizzat in the east Tigris region, which skirted the region of Gutium before heading towards Hamadan (Herzfeld 1968: 233). Frayne (1992: 57) has suggested a general location in the east Tigridian region, between Der and Nuzi, in the 'Zagros foothills' (Frayne 1999: 160). He has also proposed identifying it with the third millennium toponym ḪI.ZA^{ki}, and Old Babylonian Ḫišatum, 'thought to have been situated north of the city Mankisum on the Tigris river, probably at a point not far from the mouth of the Al-'Adhaim river' (Frayne 1991: 387–8). Moreover, as Frayne has noted, a door socket 'found at a tell near the junction of the Tigris and Al-Aẓīm [Al-'Adhaim] Rivers, that is, in the very area proposed for Ḫišatum' contained 'an OAkk. inscription of king Maništušu commemorating the building of the temple of the goddess Ninhursag of ḪA.A.KI' which Frayne (1992: 106 n. 80) proposed, in part on the basis of the alternation found in Early Dynastic literary texts between A and ZA, could relate to an original *ḪA.ZA^{ki} as a variant of ḪI.ZA^{ki}/Ḫišatum.

Interestingly, Herzfeld (1968: 232–3) had already anticipated Frayne in suggesting a link between ḪI.ZA^{ki} and *ḪA.ZA^{ki} when he wrote, 'Ḫizzat … that is Ḫazzat^{un}, Ḫaza, the Arbela region', and 'Ḫizzat-Arbela'. Such a location is reflected in RGTC 2 where the editors wrote 'Abullat im Lande Arrapḫa' (Edzard and Farber 1974: 101). Ḫazza near Erbil is mentioned in Islamic geographical sources, such as Ibn Hawqal (Hoffmann 1880: 236) and Qudama (Markwart

1930: 444) and in Nestorian records (Fiey 1965: 166), both as a town and a region. Yaqut wrote the name as 'Izza (Hoffmann 1880: 236, citing Muǧam 3, 663, 21; cf. Herzfeld 1907: 124).

A location in this area may also be suggested by the later presence in this district of the Greek toponym *Apollonia* and the corresponding regional name Apollonitis/Apolloniatis. This area, the theatre of Antiochus the Great's expedition against the rebellious satrap Molon (Polybius, *Hist.* 5.51–54) in 220 BCE (Bar-Kochva 1976: 117–23), lay astride the Royal Road between Arbela/Erbil and the Diyala river (Pédech 1958: Pl. 2) and was reckoned variously by the Greek geographers (e.g., Strabo, *Geog.* 11.13.6; 15.3.12) to be part of either Assyria or Babylonia and a borderland of Media (cf. Herzfeld 1907: 122, 124–5). Polybius (5.52) called the capital of the district Apollonia which Herzfeld (1907: 126) located, 'an der Dijala selbst, wenig nördlich von Khanikin an einem Nebenfluß, dem Alwan gelegen', continuing, 'Die Behauptung von der zentralen Lage dieser Gegend in Vorderasien begegnet häufiger. Ähnlich betonen dies mittelalterliche arabische Geographen und moderne Türken von Môsul'. In light of the fact that another Apollonia/Apologou in southernmost Iraq (Amm. Mar. 23.6; *Periplus M. Eryth.* §35), the forerunner of modern Basra, was a transformation of Akkadian *Ubullu*, while the Greek and Latin variants became *al-Ubulla* in Arabic (Obermeyer 1929: 203; Schuol 2000: 283), one wonders whether the trans-Tigridian, patently Greek name Apollonia may not have been a reflex of an already ancient Abullat or Abul-Adad in the area?

ḪU'URTI AND ḪARŠI
Beyond the fact that Ḫu'urti (Ḫuwurtum) and Ḫarši are associated with Kimaš, little more can be said of their location. This being the case, there is a serious risk of circular reasoning, wherever locations are posited, for these will necessarily tend to favour either the Iranian or the east Tigridian hypothesis for the location of Kimaš. Frayne has pointed to inscribed Old Babylonian bricks from a site near Ṭūz Ḫūrmātū (= Túz Khormali, Rawlinson 1841: map; not to be confused with Taza/e Ḫūrmātū/Ḫūrmātli discussed below, see Fiey 1968: 60 n. 2), about 45 km south-southeast of Kirkuk, 'at the mouth of the defile between the Naft Dagh and the Ali Dagh which is traversed by the Aq Su' (Field 1952: 44), which mentions a 'king of the land of Ḫuršītum', as well as a reference to this land in an Old Babylonian letter thought to have been sent by a king of Ešnunna (Frayne 1999: 156; Claudius Rich visited the town in April, 1820, and described a number of low mounds to the west of the village where antiquities were picked up by the local inhabitants [Rich 1836: 31–2]). The admission of this evidence obviously requires acceptance of the equation Ḫarši = Ḫuršītum (which Edzard and Farber 1974: 74–5 rejected). If one accepts the identification of these toponyms then the possibility of a trans-Tigridian location is not out of the question. Groneberg, on the other hand, following Hallo, located Ḫarši near Nisibis (Groneberg 1980: 93).

Turning to Ḫuwurtum, Frayne (1999: 162) has noted the similarity of Ḫuwurtum/Ḫumurti/Ḫumurtum and the toponym Tāza/e Ḫūrmātū, a town lying close to the Kifri-Kirkuk road and the Tawuz Çai river. This toponym appears in several different orthographies in nineteenth-century travel literature. Hoffmann (1880: 271) referred to a '30 Meter hoch gemessenen schönen Tumulus bei Tāze Ḫurmatli … der etwas abwärts von Karkha am Ḫāṣe-Tšai belegen ist', which sounds very much like it may have been an ancient settlement, assuming that 'Tumulus' was a misnomer for a high *tell* rather than a burial mound.

In sum, Frayne has made a series of arguments for a location in the east Tigridian region, linking Kimaš with other toponyms such as Abullat and Ḫu'urti/Ḫuwurtum which, in a general sense, return Kimaš to the area originally postulated by Poebel, albeit for different reasons. How, then, do such locations for Kimaš sit with our existing knowledge of the distribution of copper sources?

COPPER SOURCES OF LATE THIRD-MILLENNIUM MESOPOTAMIA
The resource poverty of Mesopotamia, including its eastern margin, is so ingrained in the literature that it should come as no surprise to find the Iranian Plateau invoked as a potential location of

Kimaš. The richness of the central plateau copper sources (particularly arsenical copper) around Anarak, where the two large deposits of Talmessi and Meskani are located, has been well documented in the metallurgical literature (e.g., Ladame 1945: 235–45; Bazin and Hübner 1969: 61–3; Pigott 1999: 78–9; 2004: 30). Recent excavations by a joint Iranian-German team at Arisman, in the heart of this area, are exposing a site which was patently involved in copper production and casting (Chegini et al. 2000). Furthermore, analyses done nearly a quarter of a century ago on copper objects from Susa, Sialk and some of the Hamrin sites showed that the copper used at these sites in the fourth and third millennia BCE came, at least in part, from the Anarak-Talmessi sources (Berthoud et al. 1980: Figs. 3 and 9; but see Pigott 1999: 80 with refs. to critics of Berthoud's methodology and geology). There is, thus, *prima facie* a temptation to endorse Lafont's hypothesis and Vallat's identifications.

At the same time, ongoing research in Iran has shown that while Anarak-Talmessi was certainly an important zone of copper mineralization, there were many other areas with significant concentrations of copper. From northern Azerbaijan, near the border with the Republic of Azerbaijan (north of Tabriz), through Gilan and the southern fringe of the Elburz mountains (i.e., west of Marlik), to the Hissar-Damghan region, southern Khorassan, Seistan and above all Kerman, which has perhaps the greatest concentration of copper sources, Iran is certainly not dominated by Anarak-Talmessi (see especially Vatandoust 1999: Fig. 2, which identifies over 150 copper deposits in Iran). Rather, research, with the exception of the Smith-Wertime-Pleiner-Caldwell expedition to the sources around Tal-e Iblis in the 1960s, may have concentrated on Anarak-Talmessi, but the sources, as many maps show, are certainly not concentrated in one part of the country (Pigott 2004: Abb. 2).

An objection to the location of Kimaš in the Anarak-Talmessi region consists in the very clear terms in which the Ur III sources locate another important Iranian region, namely Zabšali. In BT 4, Zabšali's borders extend from the frontier of Anšan in the south to the Upper Sea, in this case the Caspian (Kutscher 1989: 90; cf. Vallat 1993: cxiv). In light of Anšan's firm location around Tal-e Malyan in Fars, the implication of Šu-Sin's text is clearly that Zabšali extended in a broad belt up the centre of the Iranian Plateau and this would seem to run right through the Anarak-Talmessi region. This being the case, it seems unlikely that Kimaš could have been located virtually in the centre of Zabšali, and certainly such a location is not suggested by any other sources.

Finally, it is important to remember that copper was also available in the northwestern Zagros region. Writing on an east Tigridian Kimaš, Moorey (1994: 245) noted, 'This region is assumed to have been somewhere between the Jebel Hamrin and the Lesser Zab (Edzard and Farber 1974: 100–1) ... if this location is correct, it may have been just an entrepôt for copper from mines deep in Iran, or it might be a direct reference to the copper-mines visited by Layard in the Tiyari mountains, north of Amadiyeh (Layard 1849: i. 223)'. Layard has left a description of his visit to the mines of Tiyari (Figure 2) which is extremely important:

Our guides were some time in finding the mouth of the mine, which was only known to a few of the mountaineers. At a distance from the entrance, copper ores were scattered in abundance amongst the loose stones. I descended with some difficulty, and discovered many passages running in various directions, all more or less blocked up with rubbish and earth, much of which we had to remove before I could explore the interior of the mine. The copper runs in veins of bright blue; in small crystals, in compact masses, and in powder which I could scrape out of the cracks of the rocks with a knife. I recognised at once in the latter the material used to colour the bricks and ornaments in the Assyrian Palaces. After following several ramifications, as far as the accumulated rubbish would permit, I returned into the open air. The mine had evidently been opened, and worked at a very remote period; and its entrance was so well concealed by rocks and stones, that it was difficult to account for its discovery. In the Tiyari mountains, particularly in the heights above Lizan, and in the valley of Berwari, mines of iron, lead, copper, and other minerals abound. Both the Kurds and the Chaldæans make their own weapons and implements of agriculture, and cast bullets for their rifles, - collecting the ores which are scattered on the declivities, or brought down by the torrents. (Layard 1849: 223-4)

Figure 2: Detail of Layard's map of 1841 showing, near the top, the Tiyari mountains just north of Lizan (after Layard 1849). Amadiyah appears to the southwest of Lizan

The area, which today lies within the district known as Hakkâri just across the Iraqi border in southeastern Turkey, has been described as 'more picturesque than Switzerland', with 'extensive forests and in the early spring, following the melting of the snows, the sheltered slopes of the valleys are covered with many varieties of Alpine flora' (Field 1952: 64). If the Tiyari mountains and its environs are a viable alternative to the central Iranian Plateau as a location for the copper of Kimaš mined by Gudea, how does all of the evidence, in the end, stack up?

A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION

As we have seen, some scholars favour an east Tigridian area location for Kimaš (e.g., Moorey); others a location on the central Iranian Plateau (e.g., Vallat, Lafont); and still others suggest that there are *two* places called Kimaš mentioned in cuneiform sources (e.g., Frayne). Further, we have some scholars (Lafont, Stève) suggesting that Kimaš was reached from Lagaš via a route which led through Adamšah, even though no single text ever associates these names.

I suggest that, given the multiplicity of copper sources in Iran, the evidence for a location on the central Iranian Plateau is equivocal, and is certainly no stronger than the evidence that Kimaš be located around Damghan, in Azerbaijan, or in Kerman.

I further maintain that there is no convincing evidence to support Lafont's suggestion that the Lagaš text reporting the movement of miners to Adamšah, and the Gudea inscriptions reporting the mining of copper at Kimaš, are related. Stève (2001: 15) tried to bolster this argument by referring to an unpublished Susa text referring to 'Šeškala le gendarme, en provenance d'Adamdun avec du cuivre', but this is a spurious argument when we remember that copper at Susa or Adamšah was

acquired from a number of sources and it would seem highly unlikely that all copper flowed from the Anarak sources to Adamšah before reaching Susa, Lagaš or any other city of the Ur III empire.

If we leave the location of Adamšah out of the equation, the problem remains to decide whether the available evidence best fits an east Tigridian, more easterly Iranian or dual location for Kimaš. To recapitulate, the main indicators of Kimaš's location and the tentative conclusions reached about them may be summarised as follows:

- Abullat, on the mountain range of Kimaš—an east Tigridian location seems entirely possible on the basis of associated toponyms (e.g., Ḫizzat)
- ensi₂ of Kimaš and šagin of Elam—a location adjacent to some part of Elam seems implied by the pairing of these titles;
- Puzur-Inšušinak's defeat of Kimaš and Ḫu'urti, and the subsequent capitulation of the king of Šimaški—a location not far from Šimaški, which Stolper (1982: 45–6) has located 'among the valley systems to the north of Khuzistan and/or Fars' and Ḫu'urti (Tāze Hurmātli?) in the east Tigris district, but which I have identified with the Oxus civlisation (Potts 2008);
- Šulgi's defeat of Kimaš, Ḫu'urti and their lands in a single day—proximity of Kimaš and Ḫu'urti (Tāze Hurmātli?);
- campaigns against Kimaš and Ekallatum by an unnamed king of Ešnunna—proximity of Kimaš to Ekallatum which Frayne identified with Tell Haikal, c. 16 km north of Assur on the Tigris;
- Old Babylonian text from Nippur mentioning Kimaš, Ḫuḫnuri, Sabum, Kašdadun and Anšan (Ni 9717)—Kimaš in proximity to a series of Iranian regions, only one of which (Anšan) is securely identified, and another of which (Ḫuḫnuri) is located at at Tappeh Bormi (Nasrabadi 2005) between Susa and Anšan;
- an Ur III text from Tello (ITT 4 7980) mentioning Kimaš, Susa, Adamšah, Urua, Sabum and Anšan—Kimaš in proximity of a series of Iranian regions, two of which (Susa, Anšan) are securely identified, and one of which (Adamšah) is probably in Khuzestan (Tepe Surkhegan near Shushtar?).

To summarise, it can be argued that:
1. association with Abullat, Ḫu'urti, and Ekallatum argue for Kimaš's location in the east Tigridian area;
2. the shared office of ensi₂ of Kimaš and šagin of Elam, and mention alongside Susa, Anšan, Adamšah, Urua, Sabum, Kašdadun, Susa and Ḫuḫnuri suggest proximity to Elam.

These are essentially the points which led Frayne to suggest that two places called Kimaš existed. If, for the sake of argument, Kimaš extended roughly from the Tiyari copper sources as far south and east as the region north of the Jabal Hamrin, then it is just conceivable that its eastern end satisfies the requirement for proximity, in the loosest sense, to Elam and the Elamite toponyms noted above. While the east Tigridian criteria of an association between Kimaš and Abullat, Ḫu'urti and Ekallatum seem to have been satisfactorily met, the association with Šimaški delineated in Puzur-Inšušinak's inscription may appear to demand a much more easterly solution. In fact, this is not the case. As Stolper (1982: 45) noted in his discussion of Šimaški's location, one of the lands of Šimaški conquered by Šu-Sin was called Šigriš. Stolper noted the strong possibility that third millennium Šigriš was identical to Neo-Assyrian (Sargon II) Sigris, a place described as being 'of Media', and this is supported by Zadok (2002: 76, *s.v.* Sig/kris) who describes the name as 'pre-Iranian' and places it somewhere in western Media. In fact, it is likely that a variant of the same toponym survived in *Sigrianê*—'am Oberlaufe des Grossen Zab in der ehemals armenischen Landschaft Albak' (Markwart 1930: 399)—of which Strabo (*Geog.* 11.13.8) wrote, 'The greatest breadth of Media seems to be that from the pass that leads over the Zagrus, which is called Medic

Gate, to the Caspian Gates through Sigrianê, four thousand one hundred stadia' (cf. Marquart 1907: 24–5 n. 4, on *Sigrianikê* in Cl. Ptolemy 6.2 where Media is described; perhaps also corrupted in Pliny's ethnic *Sitrae*, *Nat. Hist.* 6.118; Markwart 1930: 399). Hewsen has suggested that in Strabo's passage the Median Gate referred to 'in this context can only correspond to the Kelišin Pass, which ever since Urartian times had been the major entry into Media through the mountain range that bounded it on the west, and since we know from his [Strabo's] reference to Mt. Iasonion (i.e., Mt. Yastasar) [Markwart 1930: 405 n. 1, however, identified Iasonion with Mt. Damavand] as lying to the left (east) of the Caspian Gates (11.13.10) that the pass leading from Media into the Talyš lowlands are the Caspian gates he intends, it becomes clear that his *Sigrianê* is a district lying somewhere between the two passes, and a location along the west coast of Lake Urmia fits this description well'. Hewsen has also suggested that the river *Sygris* on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which was located south of the Kur (in Azerbaijan) and was shown flowing into the Caspian (erroneously? perhaps Lake Urmia?), also preserves a reflex of the same name (Hewsen 1988–9: 302). These observations draw us towards that part of Iran demonstrably closer to the Tiyari mountains and their copper sources, making a location for Kimaš in the east Tigridian region even more plausible.

Although the possibility of two places called Kimaš cannot be ruled out, neither does it seem as absolutely necessary as perhaps it once did when the association between Kimaš and Matka was shown to be false. In any case, the alleged link between Kimaš, Adamšah and the 'road' to the central Iranian Plateau copper sources seems undermined by the lack of clear evidence linking the two toponyms, and by the much neglected testimony of Layard, astutely resurrected by Jeremy Black's esteemed Oxford colleague, the late P.R.S. Moorey, of copper sources in the Tiyari mountains of northeastern Iraq.

A PROHIBITION ON ONION GROWING IN PRE-SARGONIC LAGAŠ?

Rosemary Prentice—Oxford

The contribution I offer here to the memory of my doctoral supervisor Jeremy Black was originally part of my thesis—an 'excursus'—which proposes that onions were a restricted crop, and suggests a possible reason why. It amused Jeremy, and I believe he was also convinced by the argument. I am very grateful to him for his encouragement and careful reading of my thesis, which, as it tragically turned out, was the last he was to see through to completion. The general topic was the exchange of goods and services; the data was provided by the c. 1800 cuneiform tablets belonging to the pre-Sargonic archive from ancient Girsu (modern Tello in southern Iraq), a major city in the city-state of Lagaš. The archive dates to the end of the pre-Sargonic (or ED IIIb) period with the majority of the tablets written during the reigns of the last three rulers (Enentarzi, Lugalanda and UruKAgina) and covers a time span of roughly 20 years.[1] It is generally thought to record the transactions of an institution closely connected to the ruler's wife, which, until UruKAgina changed the name to e_2-^{d}ba-U_2 ('household of the goddess Bau'), had been called the e_2-MI_2 ('household of the woman').[2] For convenience the institution will be referred to in the following pages as the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2. By concentrating on the information provided by this archive it is possible to focus on a particular geographical location at a specific point in time.

Polanyi's (1944/1957) three modes of exchange, namely redistribution, commercial exchange and reciprocity, were used as a framework to structure the disparate information provided by the tablets.[3] The section of the thesis dealing with commercial exchange considered the various products handled by the merchants. In general the goods conformed to what one would expect, e.g., imports of raw materials and exports of manufactured goods, but there was one surprising item: onions. In seven documents amounts of onions were given to Uremuš, the chief merchant (gal damgar), for the purpose of exchange. Uremuš is known from many documents in the archive, sometimes working for the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2, and at other times for the Palace. One of the very few clay sealings from pre-Sargonic Lagaš bears the impression of his seal; the inscription reads Ur-e-muš gal dam-gar ('Uremuš chief merchant').[4] Sealings from his seal were also discovered at Kish (Fiandra 1981).[5] Although it is understandable that foodstuffs would be exchanged—particularly in a society where there was a division of labour—the small amounts involved, and the non-exotic nature of onions, did not seem to warrant the intervention of such an important merchant. Thus the question to be addressed was: what were the circumstances surrounding onions that would lead not only to them being considered a suitable product for exchange, but also worthy of being handled by a chief merchant?

In order to answer this question the archive of the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 was searched for all the documents which concerned onions.[6] Fortunately the archive provides many detailed accounts

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[1] Bauer 1972: 30 dates the archive to the years between 2374 and 2355 BCE, based on 2340 BCE as the date for the beginning of Sargon's reign and allowing a 15 year interval following Lugalzagesi's destruction of Lagaš in UruKAgina's seventh year.

[2] Bauer 1972: 54 notes that the e_2-MI_2 is mentioned in documents dating to UruKAgina.

[3] The thesis will be published as a volume in the series Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Münster.

[4] See Lambert 1981: 175–85 for a list of all documents where Uremuš (and other merchants) appear. The seal of Uremuš is shown in Allotte de la Fuÿe 1912: plate clxviii.

[5] Because there were fingerprints on the sealings, Fiandra consulted the criminal police of Rome (presumably for their expertise) and when examined, the sealings revealed overlapping prints (thumbs and palms) of several individuals.

[6] Tablets cited with the siglum VAT are published in Marzahn 1991 (VS 25) and 1996 (VS 27).

relating to the cultivation of onions (including planting seeds in gardens, field preparations, planting onion furrows and harvesting) as well as several documents which list onions among the offerings brought to the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$, and evidence that the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ occasionally included onions with the offerings presented to the deceased relatives of the ruler and his predecessors. But before examining these various documents it is necessary to clarify what is intended by the word 'onion'.

ONIONS

Onions have been described as 'an important addition to the diet in Mesopotamia, where they are grown as a field crop or as a garden vegetable' (Charles 1987: 11). The plants of the *Allium* family, which include *A. cepa* (onion), *A. sativum* (garlic), *A. porrum* (leek), *A. schoenoprasum* (chives), and *A. ascalonium* (shallot) are in nature perennials or biennials, but when cultivated they are 'usually grown as annuals, the plant being uprooted at harvest time'.

The Sumerian names for what are assumed to be plants of the onion family varied from place to place as well as over time and their modern correlations are not yet fully agreed upon. The textual evidence for garlic and onions in the third millennium is examined by Waetzoldt (1987: 25); for pre-Sargonic Lagaš he lists five different names: sum-Dilmun, sum-gišimmar, sum-GUD, sum-sikil, (sum) za-ḫa-ti.[7] However, not all of these terms necessarily represent different sorts of onion; he suggests that sum-GUD and sum-gišimmar may be merely different stages of development of the same plant.[8] Hruška (1995: 73), in the most recent study which discusses the onion family in pre-Sargonic Lagaš, remarks, 'The lexeme sum covers both onion (*Allium cepa*) and garlic (*Allium sativum*) and I see no way of distinguishing between the two.' Yet Stol (1987: 59), in his discussion of garlic, onion and leek, claims: 'As an axiom we assume that sum is garlic, but that sum followed by another sign is not necessarily a kind of garlic. In fact, we think that in most cases onions are meant, even when the sign sikil is not there.' However, Waetzoldt remains unconvinced that the term sum refers to garlic.[9]

Although it is certainly of interest to know exactly what plants are being discussed, for the purpose of this investigation, it is not a crucial factor in the argument, and for convenience, the word 'onion' is therefore used below to cover all members of the onion (*Allium*) family.[10]

THE CULTIVATION OF ONIONS

The documents in the archive of the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ which refer to the cultivation of onions indicate that onions were sometimes grown from seed in gardens (kiri$_6$) and then transplanted into the area of the fields called ki-sum-ma ('onion plots') to grow to maturity.[11]

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[7] Later in this article he adds five other names; Hruška 1995: 73–4 provides an English equivalent for these Sumerian terms, but his translations (following Waetzoldt) are either literal or etymological, and not informative in terms of modern plants; e.g., garas (leek); sum-dilmun (Dilmun onion); sum-gaz (onion for crushing); sum-gišimmar (palm onion); sum-GUD (spring onion); sum-kur (mountain onion); sum-sikil (light-coloured onion); si$_4$-lum (?); za-ḫa-ti (shallot or garlic).

[8] Based on his analysis of VAT 4654 (Waetzoldt 1987: 33); VAT 4892 also suggests this. However, the fact that different terms are used implies that they were seen as different things, e.g., (modern) courgette and marrow, and with regard to animals today, veal and beef or lamb and mutton are stages of growth of the same animal, yet are considered to be different products from the point of view of eating them.

[9] He notes that in Umma the daily ration for an envoy included 5 gin$_2$ (1 ½ litres) of sum-gaz (sum for crushing), and assumes this cannot therefore refer to garlic: 'Für Knoblauch scheint das etwas viel, doch konnten sich die Essgewohnheiten verändert haben' (Waetzoldt 1987: 38). (In some countries today, for example in Korea, garlic is eaten as a vegetable and consumed in large quantities.)

[10] Even today it is not always clear exactly what is meant by an 'onion'; Davidson 1999: 555–6 says: 'Onion is used both as a general term, applying to members of the extensive genius *Allium*, and as a specific one referring to regular round (globe) onions of the species *Allium cepa*'. 'Nomenclature among growers and in commerce is not internationally standardized, and the only advice which can be given is to "know your onions"'.

[11] It may depend on which member of the *Allium* family is involved. 'Onions can be grown from seeds or bulbs…and the young bulbs are transplanted' (Stol 1987: 61). Charles 1987: 12 notes that 'garlic is

Although Waetzoldt (1987)[12] claims that there is no word for onion seed in the pre-Sargonic texts, this term (numun) is used in DP 404. Two separate statements are recorded in DP 404, the first of which is directly of interest here: amounts of onions (sum sikil), under the charge of three persons,[13] are present (or available) in the garden called e_2-ku_4 ($kiri_6$ e_2-ku_4-ka mu-gal_2). The fact that the onions are measured in the 2-ul gur (which is the usual measure for (grain) seed), and are explicitly described as sum numun-am_6, leaves little doubt that these refer to onion seed.[14] (The second statement in DP 404 records that Uremuš takes an amount of onions for the purpose of exchange.) The next stage in the life of an onion plant may be recorded in Fö 69, a concise account recording two actions: (1) the gardener AN-a-gu_{10}[15] delivers amounts of onions described as tud ('seedlings' or young plants [Hruška 1995: 73]): 2 gur 36 sila tud sum-sikil-gal-gal and 72 sila tud sum-sikil-tur-tur which come from the onion plot of the garden e_2-ku_4 ($kiri_6$ e_2-ku_4-ta mu-DU), then (2) Eniggal plants [broken] in the field called Gir_2. Presumably Eniggal is planting at least some of the onion seedlings which the gardener had brought from the garden.[16] Other documents which refer to onions being planted by a gardener, or in a garden, include: BIN 8 369, where Eniggal gives AN-a-gu_{10} (the gardener) an amount of sum GUD to be planted in the sar ('garden bed for plants' [Selz 1993: 603–4]) En-ig-gal nu-banda sar-ra ga_2-ga_2-de_3 AN-a-gu_{10} e-na-sum; VAT 4732, a report on the sum GAZ sig (small onions for crushing) as well as gu (flax) and si_4-lum (?) growing in a garden of a field which belongs to Bau ($GANA_2$ ^{d}ba-U_2),[17] and DP 407, which records sum GUD and sum tud growing in a garden under the charge of the gardener Ur-nu.

THE 'ONION PLOTS' (KI-SUM-MA)

The term ki-sum-ma is loosely translated as 'onion plots'.[18] Although the majority of the plants grown in the ki-sum-ma belong to the genus *Allium*, sometimes other plants such as pulses (gu_2-gu_2), coriander (še-lu_2), and flax (gu) were grown alongside the onions.[19] The 'onion plots' were a separate part of the grain fields, but at the same time closely connected with them.[20] This is indicated by the records of planting and harvesting, where the ki-sum-ma are always given a location in a particular (named) field. For example, Fö 40 records the measurements of a nig_2-en-na field (a field reserved for the ruler)[21] which includes the ki-sum-ma within the nig_2-en-na.

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[12] propagated vegetatively by planting single cloves … leeks, on the other hand, are grown from seed'. The Marshall Cavendish *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1979: 359) describes a method of onion growing using small bulbs called 'onion sets' which are 'grown by specialist nurserymen'.

[12] 'Betonen möchte ich noch, dass m.W. in den präsargonischen Texten kein Zwiebelsamen erwähnt wird!' (Waetzoldt 1987: 26, 28).

[13] These three individuals are usually described as RU-lugal ('subordinates of the king' Maekawa 1987: 58) and are present in many documents of the archive where they are engaged in overseeing work of all kinds.

[14] The gur of pre-Sargonic Lagaš (usually written gur-sag-gal_2) contained 144 sila; the 2-ul gur contained 72 sila.

[15] On the basis of his role in other documents in the archive he appears to be an important person; he is probably the head gardener, and is frequently associated with onions, e.g., in VAT 4905, VAT 4667, DP 348, DP 405, BIN 8 369.

[16] The broken case could read ki-sum-ma or an amount and type of onion. Bauer 1972: 250 offers a résumé of the text: 'Die tud-zwiebeln kommen aus einem Garten; der Inspektor hat die Furchen (?) des Zwiebelbodens auf dem Feld Ganagir abgegrenzt, in die sie gepflanzt werden sollen'.

[17] The garden is described as belonging to Lugaleda ($kiri_6$ lugal-e_2-da-kam). In Fö 100 the garden of a $guda_2$ priest called Lugaleda is mentioned; otherwise this name is rarely mentioned in the archive.

[18] 'Zwiebelboden'. Hruška 1995: 21 translates 'onion fields', which gives the impression that they were fields in their own right rather than parts of fields. (He also calls them 'onion plots' and 'onion spots' [p. 29].)

[19] The overwhelming majority of the plants belong to the onion family. E.g., Nik 46 records 220 furrows for onions, 17 for še-lu_2 (coriander) and 9 for gu_2-gu_2 GU_4 (peas); VAT 4733 records 96 furrows for onions, 8 for še-lu_2 and 1 for gu_2-gu_2; Nik 48 records 171 furrows for onions and 1 for peas.

[20] According to Marzahn 1989: 36–7, 'Verwaltungsterminologisch war ki-sum-ma eine eigene Einheit, in der Realität jedoch handelte es sich—wie sich in einigen Fällen nachweisen lässt—nur um einen Anteil vom Getreidefeld.'

[21] The other two types of land were apin-la_2 (rental land) and šuku (PAD) (prebend land) (Bauer 1972: 79). See also Postgate 1992: 186, Fig. 9: 5.

Documents which record amounts of grain given to the ploughmen for feeding the animals while ploughing (e.g., Fö 184, Fö 133) include amounts of grain to feed them while ploughing the ki-sum-ma (še-gud-ku$_3$ ki-sum-ma) which implies that they are required to plough the ki-sum-ma when they plough the grain field. This suggests that the ki-sum-ma, if not actually part of the grain fields, was at least adjacent to them, probably at the edges of the fields (and perhaps only at the edge of certain fields).[22]

An important factor for the location of the onion plots was proximity to water. Vegetables required more water than the grain crops so it was logical to place them closest to the water supply. Since they grow on top of the furrows instead of at the bottom of the trough between the furrows, they could withstand any sudden flooding and at the same time act as a buffer to protect grain crops, especially those closest to the canals, from the danger of flooding. For newly planted grain fields wind erosion was another risk, so a border of vegetable crops (as well as orchards) may have helped to protect the grain crop as it took root.[23] Thus a combination of the textual evidence and the natural requirements for cultivation suggest a location for the onion plots as proposed by Marzahn (1989: 41, 43): he believes that the ki-sum-ma was situated at the head and foot of a field, at the points where the plough made its turn when ploughing.[24] In sum, the onion plots were part of the field system; they were adjacent to the grain fields and prepared at the same time, but they are designated by their own term, ki-sum-ma, and therefore were considered a distinct area within the fields. And these fields belonged to the institution of the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$.

PLANTING IN THE KI-SUM-MA

There are at least 30 documents which record onion plots being measured or planted.[25] They list the exact number of furrows (absin$_3$) intended for each type of onion, the area of land this takes up, and the name of the field. Some documents also note how many sila of each type of onion are to be planted in each furrow.[26] The attention to the exact number of furrows and precisely how much of which type of onion is to be planted (mu-sur)[27] gives the impression of very close control, which suggests that the crop was of some importance.

Since the fields in which they were planted are often specifically described as belonging to the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ and they were administered by the nubanda (Eniggal), it may be assumed that the ki-sum-ma plots also belonged to the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$. Therefore the harvest of onions (and other plants) would belong to the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ unless otherwise stated.[28] In ten of these 30-odd documents most, if not all, of the onions are described as belonging to the Palace (e$_2$-gal-kam), and in at least three documents the field is described as nig$_2$-en-na—in which case presumably all the onions being planted would go to the Palace when harvested.[29] The children and the mother of the ruler are also specifically assigned some furrows in several of the planting plans.

However, not all of the onion furrows are allocated to the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ and the Palace. Interspersed in fifteen of the planting plans are the names of important individuals who are allotted

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[22] In VAT 4460 the parcels of land being assigned are described as bordering on the transition into the onion plots (us$_2$-bal ki-sum-ma-kam).

[23] Marzahn 1989: 44 notes that compared to grain crops, onions have a higher tolerance to salt.

[24] Marzahn 1989: 37 presents a convincing description (and drawing) of the layout of the fields. His Table 3 lists the names of 12 fields which have ki-sum-ma plots. See also Postgate's drawing of the field system (1992: 175).

[25] Deimel 1925 lists and comments on 76 documents, almost all of which record the planting or harvesting of onions.

[26] Examples include: Nik 46, Nik 47, VAT 4733, DP 611.

[27] See Selz 1993: 413 for a discussion of the verb sur.

[28] For example, in VAT 4662 the field in which the ki-sum-ma is located is described as belonging to Bau but all the onion furrows are allocated to the Palace and the children of the ruler (UruKAgina).

[29] VAT 4783, VAT 4662, Nik 48, Nik 46, DP385, Nik 47, DP 394, Fö 189 , DP 396, DP 395. nig$_2$-en-na: Fö 40, DP 387, DP 386.

a few furrows each.[30] Several of these persons are known from other documents of the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2, and some may have been associated with the Palace or with other temples. Their occupations include: sanga (temple administrator), sukkal (messenger), dub-sar mah (chief scribe), sag apin (head ploughman), RI.HU (fowler), engar (farmer), ab-ba e_2-gal (Palace 'elder'?). Eniggal the nubanda of the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 appears most often; in ten of the planting plans he is assigned between 3 and 6 furrows of sum za-ḫa-ti or sum GUD, and in one instance (DP 394) 2 furrows of sum sikil. Ten other important persons appear only once or twice in the planting plans. For example, in DP 406 Nig_2-lu_2-nu-DU the messenger (sukkal) is allotted 2 furrows of sum za-ḫa-ti, as is Ur-^{d}nin-gir_2-su (ab-ba e_2-gal) who also gets 1 furrow of sum gišimmar, and in VAT 4656 ^{d}Nin-gir_2-su-lu_2-gu_{10} the fowler (RI.HU) and Lugal-pa-e_3 the farmer (engar) each receive 4 furrows of sum sikil. In Fö 189 Di-UTU the head ploughman (sag apin) is allotted 3 furrows of sum GUD and, in Nik 48, Nam-mah the scribe (dub sar) is allotted 2 furrows of sum GUD. Others who are allocated onions include Ur-sag (no occupation given) who is allocated 6 furrows of sum GUD (Nik 47), a sanga (no name given) is allocated 2 furrows of tud sum sikil (DP 408) and Nig-lu_2 (possibly Nig_2-lu_2-nu-DU the messenger) is allocated 2 furrows of sum za-ḫa-ti and 3 furrows of tud sum sikil (DP 408). In Fö 40, which is a record of the planting in a nig_2-en-na field, all of the 138 furrows are allocated to the Palace, except 1 furrow of sum GUD, 2 furrows of sum sikil gal-gal and 4 furrows of sum sikil, which are allocated to Gu-u_2; and 4 furrows of tud sum sikil, 2 furrows of sum sikil gal-gal, and 10 furrows of sum gišimmar, which are allocated to Sag-ga_2-tuk-ka. Gu-u_2 may be associated with the temple of Ningirsu[31] and Sag-ga_2-tuk-ka is recorded as a head ploughman (sag apin) in many documents.

Possibly in keeping with their high social position, the mother and children of the ruler are allotted a larger number of furrows; the ama-MI_2 (mother of 'the woman') is assigned 7 furrows of tud sum sikil, 4 furrows of sum gišimmar and 1 furrow sum GUD (DP 394), the daughter of UruKAgina, $Geme_2$-sila-sir_2-sir_2-ra, is allotted 7 furrows of sum gišimmar and 20 furrows of sum GUD (VAT 4662) and another daughter, $Geme_2$-^{d}ba-U_2, is allotted 2 furrows containing sum GUD and sum Dilmun, 6 furrows of tud sum sikil, and 10 furrows of sum gišimmar (Fö 189). The dumu-dumu-ne ('children' (of the ruler)) are allotted 6 furrows (VAT 4662) and 10 furrows (DP 611) of sum za-ḫa-ti.

Two documents which may record the allocation of onion furrows to the temple of Nanše are DP 377 and VAT 4476. In DP 377 Eniggal plants a total of 58 onion furrows in the ki-sum-ma of a field described as the field ($GANA_2$) of Nanše; included are sum sikil-gal-gal, sum GUD, and za-ḫa-ti.[32] VAT 4476 is a brief account which simply lists 18 furrows of za-ḫa-ti and 12 furrows of sum GUD, followed by the name Nimgir-$eš_3$-a-DU and the verb i_3-dab_5. This could be understood as Nimgir-$eš_3$-a-DU 'holds' these onion furrows.[33] It is likely that he is the same Nimgir-$eš_3$-a-DU who is connected with the temple of Nanše in NINA and therefore he may be holding them for the use of the temple.[34]

In two documents (DP 408, Nik 49) 16 furrows which are planted (with 96 sila) of sum za-ḫa-ti are described as maš-da-ri-a-kam.[35] The construction using -kam follows the same pattern as when

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[30] VAT 4656, VAT 4733, VAT 4662 (and duplicate TSA 40), Nik 46, Nik 47, Nik 48, DP 406, DP 408, DP 394, DP 395, DP 385, DP 399, DP 611, Fö 40, Fö 189.

[31] Gu-u_2 (along with two others) receives the regular monthly emmer offering to Ningirsu (Nik 61).

[32] The furrows of sum GUD are described as kur-ra (3 furrows), $kiri_6$-ra (5 furrows) and e_2-nig_2-ga-ra (17 furrows), perhaps to record that the onions came from the high ground, the garden and the storeroom.

[33] In the same way as šuku land is described as 'held' by the lu_2-šuku-dab_5-ba (who are interpreted as 'holders' of prebend land).

[34] In 12 documents Nimgir-$eš_3$-a-DU, a cult person (lu_2 nig_2-ag_2) of Nanše, receives fleeces from the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 (Selz 1995: 203–5). Otherwise this name is only attested in two instances, both late in UruKAgina year 6, where a Nimgir-$eš_3$-a-DU looks after pigs.

[35] Selz 1989: 226 argues that the construction (-kam) indicates that the onions being planted originated as a maš-da-ri-a offering. However, in VAT 4656 the first four entries of furrows are dug-up (mu-ba-al), then follows a series of furrows designated with a personal name and occupation -kam (e.g., ^{d}Nin-gir_2-su-lu_2-mu

a personal name follows a list of furrows (x absin$_3$ PN-kam). Therefore it seems likely that the onions grown in these furrows are destined to be used as maš-da-ri-a offerings.[36] (Nik 49 and DP 408 are identical except that interspersed in DP 408 are allotments to three individuals of 3-4 furrows each.)

When the numbers of furrows allocated to the Palace (or the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$) are compared to the numbers allocated to important persons it reveals how small an amount is assigned to these individuals. For instance, in DP 394 the Palace is allocated 205 furrows, the ama-MI$_2$ is allocated 12 and Eniggal is allocated 6 furrows; in Nik 46, 217 furrows are allocated to the Palace whereas Eniggal is given only 3 furrows (of za-ḫa-ti). In Nik 47, the Palace is allocated 185 furrows whereas Ur-Sag is given 6 and Eniggal is given 4 furrows; and in Nik 48, 163 furrows are for the Palace but only 2 furrows are for Nam-mah the scribe. However, although only a few furrows are allotted to these individuals, it is significant that they are assigned any at all, and that the exact details of amount, type, and field are noted in the planting plans.

HARVEST

Complementary to the records of the planting plans are the records of harvest deliveries.[37] The harvested onions are measured in gu-la$_2$ ('bunches' or 'bundles')[38] and are described as having been 'dug up' (mu-ba-al) from a specific, named field. Some accounts also state how many furrows were harvested for each type of onion (e.g., VAT 4833). The most frequently mentioned are sum GUD and sum sikil; the sum GUD in particular represent a large proportion of the total amount of onions harvested, but sum gišimmar, (sum) za-ḫa-ti and 'Dilmun onions' are also recorded.[39] Each type of onion is described as being either suḫ$_5$-ḫa (good?) and us$_2$-bi ('following', i.e., second-quality?). Possibly these are quality distinctions and may determine how and where the onions will be stored and eventually used.[40]

The harvest accounts vary in length; some are quite large and list onions coming from several fields and from up to three plantings. The total amounts in these documents indicate that the harvest was considerable. For example, DP 393 lists 1550 bunches of sum GUD and 13 bunches of sum Dilmun, all of which are described as belonging to Bau, and are taken into the storehouse (e$_2$ ki-sal$_4$-la). Often an amount is recorded at the end of an account which is expressed in volume (sila) and described as sag-bi ša$_6$-ga ('sweet heads of onion'?):[41] VAT 4654 records 419 bunches of sum GUD (of two qualities), 21 bunches of sum gišimmar and 37 bunches of sum Dilmun plus 1 gur 108 sila sum GUD (suḫ$_5$-ḫa quality) sag-bi ša$_6$-ga; DP 376 records 189 bunches of sum GUD and 72 sila of sum GUD sag-bi ša$_6$-ga. The amount expressed in volume of sag-bi ša$_6$-ga may be a calculation of the equivalent of the total number of bunches. However, because a harvest account was written to record the harvest from a specific field's ki-sum-ma it is more likely that the amount in sila sag-bi ša$_6$-ga is an additional amount of onions, possibly coming from an earlier harvest. An account which definitely shows that the amount in volume is not the equivalence of the amount of

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RI.HU-kam; Lugal-pa-e$_3$ engar-kam). Since these furrows are counted (mu-šid) it is likely that the onions are still in the ground, thus the -kam must be referring to the furrows (and the onions in them) and not that these persons (^{d}Nin-gir$_2$-su-lu$_2$-mu and Lugal-pa-e$_3$) have brought the onions to be planted.

[36] It is interesting to read of the New Guinea Highlanders who set aside separate sections in their yam fields for producing yams to be used as gifts in ceremonial exchanges (Rosman and Rubel 1978).

[37] Harvest records include: VAT 4833, DP 376, Nik 51, DP 382, DP 383, DP 381, DP 384, DP 390, Fö 6, VAT 4654, DP 397, DP 405, DP 393, DP 401.

[38] 'Bund' (Selz 1989: 228; Waetzoldt 1987: 27). Hruška 1995: 73 translates both gu-la$_2$ and sa as 'bundles'. Gelb 1965: 60 translates gu-la$_2$ as a 'string'.

[39] 'Dilmun onions' are listed in Nik 46, DP 385, DP 403, DP 408, VAT 4654, Fö 189. Dilmun onions are recorded only in pre-Sargonic Lagaš, although this is also true of sum GUD (Waetzoldt 1987).

[40] Stol 1987: 66 notes that before onions could be consumed they must be dried, whereas those intended for seed could be used without drying.

[41] Selz 1989: 228 translates 'mit sussem Kopf' and Waetzoldt (1987: 37) believes it is a quality description. However it might simply be a description of the bulbous part of the onion with the stalks and foliage removed, and that it is healthy ('good').

bunches is VAT 4654, where a final total (šu nigin) of the onions harvested from the ki-sum-ma is given at the end of the document, and the amount expressed in volume of sag-bi ša$_6$-ga appears as a separate amount. Not all of the harvest accounts list the onions in units of gu-lá. For example VAT 4742 records a total of 18 gur 72 sila sum sikil, all of which are described as onions of Bau. Perhaps because the onions are sum sikil they are not described as sag-bi ša$_6$-ga since this term is not associated with sum sikil.

It is explicitly stated in several documents that the onions being delivered belong to the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ (sum u$_2$-rum ^{d}ba-U$_2$).[42] The harvest from the furrows which had been assigned to the Palace in the planting plans would probably be taken directly from the fields to the Palace and therefore would not pass through the accounts of the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$.[43] Similarly, one imagines that those few important persons who had been allotted furrows would claim their onions as they were being harvested. The field of Nanše—which was noted above (DP 377) as being planted by Eniggal—is recorded in Nik 51, where it is harvested by Eniggal. Both documents date to Lugalanda year 4 and although there is a correlation of the number (and locations) of furrows for sum GUD, the furrows which were planted with sum sikil and za-ḫa-ti are not mentioned in Nik 51.[44]

Thus the combination of the planting plans and the harvest records suggests that the growing of onions was the prerogative of the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ (and the Palace). The fact that a very small number of important persons was allowed a few furrows underlines how restricted the access was to growing onions.

OFFERINGS

At various times throughout the year offerings, in particular maš-da-ri-a offerings, were delivered to the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$. The goods brought generally comprise animals, grain and grain products, beer, dates, and oil, but in a very few instances onions are among the items brought as offerings. Of the approximately 75 documents which record deliveries of maš-da-ri-a offerings to the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$, only seven of them include onions,[45] and one list of offerings for the festival of Bau also includes onions (BIN 8 356). The type of onion brought is sum sikil, and it is measured in small numbers of sa ('net'? 'strings'?),[46] although in DP 89 bunches of za-ḫa-ti (1 and 2 bunches) and 72 sila of za-ḫa-ti are brought. One exceptionally large tablet (DP 59) dating to Lugalanda year 3, lists maš-da-ri-a offerings and includes at least seven persons who each bring 10 sa of sum sikil.[47]

Those who bring onions are persons of importance and influence, most of whom are also independent of the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ and belong to (or represent) other institutions. Six are sangas of temples, two are officials (agrigs), the others have occupations of chief scribe (of Ningirsu?), field measurer of Ningirsu, head ploughman (sag apin), farmer (engar), doctor (a-zu) and nubanda. The impression is that of a small circle of people, since the same names recur on more than one offering list. The rarity of onions as an offering, and the small amounts involved combined with the high status of those who bring them, suggests that onions were highly valued and that perhaps they had a particular significance.

Onions were sometimes included in the offerings presented by the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$, to ancestors of the ruler and the (deceased) sanga Du-du. In five documents small amounts of onions (1 or 2 sa of sum sikil) are offered.[48] A stone bowl/mortar, which was an offering by Enanatum I to Ningirsu,

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[42] Examples include: VAT 4742, DP 384, DP 394, DP 378, DP 393, STH 51.

[43] BIN 8 369 hints at this procedure; the Palace receives a large percentage of the onions being pulled up (pad) by Eniggal.

[44] The field of Nanše is not mentioned in any other documents of the archive.

[45] DP 42, DP 59, DP89, DP 82, Fö 171, MAH 15855, MAH 15447.

[46] Bauer 1972: 636 translates 'Bündel'. Stol 1987: 66 also translates sa as 'bundle' and he notes that 'gu-la$_2$ seems to be a higher unit' (sa is also used to describe harvested reeds).

[47] The total (šu nigin) gives 85 sa sum sikil; the missing 15 sa may be on the damaged area of the tablet.

[48] Fö 120, Fö 172 DP 57, DP 222, RTC 58. In DP 40 the a-zu brings onions among his offerings for Du-du. (The profession a-zu 'doctor' is known from only two documents in the archive.)

bears an inscription which includes the information that it was a bur sum-GAZ ('a vessel for crushing sum').[49] The fact that this item, itself a valuable object and dedicated by the ruler to the principal god Ningirsu, was intended for crushing sum hints that sum was a prized commodity. And, it is of interest that in two documents which list the goods belonging to Geme$_2$-^{d}ba-U$_2$, the daughter of UruKAgina, along with beds, stools wagons, ploughs, hides, vases and other valuable items, a mortar (naga$_4$ sum) and wooden pestle (giš gan sum) for crushing onions are listed.[50] Their inclusion in this inventory, and in company with stone mortars (pestles?) for cedar (na$_4$ na eren) and essences (na$_4$ na šim)—both of which were expensive imports—indicates that the possession of implements to do with onions was worth recording, and that they were considered more than just general kitchen equipment.[51]

The final group of documents from the archive of the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ to be considered here are those which triggered this investigation into the role of onions.

ONIONS AS A COMMODITY FOR COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE

It might be expected that the agricultural products grown in the fields of the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ would be distributed in the form of rations since this would be the practice in a redistributive system. But onions do not appear in the ration lists, nor are they issued to messengers as part of their (food) supplies for a journey, as is recorded in later periods (Westenholz 1987: 92).[52] Rather, as seven documents reveal, at least some of the onions produced by the e$_2$-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ were used as an item of commercial exchange.[53] In general these are brief accounts, concisely written, and demonstrate two important points: (1) the onions are entrusted to a chief merchant, and (2) the use of the phrase nig$_2$-šam$_2$ shows that the onions are intended for commercial exchange.[54] For example, Fö 6 records that 7 gur 108 sila of sum sikil gal-gal ('large' sum sikil) which were dug up (mu-ba-al) by Eniggal from the ki-sum-ma of the field Gir$_2$, are given to Uremuš (dam-gara$_3$) for the purpose of exchange (nig$_2$-šam$_2$-ma-še$_3$). VAT 4783 records onions, described by the term sag-bi ša$_6$-ga, brought in (e-ma-DU) from the ki-sum-ma of two different (named) fields as well as 1 gur 108 sila of sum GUD from the storehouse (e$_2$-ki-sal$_4$-la-ta) being given by Eniggal to Uremuš (here called the dam-gara$_3$ of ^{d}ba-U$_2$), for exchange.[55]

Nik 95 is of particular interest; it appears to be an inventory of onions belonging to the goddess Bau (sum u$_2$-rum ^{d}ba-U$_2$): 6 gur 36 sila sum GUD sag-bi ša$_6$-ga, 2 gur 60 sila sum sag-bi ša$_6$-ga and 10 gur sum sikil.[56] All of the onions, a total of 18 gur 96 sila, are intended for exchange (nig$_2$ šam$_2$-ma-kam), but at the moment of writing the account only 36 sila sum are taken from these onions (sum-ma-ta), by Eniggal, and given to the merchant Uremuš. No other merchants appear in documents concerned with onions, so it is likely that Uremuš will deal with the remaining onions at a later date. Onions could be stored for a period of time, so it was not necessary to move them as quickly as would be the case with more perishable products. In contrast, DP 392 records 7 gur delivered from the ki-sum-ma of the field Ù-gig (composed of 3 gur sum GUD, 3 gur sum sikil,

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[49] Steible 1982; En I 18; Cooper 1986: La 4.4 translates sum as 'garlic'.

[50] See Steinkeller 1989: 37 n. 70 for comments on these terms.

[51] VAT 4632 (U2) and VAT 4724 (U 3). The daughter of Enentarzi was also called Geme$_2$-^{d}ba-U$_2$ but Selz argues (based on the presence of Di-UTU in VAT 4724, who receives her goods) that this Gemé-^{d}ba-U$_2$ refers to the daughter of UruKAgina. Di UTU, sag apin, is allotted three furrows of onions (sum GUD) in Fö 189, thus reinforcing the proposal that only important persons received onion furrows.

[52] He adds, 'Trade ventures are also possible'. (One wonders whether garlic was given to the messengers because it is a stimulant, and therefore a compact energy source, or whether it was intended as an item which could be exchanged to cover the costs met while on the journey.)

[53] DP 392; Nik 95; Fö 6; VAT 4783; DP 397; DP 404; VAT 4892.

[54] Steinkeller 1989: 156–60 discusses the verb sa$_{10}$ and nig$_2$-šam$_2$ and provides examples of use with various verbal infixes. He translates sa$_{10}$ as 'to buy/sell' and nig$_2$-šam$_2$ as 'purchase price'.

[55] Unfortunately the tablets are damaged where the type of onion is written and also the amount from the first field is broken; 36 sila are brought from the second field.

[56] It is puzzling that no field names are given in this inventory; possibly the scribe forgot to include this information.

and 1 gur sum gišimmar); added to this amount is 1 gur sum GUD from the storehouse (and it is noted that they come from the ki-sum-ma of the field called Gibil); and then all the onions (a total of 8 gur), which are described as belonging to the goddess Bau (sum-u₂-rum ^{d}ba-U₂), are given to Uremuš (dam-gara₃ ^{d}ba-U₂) for exchange.

VAT 4892 records a harvest of sum GUD from two plantings, totalling 250 bunches (gu-la₂) of two qualities (suḫ₅-ḫa and us₂-bi) plus 17 bunches of sum gišimmar that have been separated out from the sum GUD (sum GUD-ta e-ta-ri-ri),[57] all of which are brought to the storehouse (e₂-ki-sal₄-la-ka ba-DU). This is followed by the statement that 72 sila of sum GUD described as sag-bi ša₆-ga are given to Uremuš for exchange.[58] A further two documents include—along with other information concerning harvest (DP 397) or seedlings in a garden (DP 404)—the statement that a specific amount and type of onions are taken by Uremuš to be used as an item for exchange: 36 sila of sum gišimmar, sag-bi ša₆-ga (DP 397), and 1 gur 24 sila of sum sikil (DP 404).

In three of the above documents (Nik 95, VAT 4892, DP 392) it is specifically stated that the onions belong to the e₂-MI₂/^{d}ba-U₂, and in another (VAT 4783) Uremuš is described as the merchant of ^{d}ba-U₂, and, since the onions in the other three documents are handled by the nubanda of the e₂-MI₂/^{d}ba-U₂ (Eniggal), it may be assumed that they also belong to the e₂-MI₂/^{d}ba-U₂. Presumably the merchant is acting strictly as an agent and the e₂-MI₂/^{d}ba-U₂ would receive whatever was acquired in exchange—whether locally or abroad—for the onions; what this might be is not specified in any of these seven documents. Although there were several types of onions known in Lagaš, only three types are given to the merchant: sum GUD, sum sikil and sum gišimmar. This may be due to chance (and the small sample of documents), but it is also possible that only these three types of onions were exchanged. The amounts of onions given to the merchant range from small quantities, e.g., 36 sila (Nik 95, DP 397) and 72 sila (VAT 4892), to larger amounts of 1 gur 24 sila (DP 404) and 2 gur (VAT 4783), and up to about 8 gur (DP 392, Fö 6). Even when the onions given to Uremuš for exchange are said to come from the storehouse, the field where they were grown is noted (except in Nik 95). One wonders whether this was an important factor for the purchaser or a part of the administrative control. Possibly some fields produced better onions, or the farmer in charge of the field was held accountable for the onions he had grown. However, it means that this information was retained after the onions were harvested.

A comparison with the harvest delivery accounts shows that Uremuš was entrusted with relatively small amounts of the total number of harvested onions. As noted above, one delivery could be as many as 1550 bunches of sum GUD (DP 393), or 24 gur of sum sikil (DP 401). In contrast, the quantities given to Uremuš for exchange are much smaller: as little as 36 sila. Even if a relatively large amount of onions is eventually handed over to the merchant for exchange, as recorded in Nik 95 (18 gur), they are often dispatched in small quantities; this suggests a high value for onions.[59]

One final document (STH 52) which concerns onions and Uremuš (here called chief merchant of Bau), deserves a mention. In STH 52, rather than receiving onions for exchange purposes, Uremuš is bringing onions to Eniggal which are to be planted (mu-sur) in the ki-sum-ma of the field Gibil-tur. The first delivery (1 DU-a-am₆) consists of 36 sila sum GUD and the second (2-kam-ma DU-a-am₆) and third deliveries (3-kam-ma DU-a-am₆) are 36 sila and 48 sila of sum gišimmar respectively. Selz (1993: 413) suggests that these onions were obtained by Uremuš as the result of an exchange somewhere else,[60] but this explanation is not entirely satisfactory; it is not

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[57] Perhaps 'thinned out' from the furrows of sum GUD to allow the others to grow?

[58] The final total (šu nigin) of bunches (286) given at the end of the document does not tally with the sum of the bunches listed in the text (267). Possibly this difference (19 bunches) is accounted for by the 72 sila given to Uremuš, but this does not conform to the ratio of bunches to sila (1:2) derived from Waetzoldt's (1987) 1 gu-la₂ = 1-2 litres and Selz's (1993) 1 sila= 0.842 litre. Probably 1 gu-la₂ is not equal to 2 sila.

[59] The equivalence of gu-la₂ to sila is not known but since some harvest accounts record amounts in sila these may be compared to the amounts given for exchange. Waetzoldt 1987: 27 calculates a gu-la₂ as 1-2 litres, but since this is based on a chain of calculations it may not be correct for pre-Sargonic Lagaš.

[60] '… die vorstehend genannten Zwiebeln durch ihn (etwa durch Tauschgeschäfte) beschafft wurden und

clear why Uremuš would bring to the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ a type and amount of onions which in other documents he is shown to be taking away. The document states that the three deliveries are brought (mu-na-DU) in a specific month (itu ezem ^{d}li$_9$-si$_4$-ka). Therefore it is possible that this is not three deliveries (which have arrived due to an exchange transaction) but that the onions delivered are intended for three plantings. In other words, the 36 sila sum GUD are for the first planting, and the 36 sila and 48 sila sum gišimmar are for the second and third plantings. Possibly Uremuš is bringing onions to be planted in furrows which have been allotted to him. If this interpretation is correct, the other individuals who are allocated a few furrows in the planting plans may have been required to provide the onions to be planted in their furrows.[61] However, whether or not they supplied the onions to be planted does not alter the significance attached here to the evidence that a few individuals were allowed to grow onions.

To recapitulate the information pertaining to onions which was drawn from the documents in the archive of the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$, the following points may be considered:

1. Onion plots were a distinct part of the fields belonging to the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$.
2. Detailed records of onion planting reveal a close control of every furrow.
3. The onions planted and harvested were allocated to the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ and the Palace with a very small number of furrows assigned to a few high officials, relatives of the ruler, and possibly other temples.
4. The harvest was large, suggesting that the crop was well suited to the agricultural conditions.
5. Offerings of onions were in small amounts and brought mainly by high officials of other institutions (temples), and given by the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ to deceased family members.
6. A mortar for crushing onions was seen as an appropriate offering by a ruler.
7. Onions, occasionally dispensed in small amounts, were given to the chief merchant for the purpose of exchange.

Some of the above points, when considered individually, merely demonstrate that onions were appreciated and since there were no natural factors to restrict onion growing a large harvest was produced. That most of the furrows of onions were allocated to the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ or the Palace reflects the fact that the documents record the management of the lands belonging to the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$. Part of these lands were for the support of the ruler (nig$_2$-en-na land) and therefore it is not surprising that many onion furrows (even though the number is proportionately high) are intended for the Palace.

However, a few points are not so readily explained. Most intriguing is the fact that a very few onion furrows were allocated to a small number of important people. This implies that, although other documents record (some of) them receiving land, they did not have access to onion plots of their own. Combined with the fact that only a few important persons, usually sangas of temples, occasionally brought onions as part of their offerings and that a stone bowl for crushing onions was an acceptable offering from a ruler to a god, and, when added to this is the evidence that small amounts of onions were given to the chief merchant for the purpose of exchange, a picture begins to emerge regarding the special circumstances surrounding onions.

Taken together these points hint at the role of onions in pre-Sargonic Lagaš and suggest a situation in which a few growers, principally the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ and the Palace, could create a plentiful supply of onions. The fact that the production was so carefully controlled implies that the crop was valuable, while the small quantities of onions involved in offerings and exchanges also suggests a high value for onions. Presumably this was because the demand for onions was greater than the supply. To maintain this situation it would be necessary to limit the supply of onions; an effective policy would be to prohibit or restrict onion growing. This would be relatively easy to

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nicht aus einer normalen Ernte stammten' (Selz 1993: 413).

[61] Thus, the construction PN-kam would refer to the onions brought for the furrows and would be in keeping with Selz's understanding of the onions in Nik 49 and DP 408 (above) as coming from maš-da-ri-a offerings.

monitor as it would be difficult to grow onions secretly.[62] Thus, the first hypothesis concerning onions which accounts for the above points is that there was a restriction on onion growing.[63] But this does not explain why onions were chosen as a product to be exchanged.

A POSSIBLE REASON FOR A RESTRICTION ON ONION GROWING

If, as proposed, onion growing was prohibited for all but a few, it is legitimate to speculate on the reasons for this restriction. Conceivably it was to protect the maximization of grain production. Assuming that the area of land available for cultivation was fixed, any land used for other crops or activities would mean less land for growing grain.[64] However, if Marzahn's reconstruction of the layout of fields is correct, then onions were grown at the edges of fields in the area where the plough turned, which was a part of the field that was not very productive for grain. Growing onions in these patches would not mean taking land out of grain production and, as noted above, the onion patches may have been beneficial to the grain crops since their position would have protected the fields from winds and flooding.

A look at the consequence of restricting the growing of onions may reveal the intent behind such a policy. One obvious result is that the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ (and the Palace), by monopolizing the growing of onions, could control the supply of onions. But presumably the intention was not to restrict their consumption.[65] However, unless there was a demand for onions there would be no point in restricting the supply.

PURCHASERS OF ONIONS

Certainly onions do seem to be a food widely enjoyed (both in modern and ancient times), but for onions to be used as an item of exchange it would require that they were an attractive product to a consumer. There are two possible reasons why onions would be desirable: (1) either these particular onions were appreciated as a superior product; or (2) onions were not generally available. If the onions taken by the merchant were intended for exchange beyond the area of Lagaš, then possibly they were sought after simply because they were different in some way from what could be grown outside that region. Unfortunately this interpretation cannot be tested because the texts are silent with regard to the destination of the onions; the fact that they are entrusted to a merchant does not necessarily imply that they are to be exchanged in other cities.

If, on the other hand, the onions were intended to be exchanged locally two factors must be accounted for: (1) why those with land would purchase onions rather than produce their own, and (2) how those who survived on rations could afford to purchase any at all. Otherwise it is difficult to imagine who would be willing, or able, to enter into an exchange transaction to obtain onions. To address the second question first, the pre-Sargonic period has often been characterized as having a large labour force which had no access to land and which was maintained on grain rations. If the onions were intended for this segment of the population, one would expect the onions to be distributed, if not in the form of rations, at least as special food at the occasion of certain festivals, but they are not included in these distributions (e.g., VAT 4460, VAT 4414, DP 130). Since it is unlikely that these workers would possess anything beyond what had been saved from the grain

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[62] Unlike, for example, operating (an illegal) still.

[63] A corroborating fact, although admittedly coming from a different time and place, is the control of onions (as well as wool, dates and fish) in Old Babylonian Larsa (Koschaker 1942: 135–6, 157).

[64] The ongoing and increasing conflict with Umma may have required an intensification of grain production, possibly comparable to the situation in Britain during World War II, when—as I have been told by those who experienced it—there was a shortage of onions.

[65] The (social) connotations of onions cover more than just the taste. Darby et al. 1977: 661 relates some interesting attitudes and practices concerning onions, remarking that 'Throughout Egyptian history onions appear with a dual quality, sometimes greatly revered and relished; at other times, or by certain groups, avoided or forbidden.' *The Oxford Companion to Food* (1999: 555) notes that Brahmans and Jains are forbidden to eat onions. During the 17th century in Europe onions were considered to be an aphrodisiac. (See Sutton 1984: 185 n. 8 for a selection of references.)

rations, they would have little to offer which could be used to purchase onions. However, the picture of workers being maintained on subsistence rations by the 'temple-state' may not represent the true complexity of the situation. The barley ration lists (Maekawa 1973–4) show that there was a very wide range in amounts distributed to individuals: from 144 sila to 18 sila for adults; the different requirements of male/female, heavy/light work does not account for this huge disparity. Therefore, at least some individuals may have had a surplus of barley (i.e., more than they could consume), which could be exchanged for other commodities.

The response to the first point revolves around the question of who was permitted to grow onions. The individuals who held šuku (prebend) or apin (rental) land from the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 may not necessarily have been allowed to grow whatever they wished on these lands. Their rights may have been only to the harvest (or a percentage of the harvest). The decisions concerning which crops were to be grown (and which fields were to be left fallow) are likely to have remained with the central administration of the institution. It also seems likely that individuals who had their own lands were not permitted to grow onions, otherwise it is hard to explain why some important persons were granted a few furrows in the onion plots; it would appear to have been a mark of special privilege to grow onions.

Therefore it may be suggested that the intended consumers of locally exchanged onions were those who had what economists term 'discretionary' income—possibly in the form of unconsumed barley rations or derived from the produce of their own lands or the lands which they held from the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2. A common factor would be that these were persons who were not permitted to grow their own onions. So, supposing that there existed potential purchasers for onions, one may return to the possible reasons behind offering onions as a product for commercial exchange and how it was effected.

The involvement of a merchant suggests a situation where demand and supply did not coincide, since the role of a merchant is often to negotiate this difference. The phrase níg-šám encompasses this idea. The concept of 'equivalence' suggests that both parties in the transaction are content with the exchange, and each may feel they have gained a 'profit' by exchanging something of which they have a supply for something of which they have a shortage. In this case the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 has a supply of onions, so the problem confronting the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 is to make sure the other party has a shortage of onions.[66] If the supply of onions was controlled, and the demand was high, then the supplier would be in a position to create an artificial shortage. This leads to the second hypothesis concerning onions, which proposes that by restricting who could grow onions the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 and the Palace could create a commodity for exchange. An imbalance in the supply and demand would increase the value of the onions and, particularly when the product is grown at little cost to the producer, as is the case with onions, the profit margin could be very high. Those who were permitted to grow onions—the ruler, the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 and possibly other temple institutions— would be in a position to use onions as a source of revenue, either through sale or as a reciprocal item in a gift exchange. Presuming there was a demand for onions, this situation would be to their advantage; by controlling the supply and distribution of onions the e_2-MI_2/^{d}ba-U_2 would not only 'create' a commodity for exchange but could also influence the exchange rate.[67]

A discussion of onions in pre-Sargonic Lagaš would be incomplete without mentioning the 'Reforms' of UruKAgina. In the first section of the text, which supposedly lists a series of former abuses, the ruler's onion plot is ploughed by the oxen of the gods (gu_4-dingir-re_3-ne-ke_4 ki-sum-ma ense$_2$-ka i_3 uru$_4$).[68] The fact that onion plots are mentioned in connection with both the ruler and the gods hints at a special status for onions and it is interesting that this particular abuse is not 'rectified' in the second part of the text. This agrees with the planting plans of the onion plots,

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[66] Or perhaps a shortage of a particular kind of onions?
[67] This is true in many places today with respect to the distilling of spirits and the reason presumably is the same, i.e., channelling a source of revenue.
[68] Steible 1982: 92; see also Cooper 1986: 71.

which show a high proportion of the furrows being allocated to the Palace, even during the rule of UruKAgina.

In conclusion, although the fact that onions were used as an item of exchange may, at first sight, be interpreted as the producers' (in this case the e_2-MI$_2$/^{d}ba-U$_2$ and the Palace) solution to a surplus of onions, perhaps a more sophisticated explanation is in order. The key which fits all the documents dealing with onions is not a surplus, but—from the point of view of the general consumer—a shortage. It is proposed here that this shortage of available onions was artificially created by the administration's policy of controlling and monopolizing the supply of onions by restricting or prohibiting the growing of onions by unauthorized persons. Possibly this was intended to create a commodity which could be used (by those who could grow onions) for exchange. As is often noted, the raw materials available in southern Iraq are few, so there was a need to have goods (or silver) which could be used to obtain the necessary imports. The exchange of goods could be made directly with the suppliers beyond Lagaš, or indirectly by first raising revenue from a series of internal exchanges. The challenge would be to find something to exchange —to create a commodity which others wanted but did not have, and which could be readily produced. Textiles are often interpreted as playing this role, but onions may have provided another option. Onions are an ideal product for exchange: there seems to be a demand, they are easily produced, no imports are required, they are storable for a length of time and, most important, the supply can be controlled.

GATEKEEPERS AND LOCK MASTERS:
THE CONTROL OF ACCESS IN ASSYRIAN PALACES

KAREN RADNER—LONDON

By definition, a palace is the residence of persons of elevated status.[1] Therefore access to the palace needs to be limited and controlled in order to protect the palace's inhabitants and their belongings as well as the palace's precious furnishings from the outside world. Following the Oriental tradition, moreover, a Neo-Assyrian palace consisted of different quarters—residential, representative and administrative—which had to be delimited from each other.

Most essential was of course the safety and the privacy of the palace's most important occupant, the king. Many letters from the royal correspondence illustrate how secluded a life the Assyrian king led when residing in his palace. It was never easy to meet the king. Whoever wished to see him had to apply for an audience and wait until it was granted.[2] Chance meetings were rare, and even the visits of close family relations were usually pre-arranged.[3]

In order to control access to the palace and its various quarters, a number of means were employed. The concern for limited accessibility is reflected in the architecture of the Neo-Assyrian palaces. We may note the following general principles: the palaces were usually separated architecturally from the rest of the city; they could not be overlooked from the outside; and they had few and easily controllable entrances, both from the outside and between the different palace quarters. These entrances were equipped with one or, more commonly, two wooden door leaves which were reinforced by horizontal metal strips.[4] With the help of these strips, the door leaves were attached to vertical door posts which turned on pivot-stones. The detailed set-up of such doors has been reconstructed from the remains of the temple doors from Imgur-Illil, modern Balawat.[5]

Whenever deemed necessary, doors were equipped with bolts and locks. In order to protect a room from intruders, it is sufficient to bar a door from the inside with the help of a bolt. But in order to hinder somebody on the inside from leaving, a simple bolt is not enough; it has to be secured with a lock. Internal locks were installed at the exterior gates of a palace, but they may also have been deemed useful in order to lock up the women's quarters or rooms housing guests. External locks, on the other hand, are necessary for the doors to all those quarters and rooms in which something or somebody is to be shut in without the possibility of opening the door from the inside. The most obvious example of a room for which this option was desirable is of course the

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[1] As always, I owe my thanks to Simo Parpola for allowing me to use the electronic Corpus of Neo-Assyrian for the preparation of this paper, originally a contribution to the 1999 symposium 'Palace, King and Empire', organised by M.T. Larsen in Copenhagen. I am grateful to M. Gibson, M. Liverani, J.N. Postgate, J.E. Reade and I. Winter for their remarks on that occasion. I also wish to thank Andreas Fuchs and Heather D. Baker for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper and J. Curtis for providing me with information on a metal find from Nimrud (see footnote 7). Both A. Fuchs and J. Curtis kindly allowed me to reproduce their drawings as Fig. 1 and 2 respectively.

[2] The best evidence is found in a fragmentarily preserved letter from the reign of Esarhaddon (now re-published as SAA 18 100); see Parpola 1980: 172 and 176 n. 12.

[3] Hence scholars advise Esarhaddon in various letters on days that are auspicious for his sons to visit him: e.g., SAA 10 73 (visit of the crown prince), SAA 10 52 (visit of the crown prince and prince Aššur-mukin-pale'a), SAA 10 207 (visit of the princes Aššur-mukin-pale'a and Sîn-per'u-ukin), SAA 10 53, 70 and 74 (visits of prince Aššur-mukin-pale'a), SAA 10 54 (visit of an unknown man).

[4] Cf. SAA 1 203, a list of door leaves with their measurements.

[5] For an illustration of the reconstructed gates of Balawat see, e.g., Reade 1983: 23 fig. 25. For a thorough discussion of the technical aspects of ancient Near Eastern doors see Damerji 1973: 176–258.

treasury, but also storage rooms in general, armouries, libraries, prison cells and the living quarters of foreign hostages would come to mind.
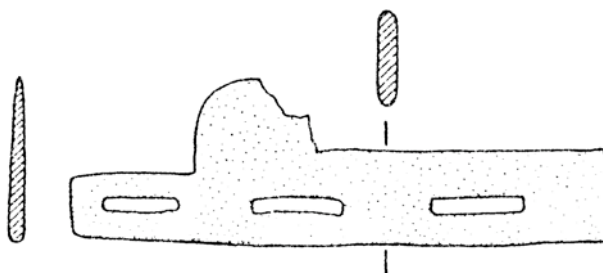

Figure 1: ND 9222 (length 11.4 cm, maximum height 3.5 cm). Drawing by J. Curtis

Despite the general scarcity of metal remains from the Neo-Assyrian period, locks and parts of locks have been found in the palaces of Nineveh, Dur-Šarrukin and Kalḫu. The locks from Nineveh and Dur-Šarrukin were found in the pioneer days of Near Eastern archaeology and only their descriptions by Layard and Bonomi survive; both authors compare the finds to the 'Egyptian Lock' which was still widely in use at that time.[6] More recently, David and Joan Oates identified a metal find from the Review Palace (*ekal mašarti* = 'Fort Shalmaneser') at Kalḫu as part of a lock. They describe the piece as 'a thin rectangular copper object with three longitudinal slots and a protruding knob' (Fig. 1).[7] I would like to identify this object as the lock's holding bar, to be used with three bolt-pins (see below). In addition, fittings for locking mechanisms can be seen in the door jambs of various gates of Neo-Assyrian palaces; the best examples are again found at the Review Palace in Kalḫu, where Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE) had an elaborate gateway constructed on the southern façade whose inner and outer door could be locked.[8]
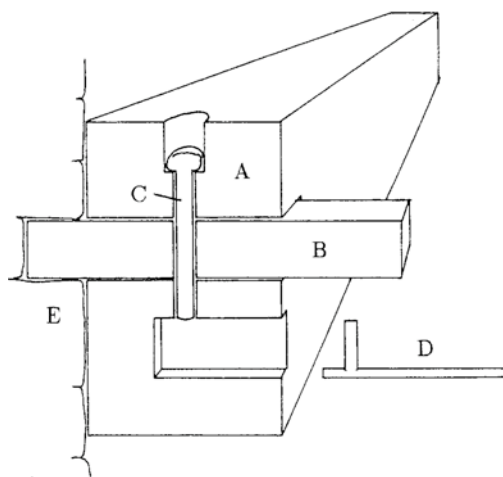

Figure 2: Reconstruction of a Neo-Assyrian *sikkatu* lock

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[6] For the evidence from Nineveh see Layard 1853: 596 and from Dur-Šarrukin (Khorsabad) see Bonomi 1856: 170–1. See also the discussion of Potts 1990: 186–7.

[7] ND 9222, found by the jamb of the west door of room NE 7, see Oates and Oates 2001: 160 with n. 23 (on p. 279). John Curtis kindly informs me that the piece has a length of 11.4 cm and a maximum height of 3.5 cm; I am grateful to him for permission to reproduce his previously unpublished drawing as Fig. 1.

[8] A photograph of the gate is published in Mallowan 1966: II 465 fig. 379, though unfortunately the fittings are hidden behind a man standing in the doorway. The locking mechanisms have hitherto not been published in full; the most extensive description is found in Oates and Oates 2001: 154: 'Both the inner and outer doors of the stone entrance chamber had been fitted with a single-leaf door, with a multiplicity of locking mechanisms and bolts.'

A = transverse bar (*aškuttu*); B = holding bar (*sikkūru*); C = bolt-pin (*sikkutu*); D = key (*namzāqu*); E = wall. Drawing by A. Fuchs (reproduced from Fuchs 1998: 102)

The archaeological evidence for locking mechanisms fits well with the contemporary description of a lock of the Neo-Assyrian period: in 714, Sargon II (721–705 BCE) had the lock of the Ḫaldi temple at Muṣaṣir removed and taken to Assyria as booty. In his inscriptions the four components of the lock are described individually and in great detail, as they are made out of gold and fashioned as works of art. Andreas Fuchs recently succeeded in identifying these components and reconstructing the lock (Fig. 2): The locking mechanism consists of a heavy transverse bar, the *aškuttu*. In order to lock the gate a smaller holding bar, the *sikkūru*, is pushed through the appropriate hole in the transverse bar. The holding bar is in turn kept in place with the help of one or several bolt-pins, the *sikkatu* or, in plural, *sikkāte*. In order to open the lock, the bolt-pins have to be removed from the holding bar with the help of a key called *namzāqu*.[9] The mechanism of this lock closely resembles that of the 'Egyptian lock', also known as the Greco-Roman *balanos* lock.[10] In accordance with the naming of this lock type, which takes its name from the bolt-pin, Greek βάλανος 'acorn',[11] Fuchs called the Assyrian lock type *sikkatu* lock, after the same component.

In addition to the protection offered by heavy doors and locks, the Assyrians relied on supernatural help in order to secure their entrances. In palaces and temples, all major entrances were furnished with images of protective deities, and in these buildings as well as in private houses, clay and metal statuettes of protective spirits, sometimes supplied with short inscriptions, were buried underneath the thresholds. Together with the execution of the appropriate rituals, these representations were thought to offer potent protection against both demonic and human intruders.[12] Various examples of such apotropaic figures are illustrated and discussed in one of Jeremy Black's most popular books, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: an Illustrated Dictionary*, co-authored with Anthony Green and illustrated by Tessa Rickards (Black and Green 1992). I offer the present paper to the memory of Jeremy whose far-ranging interests also encompassed the Neo-Assyrian period, as best illustrated by his publication of the *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, the fourth volume in the series Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud.

My paper will focus on the people who were entrusted with the control and supervision of the gateways and doors of the palaces. This task was shared by a number of officials: the *atu'u* 'gatekeeper', possibly assisted at times by the *ša maṣṣarti* 'watchman', the *ša pān nērebi* 'entrance overseer' and the *rab sikkāte* 'lock master'. It will come as no surprise that some of these officials, specifically the gatekeepers and the lock masters, are also found in the context of temples. Just like palaces, temples were screened from the outside world and the methods employed—general architecture, doors, divine and human guards—are comparable.

It should be stressed that our evidence for these officials originates almost exclusively from the legal documents of the 7th century BCE from Nineveh, Assur and Kalḫu.[13] This brings us to the

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[9] Discussed by Fuchs 1998: 97–107 who also reconstructs another version of a lock with a crank (*uppu*) instead of the smaller holding bar (*sikkūru*) to keep the transverse bar (*aškuttu*) in place; note that such an *uppu* is attested also in the 7th century letter SAA 13 62: 14 in which the *up-pu ša si-*[*ka¹-ti¹*] of certain temples seems to be missing. Fuchs was neither aware of the archaeological remains of locks from the Neo-Assyrian period nor of the work of Potts 1990 who, like himself, proposed the Egyptian lock (= *balanos* lock) as a model for the Mesopotamian lock. Potts' identification of the various Akkadian terms with the parts of this lock type differs in some regards from Fuchs as he did not concentrate on one period's evidence but used terminology from different ages; nevertheless, Potts' and Fuchs' overall results match very well. Note also the additional Old Babylonian evidence in an administrative text from Sippar, listing various parts of locks (BM 80394, for the edition see van Koppen 2001: 217–22 no. 3).

[10] Cf. also Potts 1990: 188–9.

[11] The most exhaustive information on the *balanos* lock, its use and the various possibilities for manipulating it is found in the account of Aeneas Tacticus, Περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ πολιορκουμένους ἀντέχειν, xviii–xx, written shortly after 360 BCE (edition: Loeb Classical Library no. 156).

[12] For the rituals see Wiggermann 1992; for the representations of the protective deities see Rittig 1977 and Kolbe 1981.

[13] A note concerning absolute dates after the year 648 BCE: as the sequence of the officials holding the office of year eponym after this date has not been handed down to us, it has to be reconstructed. Recently two

methodological aspects of this paper. The witness lists of the Neo-Assyrian legal documents, especially the long ones found in the sale texts, are to be counted among our best sources for the reconstruction of Neo-Assyrian society. A person's place in the sequence of a witness list allows us to deduce that person's status relative to the other witnesses. The general rule is: the earlier the person is mentioned in the list, the more important he is. That the sequence of the witnesses is by no means arbitrary is clear from the fact that the same sequence can be found in different texts which were written at different times. This leads to a second principle: witnesses of a certain profession are often attested together with colleagues or members of closely related professions. This fact is extremely useful when it comes to the interpretation of hitherto unidentified professions.

THE GATEKEEPER: *ATU'U*

The title of gatekeeper is one of the most frequently attested professional titles in the Neo-Assyrian texts, and is always written with the logogram $^{(lu)}$ì.DU$_8$. Its realization in Neo-Assyrian is probably *atu'u*.[14] Nothings speaks against the basic assumption that, as in the preceding periods,[15] the task of the gatekeeper is indeed the guarding and surveillance of gateways and doors. To while away the time, the gatekeepers often seem to have taken to gambling.[16]

Gatekeepers are found both in palaces and temples.[17] Two titles for gatekeepers of superior rank are attested. While according to the known sources the office of a 'great gatekeeper' (*atu'u rabiu*) existed exclusively at the Aššur temple, the 'chief gatekeeper' (*rab atu'ē*) is for the time being only attested at the royal palace at Nineveh.[18] Best known is the chief gatekeeper Ḫa-bašti who held this office during the reigns of Esarhaddon (680–669) and Assurbanipal (668–*c.* 630 BCE). That the office of chief gatekeeper could be held by more than one person at a time is clear from the fact that Ḫa-bašti is mentioned together with his colleague, the chief gatekeeper Tariba-Issar, in two texts from early in the reign of Assurbanipal.[19] In two other texts from the same period he is attested together with another chief gatekeeper, Nabu-šumu-uṣur.[20] However, Ḫa-bašti is by far the best known holder of this office. He is attested from 679 until 663.[21] His promotion seems to coincide with Esarhaddon's accession to the throne.[22]

reconstructions differing from each other in detail have been published: S. Parpola *apud* Radner 1998: xviii–xx (henceforth Parpola 1998) and Reade 1998: 256–7. Both dating proposals are given in the following.

[14] For a discussion of the Neo-Assyrian reading of the logogram $^{(lu)}$ì.DU$_8$ (including a rebuttal of J.V. Kinnier Wilson's suggestion to read it as *pētiu*) see Menzel 1981: I 230 with n. 3059.

[15] Good evidence for the activities of gatekeepers is found in literary texts, especially in *Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld* and in *Nergal and Ereškigal* (for references see CAD A/2 516–7: *atû* A a) and in the Middle Babylonian text BE 14 129 (see CAD A/2 517: *atû* A b.4´), but the most detailed information stems not from Mesopotamia, but from Anatolia: a Middle Hittite text from Boğazköy (IBoT 1 36) is a catalogue of regulations concerning security measures at the royal court, and its first section concerns the proper locking and unlocking of the palace gates (for an edition see Güterböck and van den Hout 1991: 4–5).

[16] Note the carving of game-boards on the plinths of colossal figures standing in gateways of the royal palace of Dur-Šarrukin now in London (British Museum, ME 118808–9) and Paris (Musée du Louvre, AO 19863), see Reade 2000: 611.

[17] For the temple gatekeepers see Menzel 1981: I 230.

[18] For this title see Menzel 1981: I 230.

[19] SAA 14 65 r. 7´ (dated 668) and SAA 14 66 r. 4´ (date lost).

[20] Nabû-šumu-uṣur is attested in SAA 6 307 r. 5 (dated 668) and SAA 6 308 r. 8 (date lost).

[21] For a complete list of attestations see my contribution in Baker 2000: 435–6 *s.v.* Ḫa-bašti 2.

[22] According to the list of attestations given by Lipiński 1983: 128–30, Ḫa-bašti ('Ahoubasti') would be attested twice as a simple gatekeeper during Sennacherib's reign. But one attestation, ADD 443 = SAA 6 348 r. 14´ (dated 686), refers to one [^{PN}x x x]–*aṣ-bat* ^{lu}ì.$^{⌈}$DU$_8$$^{⌉}$ and the other—the title is restored—indeed refers to Ḫa-bašti, but is to be dated to the reign of Assurbanipal due to its context in the Remanni-Adad archive; Lipiński's dating to 696 is due to the erroneous join of 83-1-18, 259+397 with 83-1-28, 372, as copied in ADD 297; today, the fragments are again separated from one another. The latter fragment, which bears the date, was published on its own as ADD 614 (most recent edition: SAA 6 128; note that this corresponds to ARU 93, not ARU 72!), the two others were most recently edited as SAA 6 348. Hence, there are no attestations for Ḫa-bašti prior to the reign of Esarhaddon.

Arbailaiu[23] and Nabu'a,[24] the two chief gatekeepers known during the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 BCE), are not attested at all during Esarhaddon's reign. They may have been among those officials who lost their office and probably their life after the murder of Sennacherib and the subsequent war that led to Esarhaddon's accession. The last chief gatekeeper known to us by name is Ququ; it is not known under which king he served.[25]

It is likely that the dimensions of the royal palace at Nineveh made it necessary to organize the many gatekeepers hierarchically, with the appointment of several chief gatekeepers who were probably responsible for different parts of the palace. It is rather plausible that this office also existed in the earlier main residences of the Assyrian kings, at least at the enormous palace of Dur-Šarrukin.

THE WATCHMAN: *ŠA MAṢṢARTI*

The title *ša maṣṣarti*[26] means 'watchman', literally 'He of the guard', and is used to designate a person who guards a concrete object, in contrast to the title *maṣṣuru*, which specifies an official of more far-reaching competence.[27]

Only once is a watchman, one Inurta-šarru-uṣur from Assur, attested as a witness in a legal text, together with a gatekeeper and a lock master.[28] Another watchman from Assur, a certain Mannu-[...], is mentioned in a judicial document in the context of supervising a river ordeal.[29] The names of eighteen watchmen who are to protect twenty-two magnates and governors are known from an administrative text from Kalḫu, dating to the reign of Sargon II.[30]

Most other attestations of watchmen are found in the royal correspondence from Nineveh, as a rule without any mention of their names. In one such letter, the astrologer Balasi asks Esarhaddon to supply him with a watchman to protect him against the servants of the chief cupbearer who are causing damage to his estates.[31] His access to the precious items which he is protecting could make the watchman the suspect in the case of damage. Hence an anonymous watchman was accused of theft by some augurs for whose protection he was responsible, according to a letter of Upaq-Šamaš to Sargon II. Although Upaq-Šamaš's examination of the case showed that the watchman was innocent, he was replaced by a colleague, obviously because further collaboration with the augurs was impossible after these accusations.[32] But usually watchmen seem to have been considered supremely trustworthy; thus the exorcist Nabu-nadin-šumi informs Esarhaddon that he has handed over the ingredients used in a ritual against the *rābiṣu* demon, certainly objects of a rather sensitive nature, to an anonymous watchman.[33] Ṭab-ṣil-Ešarra, the governor of Assur, asks Sargon II to send him either a *ša qurbūti*, an honorary title designating officials who enjoyed the king's trust,[34] or else a watchman to supervise the workmen performing construction work in the palace of Ekallate.[35] That the watchmen's rank in the court hierarchy was inferior to that of a *ša qurbūti* is also clear from the evidence of divinatory queries to the sun god asking whether the members of court and

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[23] SAA 6 130 r. 8 (dated 696).

[24] SAA 6 163 r. 11´ (dated 686).

[25] SAA 14 126 r. 10 (date lost).

[26] CAD M/I 341: 'guard, watchman'; AHw 620: *maṣṣartu(m)* 1.c. (no translation given).

[27] For the *maṣṣar bēt ili* see Menzel 1981: I 245–6.

[28] A 338 = StAT 1 20 = StAT 2 238 r. 10´: md MAŠ–MAN–PAB *šá–ma-ṣar-ti* (dated to the eponymy of Upaqa-ana-Arbail = 633 [according to Parpola 1998] or 638 [according to Reade 1998]).

[29] VAT 20361 = Deller, Fales and Jakob-Rost 1995: no. 111: 9–10: l man-nu–[x x x] *ša–*EN.NUN*-te* (dated to the eponymy of Sîn-šarru-uṣur, governor of Ḫindanu = 636 [according to Parpola 1998] or 634 [according to Reade 1998]).

[30] CTN 3 86: 20: *ša–*EN.NUN.

[31] SAA 10 58 r. 19-20: lú *šá–*EN.NUN *[is-si-i]a lip-qí-du* 'May a watchman be appointed [for] me!'

[32] SAA 5 163: 5, r. 9: lú * *šá–*EN.NUN.

[33] SAA 10 282: 13: lú *šá–ma-ṣ[ar-t]i*.

[34] For a discussion of this title see Radner 2002: 13–14.

[35] SAA 1 99 r. 17´: lú * *ša–*EN.NUN.

army would initiate a rebellion against Assurbanipal. The *ša qurbūti* officials are mentioned much earlier than the watchmen, who are listed after the mace bearers (*ša huṭāri*) and before the dispatch riders (*kallāpu*).[36]

From the Neo-Assyrian attestations it is clear that a watchman is a member of the palace staff. His task is to protect specific persons or things, but it would appear that he was assigned to them only temporarily and not on a permanent basis. Although our sources offer no evidence for the fact that a watchman would guard an entrance, it may well have happened occasionally in order to reinforce the number of gatekeepers.

THE ENTRANCE OVERSEER: *ŠA PĀN NĒREBI*

That the official called *ša pān nērebi*[37] is concerned with entrances is already clear from his title, which literally means 'the one in front of the entrance'. The title is attested six times in five Neo-Assyrian texts. It is mentioned in three legal documents from Kalḫu, in a letter from the royal correspondence and in an administrative text from Nineveh.

Officials bearing this title seem to be active exclusively in palaces and are presently not attested in the context of temples. A connection with the control and surveillance of palace entrances is suggested not only by the title itself, but also because of the mention of a *ša pān nērebi* together with gatekeepers and a lock master in the witness lists of two legal texts from Kalḫu.[38] By analogy with other professional titles of the type *ša pān* X, such as *ša pān ekalli* 'palace supervisor' or *ša pān dēnāni* 'lawsuit supervisor', we may assume that the *ša pān nērebi* did not physically stand guard in front of an entrance but held an administrative function controlling admittance to the palace. As entrance overseers are attested for the palaces at Kalḫu and Nineveh, we may suppose that these officials existed in every palace. It would seem likely that the entrance overseer was responsible for the organization of the guard of the various entrances of the palace and that he was therefore the direct superior of the gatekeepers, coordinating their service. The fact that Ṣalmu-aḫḫutu, the entrance overseer of the Review Palace of Kalḫu, precedes the gatekeeper Šepe-Inurta-aṣbat in the witness list would support this.

The known office-holders
- Mannu-ki-Inurta, entrance overseer in Kalḫu during the later reign of Assurbanipal (668–c. 630 BCE)
  [1] ND 3426 l.e. 3 = Wiseman 1953: pl. xii (copy) = Postgate 1976: no. 9 (dated 9.xii.649): Mannu-ki-Inurta [lú]*ša–IGI–né-re-bi* is the last witness in a slave purchase document from the archive of the eunuch Šamaš-šarru-uṣur. Most witnesses have a title: the gatekeepers Nur-Šamaš (r. 14) and Tutaia (l.e. 2), the lock master of the crown prince, Ṭur-dala (r. 16), the eunuchs Ṣil-Bel-dalli (r. 8) and Dagil-ili (r. 10), the scribes Samidu (r. 9) and Issar-šumu-iddina (r. 19), Nabu-le'i, a servant of the queen (r. 15), Dudu, temple administrator (*laḫḫinnu*) of the Ninurta temple (r. 12), Urdu, cook of the Nabu temple (r. 13), Inurtanu, baker of the Ninurta temple (r. 18), as well as four fowlers and gooseherds. The appearance of these last witnesses can be explained due to Šamaš-šarru-uṣur's business interests in bird breeding.[39]

- Ṣalmu-aḫḫutu, entrance overseer (of the Review Palace) in Kalḫu during the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun (c. 626–612 BCE)
  [2] CTN 3 30: 14 (dated 4.iii.617 [after Parpola 1998] or 625 [after Reade 1998]; eponymy of Aššur-remanni): Ṣalmu-aḫḫutu [lú*]*ša–IGI–né-re-bi* acts as a witness in a lawcase between the *šakintu* (the female equivalent of the palace manager for the queen's household) of the Review Palace ('Fort Shalmaneser') and a man called Kabalaiu; he is mentioned before the gatekeeper Šepe-Inurta-aṣbat (l. 15) and after the courtier ([lú*]DUMU–É.GAL) Tartimanni (l. 13), known from CTN 3 39: envelope l. 11 as the palace manager

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[36] SAA 4 142: 8: [lú]*šá–E*[N.N]UN.MEŠ; *SAA* 4 144: 8: *šá–EN.NUN.MEŠ*. Together with dispatch riders, guards are mentioned also in a fragmentarily preserved letter to the king, SAA 16 6 r. 3: [lú]*šá–EN.NUN*.

[37] CAD N/2 177: *nērebu* in *ša pan nēribi*: 'an official in charge of the entrance'. AHw 780: *nērebu(m)* 1 (no translation given).

[38] *ša pān nērebi* together with gatekeepers in CTN 3 30 and ND 3426; *ša pān nērebi* together with lock master in ND 3426.

[39] Cf. Radner 1997: 313–14.

of the Review Palace.[40] It can therefore be assumed with some certainty that Ṣalmu-aḫḫutu was the entrance overseer of the Review Palace.

- [...]ani, entrance overseer in Kalḫu
  [3] Copenhagen no. 7 r. 6´ = Fales 1987: 22 no. 7 (date lost): [ᴵx x]-a-ni ˡú*šá–IGI–né-r[e-bi] and another entrance overseer, [...]e (see [4]), act as witnesses in a badly preserved document from Kalḫu; other witnesses bearing professional titles are the scribe Balassu (r. 4´) and a commander-of-fifty (r. 2´).

- [...]e, entrance overseer in Kalḫu
  [4] Copenhagen no. 7 r. 3´ = Fales 1987: 22 no. 7 (date lost): [ᴵx x]-e ˡú*⌜šá⌝-[IG]I–né-re-bi acts as a witness in the same text as the entrance overseer [...]ani (see [3]).

- Two anonymous entrance overseers in Nineveh in the 7th century
  [5] ABL 875 = SAA 16 91: 7´ (reign of Esarhaddon): A ˡú*ša–IGI–né-re-bi whose name is lost is mentioned in a letter by an unknown author to the king, together with a number of members of the palace staff. The next official mentioned is Man[...], the overseer of the palace's storage facilities (bēt qātē).

  [6] IM 59049 = MacGinnis 1992: 4-5 no. 3 = SAA 11 24 r. 3 (not dated): An anonymous šá—IGI—né-re-b[i] is mentioned in an administrative text from Nineveh listing amounts of barley and straw together with the officials in charge; the entrance overseer is one of them.

THE LOCK MASTER: *RAB SIKKĀTE*

The title of *rab sikkāte* has never before been interpreted in the context of the guarding and control of entrances. In the following, I hope to make the identification as a lock master plausible.

The dictionaries fail to offer a satisfactory translation for the title *rab sikkāte*, which, to my present knowledge, is attested twelve times in the Neo-Assyrian period. AHw discusses the title under *sikkatu(m)* 'Nagel'[41] whereas CAD[42] files it under its synonym, a lemma primarily attested in Old Assyrian documents,[43] but also found in Old Babylonian texts.[44] The Old Assyrian plural term *sikkātum* refers to a religious festival,[45] and the official *rabi sikkitim/rabi sikkātim*—who was for a long time thought to be 'a high military official'[46]—is therefore likely to have been responsible for its organization.[47]

For the Neo-Assyrian title, however, this translation is unsatisfactory; hence, we will investigate its meaning independently of the older evidence. The spellings with the logogram ᵍⁱˢGAG.MEŠ or GAG.MEŠ alone make it perfectly clear that the Neo-Assyrian title is based on the plural form of the term *sikkatu* (NA *sikkutu*) 'nail, peg'.[48] As the same person's title is written once in syllabic and once in logographic writing in two texts from the same archive,[49] there can be no doubt that the Neo-Assyrian realization of the logogram (ˡú)GAL—(ᵍⁱˢ)GAG(.MEŠ) is indeed *rab sikkāte*. The title's verbatim translation is therefore 'peg master'.[50] Rather than assuming that the pegs in question

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[40] See Dalley and Postgate 1984: 6–7 for this official.

[41] AHw 1041–2.

[42] CAD S 252–4: *sikkatu* B in *rabi sikkati* (*rab sikkati*).

[43] AHw 1041–2: *sikkatu(m)* A discusses in one entry those attestations which are filed under *sikkatu* A and B in CAD.

[44] The most important attestations are found in *Enūma Eliš* i 151, ii 37, iii 41, 99 (Tiamat appoints Kingu to the office of *rab sikkātūtim*). Cf. also footnote 56.

[45] For recent discussions of its meaning see Kryszat 2004: 19–25.

[46] See CAD S 252.

[47] For a discussion of the title (with earlier literature) see Kryszat 2004: 25–8.

[48] CAD S 247–51: *sikkatu* A.

[49] CTN 3 36: 15 and CTN 3 39: envelope l. 12. The following writings are attested: ˡúGAL–si-ka-a-te (ND 2307 l.h.e. 2), ˡúGAL–si-ka-te (ND 2308 r. 1), ˡúGAL–si-kat¹ (text: KUR) (CTN 3 39: envelope l. 12), ˡúGAL–ᵍⁱˢGAG.MEŠ (SAA 14 62 r. 11´, CTN 3 36: 15, ND 3426 r. 16), ˡúGAL–GAG.MEŠ (ND 2316 r. 6, ND 3425 r. 17), GAL–GAG.MEŠ (SAA 6 95 r. 6, ND 2315 r. 11), GAL–GAG (A 338 r. 7´).

[50] Cf. Dalley and Postgate 1984: 93: 'the official in charge of the bolts'. In other recent text editions the title is left untranslated, see Postgate 1976: 205: 'a palace officer' and Kwasman and Parpola 1991: 307: 'a high official' (and accordingly in other SAA volumes).

always had to be wooden, the frequent spelling with the wood determinative GIŠ should be understood as a writing convention.

As already mentioned, Andreas Fuchs has recently stressed the central function of a building part named *sikkatu* (NA *sikkutu*) 'peg' in the construction of a type of lock which is well attested for the Neo-Assyrian period.[51] Because of the importance of this component and by analogy with the naming of the Greek *balanos* lock, Fuchs called this type of lock the *sikkatu* lock. It would seem possible that the title *rab sikkāte* has to be understood in this context, especially considering that the term *sikkatu* is used in the names of three professions concerned with entrances which, however, are attested only in lexical texts: *mušēlû sikkati* 'the one who lifts the bolt-pin', *nādû sikkati* 'the one who drops the bolt-pin' and *pētû sikkati* 'the one who opens the bolt-pin'.[52]

An examination of the context of the Neo-Assyrian attestations shows that the title *rab sikkāte* can indeed be interpreted as an official dealing with entrances, as the official is always mentioned in a palace or temple context, usually among high-ranking personnel and very often together with gatekeepers and other officials controlling entrances. In the available sources (for attestations see below), the *rab sikkāte* is once mentioned with two gatekeepers and an entrance overseer, in another text together with a gatekeeper and a watchman, once with at least two gatekeepers, and another time with one gatekeeper. I therefore propose the translation 'lock master', assuming that the crucial component *sikkatu* denotes—*pars pro toto*—the lock in its entirety. This is all the more likely as the *sikkatu* is the central element of the more primitive locking mechanism which is attested all over the Near East from the Uruk period.[53] This older system consisted of a peg, the *sikkatu*, which was used to block a door and which was then secured against tampering with the help of a sealing. Suzanne Herbordt, when studying the 565 Neo-Assyrian clay sealings from Nineveh, was unable to identify a single example for such a door sealing in the Neo-Assyrian period.[54] This would seem to indicate that the system was no longer in use at that time, and I suggest that this was so because it had been replaced with the *sikkatu* lock.

At present, there are eleven known lock masters, attested so far at Assur and Kalḫu and only after the year 663 BCE (see below for attestations). For Kalḫu alone, four lock masters are attested during the reign of Assurbanipal, over a time span of approximately 25 years, while four other lock masters from Kalḫu are contemporaries serving during the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun. These groupings result from the fact that there were different lock masters for and active in different (parts of) palaces and temples. Each of these institutions seems to have one lock master at its service, with separate officials for the queen's and crown prince's quarters in the palace. The lock masters working in palaces seem to be the direct subordinates of the palace manager or, in the case of the queen's household, of the *šakintu*. Sometimes the title of the lock master gives us details of his sphere of activity. From their titles we known that Indi is the lock master of the temple of Nabu in Assur, that Nabu-belu-uṣur is the lock master of the queen's household in Kalḫu and that Ṭur-dala is the lock master of the household of the crown prince in that city. In other cases we can extrapolate the lock master's sphere of activity from the context. Hence Inurta-aḫu-iddina is probably the Kalḫu Review Palace's lock master, due to his connection with Tartimanni, the palace manager of the Review Palace. Aššur-mudammiq seems to be the lock master of the New Palace in Kalḫu, as he acts as a witness for this palace's *šakintu*, the female equivalent of a palace manager in the queen's household. As Aššur-mudammiq is of superior status to Nabu-belu-uṣur, the latter's sphere of activity, known from his title as the lock master of the queen's household, can be further specified as that of the lock master of the queen's household at the New Palace of Kalḫu. He is therefore the successor of Šulmu-beli who held this same office some twenty years earlier, as can be assumed from the context in which he occurs. Due to their connection with palace managers,

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[51] See footnote 9.
[52] In the Lú list, see Salonen 1961: 131–2 *s. v.* and CAD S 249: *sikkatu* A 2.
[53] For bibliographical references see Herbordt 1992: 55 with n. 122 and 69 with n. 168.
[54] Herbordt 1992: 69–70.

courtiers or palace slaves, the lock masters Kablu'-Issar, Nabu'a, Šulmu-šarri of Kalḫu and [...]-ukin are also certain to have worked in palaces. Šulmu-šarri of Assur, on the other hand, may well have been the lock master of a temple in Assur, if not the Aššur temple itself, as he is attested with numerous high administrative temple officials.

There is no indication that lock masters were in any way connected with city gates. As the title of a *rab abullāte* 'overseer of the city gates' is attested in a letter from the royal correspondence,[55] we may assume that the organization of the guard of the city gates was this official's responsibility.

Unfortunately, the attestations known so far tell us nothing about the exact function of the lock master. Theoretically, several possible activities arise from dealings with locks and their components. One possibility is that the lock master is the craftsman who builds the locks; this seems unlikely for two reasons. Firstly, there is no connection whatsoever with related craftsmen such as smiths. Secondly, the lock master seems to enjoy considerably higher status than would be expected for such a craftsman. For the same reasons it is not plausible that he is the craftsman responsible for the maintenance of the lock, especially since such a simple mechanism as that of the *sikkatu* lock does not necessitate much maintenance work. As it is certain from the known attestations that the lock master holds a high-ranking administrative post, it is most plausible to assume that he was responsible for the safekeeping of the bolt-pins necessary for locking, and for the keys necessary for unlocking the locks, as well as for the actual locking and unlocking.

To conclude, it should be noted that the same interpretation very likely applies for the Old Babylonian usage,[56] and certainly for the Neo-Babylonian attestations of the *rab sikkāte*.[57] This official is clearly a high-ranking member of the temple staff and is so far attested for the Ebabbar in Sippar and the Eanna in Uruk. In the Ebabbar, one man, Šamaš-aḫa-iddina, held the post over the long period of 28 years.[58]

The known office-holders

- Aššur-mudammiq, lock master in Kalḫu during the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun
  [1] ND 2307 l.e. 2 = Parker 1954: pl. vi (copy) = Postgate 1976: no. 14 (dated 8.xii.622 [after Parpola 1998 = Reade 1998]; eponymy of Daddi): ˡ*aš-šur–mu-dam-iq* ˡúGAL–*si-ka-a-te* is the fifth witness in the marriage document between Ṣubetu, daughter of Amat-Astarti, *šakintu* of the New Palace of Kalḫu, and Milki-ramu, son of Abdi-Azuzi; other witnesses bearing professional titles are the mayor Arabaiu (r. 27), the priests Nabu-šumu-uṣur (r. 28, also mentioned in text [6] with the lock master Nabu'a) and Iddin-Aia (r. 29), the courtier (ˡúÉ.KUR) Indabe (l.e. 1) and Nabu-belu-uṣur, the lock master of the household of the queen (l.e. 3, cf. [7]). As Aššur-mudammiq precedes Nabu-belu-uṣur in the witness list, we may suppose that he was considered to be of superior rank and it is therefore likely that he was the lock master of the New Palace.

- Indi, lock master of the Nabu temple in Assur during the latter years of the reign of Assurbanipal
  [2] A 338 r. 7′ = StAT 1 20 = StAT 2 238 (dated 6.xii.633 [after Parpola 1998] or 638 [after Reade 1998]; eponymy of Upaqa-ana-Arbail): ˡ*in-di-i* GAL–GAG ᵈAG is one of the witnesses in a badly broken text documenting a sale by the scribe Etel-pi-Marduk son of Balassu. Other witnesses bearing professional titles are the gatekeeper Nabu-na'di (r. 4′) and the watchman Inurta-šarru-uṣur (r. 10′).

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[55] SAA 13 128 r. 17: LÚ.GAL–KÁ.GAL.MEŠ. This official is mentioned in a letter by Aššur-reṣuwa, priest of the Ninurta temple of Kalḫu, to the king. From the context of the letter it is clear that the overseer of the city gates held a rank inferior to that of the priest himself and the mayor (*ḫazannu*) of Kalḫu.

[56] See now also Stol 2004: 666–7.

[57] For attestations from the Ebabbar in Sippar see Bongenaar 1997: 134, for attestations from the Eanna in Uruk see Gehlken 1990: 93–4. The interpretation as 'Pflugscharmeister' as suggested in AHw 1042 and adopted by Gehlken seems unlikely to me, especially as Bongenaar stressed that 'no connection with the ploughmen of Ebabbar can be detected'.

[58] Nabonidus 15 to Darius 12; for attestations see Bongenaar 1997: 134.

- Inurta-aḫu-iddina, lock master (of the Review Palace) in Kalḫu during the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun

  [3] CTN 3 36: 15 (dated 28.xi.622 [after Parpola 1998 = Reade 1998]; eponymy of Daddi): Id MAŠ–PAB–AŠ lú GAL–giš GAG.MEŠ is the first witness in a text documenting the delivery of the daughter of [...]-Nanaia to the *šakintu* of the household of the queen. The only other witness with a professional title is the fuller Iqbi-Adad (l. 16).

    [4] CTN 3 39: envelope l. 12 (dated 19.i.615 [after Parpola 1998] or 617 [after Reade 1998]; eponymy of Sin-alik-pani): Id MAŠ–PAB–AŠ lú GAL–*si-kat*l (copy: KUR) is the second witness mentioned on the envelope of an obligation note documenting a debt owed by Ṣalmu-šarri-iqbi to lady Attar-palṭi, scribe of the queen. Inurta-aḫu-iddina, who is mentioned without title in the inner tablet (l. 14), is listed with the title on the envelope after the palace manager Tartimanni (l. 11). Although the lock master's title is not further specified we may safely assume that he is the lock master of the Review Palace, just like Tartimanni is the palace manager of the Review Palace. Because of Inurta-aḫu-iddina's involvement with the *šakintu* of the household of the queen and the queen's scribe, a connection specifically with the queen's household at the Review Palace may be possible. The position of the lock master of the household of the queen in the New Palace at Kalḫu is at that time held by Nabu-belu-uṣur.

- Kablu'-Issar, lock master, probably at Assur during the reign of Assurbanipal or his successors

  [5] ADD 62 = SAA 6 95 r. 6 (no date mentioned; reign of Assurbanipal or later): l*kab-lu*–15 GAL–GAG.MEŠ is the first witness in a document concerning a field of the *šakintu*. Other witnesses bearing professional titles are Sana-il, messenger of the palace manager (r. 7), and the scribe Nabu-remanni (r. 8). Although the text is said to originate from Nineveh it probably comes from Assur originally, as the penalty clauses are in favour of Aššur and Mullissu—a typical feature of Assur legal texts. The document itself does not mention a date, which is rather unusual and should probably be explained as a mistake. But while the text was filed among the texts from the reigns of the kings Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BCE) through to Esarhaddon in the latest edition, it should rather be dated to the reign of Assurbanipal or one of his successors, as indicated by the use of a penalty clause which is only attested from 650 BCE onwards.[59]

- Nabu'a, lock master in Kalḫu during the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun

  [6] ND 2308 r. 1 = Parker 1954: pl. vii (copy) = Postgate 1976 no. 11 (dated 25.viii.616 [after Parpola 1998] or 621 [after Reade 1998]; eponymy of Bel-aḫu-uṣur): Id PA-*u-a* [lú]GAL–*si-ka-te* is the third witness in a text documenting the release of a female palace slave by one Mannu-ki-abi; other witnesses bearing professional titles are the mayor [...]-Nabu (l. 13) and the priest Nabu-šumu-uṣur (l. 15, also mentioned in text [1] with the lock masters Aššur-mudammiq and Nabu-belu-uṣur).

- Nabu-belu-uṣur, lock master of the household of the queen in Kalḫu during the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun

  [7] ND 2307 l.h.e. 3 = Parker 1954: pl. vi (copy) = Postgate 1976 no. 14 (dated 8.xii.622 [after Parpola 1998 = Reade 1998]; eponymy of Daddi): Id PA–EN–PAB lú GAL : *ša* É MÍ.KUR KUR is the sixth witness in the marriage document between Ṣubetu, daughter of Amat-Astarti, *šakintu* of the New Palace of Kalḫu, and Milki-ramu, son of Abdi-Azuzi; other witnesses bearing professional titles are the mayor Arabaiu (r. 27), the priests Nabu-šumu-uṣur (r. 28, also mentioned in [6] with the lock master Nabu'a) and Iddin-Aia (r. 29), the courtier (lú É.KUR) Indabe (li. Rd. 1) and the lock master Aššur-mudammiq (l.e. 2, see discussion under [1]).

- Šulmu-beli, lock master in Kalḫu during the reign of Assurbanipal

  [8] ND 2316 r. 6 = Parker 1954: pl. vii (copy) (dated 24.i.641 [after Parpola 1998] or 640 [after Reade 1998]; eponymy of Aššur-garu'a-nere): lDI–EN lú* GAL–GAG.MEŠ is the second witness in the marriage document between Milki-ḫaia, a female palace slave of the New Palace of Kalḫu dedicated to the goddess Mullissu, and the weaver Mutaqqin-Issar. Šulmu-beli is mentioned after the only other witness with a professional title, the weaver Qibit-Issar (r. 5). He may well be the predecessor of Nabu-belu-uṣur as the lock master of the queen's household in the New Palace of Kalḫu.

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[59] See Radner 2002: 19 for the evidence on the clause *adê ša šarri ina qātēšu uba''û*.

- Šulmu-šarri (A), lock master in Kalḫu during the reign of Assurbanipal
  [9] ND 3425 r. 17 = Wiseman 1953: 141 (dated 5.ix.637 [after Parpola 1998] or 635 [after Reade 1998]; eponymy of Zababa-eriba): ᴵDI-*mu*–MAN ˡᵘGAL–GAG.MEŠ is the last witness in the text documenting the sale of a slave woman to Ubru-Nabu, the palace manager of the Review Palace ('Fort Shalmaneser'),[60] by the gatekeepers Šepe-Nabu-aṣbat and Ubru-Sebetti, the sons of Šamaš-ši'i. The only other witness with a professional title is the scribe Remanni-Issar (r. 8) but some of the witnesses without titles are gatekeepers, just like the sellers: Tutaia, for example, is attested with this title together with Ṭur-dala, the lock master of the crown prince, in ND 3426 l.e. 2. Due to his connection with Ubru-Nabu, Šulmu-šarri is very likely to be the lock master of the Review Palace. Note that a lock master named Šulmu-šarri is also attested in Assur (see [10]); possibly these two men are identical.

- Šulmu-šarri (B), lock master in Assur during the late reign of Assurbanipal (or possibly during the reign of his successors)
  [10] ADD 575+579+805 r. 11′ = SAA 14 62 (date lost): ᴵDI-*mu*–LUGAL ˡᵘGAL–ᵍᶦˢ⌈GAG⌉.MEŠ is the seventh witness in a text of which only the lengthy witness list is preserved; all witnesses bear their titles: the eunuch and temple overseer Abda (r. 5′), the palace manager Aḫu-eriba (r. 6′), the temple scribe Marduk-šallim-aḫḫe (r. 7′), the eunuch and overseer of the royal tombs Nabu-šezibanni (r. 8′), the eunuchs and overseers of the mausoleum Nabu-gamil (r. 9′) and Šulmu-šarri (r. 10′), the (temple) brewer Mutakkil-Aššur (r. 12′), Urdu-Nanaia, priest of Šamaš (r. 13′), and the eunuchs Aššur-isse'a (r. 14′) and Kunaia (r. 15′). For prosopographical reasons, the text must have originated in Assur[61] and it can be safely attributed to the late reign of Assurbanipal (or later). Note that the lock master Šulmu-šarri who is attested in Kalḫu (see [9]) could possibly be the same man.

- Ṭur-dala, lock master of the (household of the) crown prince in Kalḫu during the reign of Assurbanipal
  [11] ND 3426 r. 16 = Wiseman 1953: pl. xii (copy) = Postgate 1976 no. 9 (dated 9.xii.649): ᴵ*tu-ur–dàl-a* ˡᵘGAL–ᵍᶦˢGAG.MEŠ *šá* A–MAN is the ninth witness in a slave sale document from the archive of the eunuch Šamaš-šarru-uṣur. Most witnesses have a title: the gatekeepers Nur-Šamaš (r. 14) and Tutaia (l.e. 2), the entrance overseer Mannu-ki-Inurta (l.h.e. 3), the eunuchs Ṣil-Bel-dalli (r. 8) and Dagil-ili (r. 10), the scribes Samidu (r. 9) and Issar-šumu-iddina (r. 19), Nabu-le'i, servant of the queen (r. 15), Dudu, temple administrator (*laḫḫinnu*) of the Ninurta temple (r. 12), Urdu, cook of the Nabu temple (r. 13), Inurtanu, baker of the Ninurta temple (r. 18), as well as four fowlers and gooseherds. The appearance of these last witnesses can be explained by Šamaš-šarru-uṣur's business interests in bird breeding.

- [...]-ukin (or [...]-ka''in), lock master in Kalḫu during the early years of Assurbanipal's reign
  [12] ND 2315 r. 11 = Parker 1954: 40 (dated 4.[?].663): [ᴵx-x]–⌈GIN GAL⌉–GAG.MEŠ is the ninth witness in a badly broken text documenting the sale of a slave woman by Amurṭeši to the lady Atta-ḫaṣi. Other witnesses with professional titles are a gatekeeper (r. 8) and a courtier (r. 12: DUMU–É.GAL) whose names are lost. We can certainly suppose that [...]-ukin was lock master of one of the palace households of Kalḫu.

THE DATE OF INTRODUCTION OF THE OFFICES OF LOCK MASTER AND ENTRANCE OVERSEER

The offices of lock master and entrance overseer are not attested at all prior to the reign of Assurbanipal. In addition, it seems that some of the lock master's sphere of activity was taken over from the palace manager (who is clearly responsible for locks and locking in the Middle Assyrian period)[62] and, in the case of the temples, from the *laḫḫinnu* official.[63]

Although it remains possible that these offices already existed already before Assurbanipal's reign and that they are unattested through lack of evidence, it is in my opinion more plausible that these offices were indeed an innovation at the beginning of the reign of Assurbanipal. They were

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[60] For Ubru-Nabû see Dalley and Postgate 1984: 6–7.
[61] Kwasman 1988: 56.
[62] According to the Middle Assyrian *Court and Harem Edicts* § 1; edition: Weidner 1954/6: 268.
[63] For the *laḫḫinnu* official in connection with locks see a text listing the responsibilities of various temple officials from Assur: VAT 13718 ii 8–13. See Ebeling 1950: 37 (copy), Ebeling 1954: 24–5 (transliteration and translation) and Menzel 1981: II T 25 no. 22 (transliteration).

quite possibly created as a consequence of the traumatic experiences of the murder of Sennacherib by the hand of his own sons in 681 BCE, followed by Esarhaddon's narrow escape from a conspiracy in 671/670 BCE fronted by one Sasi, to whom the oracle of the god Nusku is said to have promised the Assyrian throne.[64]

If the Assyrian king had been carefully screened from the outside world before Sennacherib's murder, his successor Esarhaddon was surely forced to lead a life of extreme seclusion, in constant fear, as is best witnessed by the many divinatory queries addressed to the sun god focussing on whether various members of the court were likely to plot against the king.[65] The murder of Sennacherib was likely to have resulted in considerable changes to the surveillance of the palace; it was mentioned above that all chief doorkeepers active during Sennacherib's reign seem to have lost their office (and probably their life) and were replaced by new officials. While the loyalty of the gatekeepers and the watchmen is put to trial in Esarhaddon's queries to the sun god,[66] mention of the lock keeper and the entrance overseer is conspicuously absent in this context. This seems to strengthen the hypothesis that the offices of lock master and of entrance overseer were created only at the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign, when the recent uncovering of the Sasi conspiracy had shown that events similar to Sennacherib's murder had only just been avoided and the need for a more sophisticated security system must have seemed overwhelming.

By introducing these new offices to the palace administration the responsibility for controlling access to the palace, which previously was the domain of the gatekeepers, was now shared by several officials. This certainly reduced the power of the gatekeepers and hence diminished the risk of abuse of this power.

That the various officials responsible for the control and regulation of access to the palaces took their work seriously and that many a potential visitor would have been turned away at the palace door is clear from a proposal which the astrologer Nabu-mušeṣi made to the king in anticipation of his visit to the royal palace in Nineveh: 'Maybe they won't let me enter; let them give me an order sealed with the royal seal (*unqu*)!'[67] Such a document would certainly have dispelled all doubts and its holder would have been given admittance to the palace without much further ado.

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[64] See most recently Radner 2003.

[65] SAA 4 139–148, 151–161, 163–166 and 168–171. On the presence of bodyguards of foreign origin at Esarhaddon's court see Liverani 1995.

[66] Gatekeeper: SAA 4 142: 7; watchmen: SAA 4 142: 8. I am grateful to Andreas Fuchs for drawing my attention to this.

[67] SAA 8 157 r. 7–8, cf. Frahm 1998: 120.

HOW MANY MILES TO BABYLON?

Julian Reade—London

The answer in the nursery rhyme is 'three score and ten', and it is possible to go there and back again by candlelight. Fairy-tale fantasies encompass the real Babylon too. A few people in the nineteenth century began to penetrate the veil, creating plans and maps of visible topographic features both in the city and in the wider Babylonian landscape. They recorded and described much that has since been lost to sight. The maps are scarce or little-known, however, and have not been consulted as much as they deserve.

Commander W.B. Selby and Lieutenant J.B. Bewsher, during their northern Mesopotamia survey in 1862–5, conducted on behalf of the Government of India, planned the remains of a cross-country wall under the name of Hubl-es-Sukhr that lay about 30 km south-south-west of Baghdad. Bewsher (1867) identified it with the so-called Median Wall seen by Xenophon in 401 BC, that had reputedly been built to protect Babylon from the Medes. Bewsher's work has for once been properly consulted, since attention was drawn to it by R.D. Barnett (1963), and what we may now call the Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr wall and its surroundings were examined by a Belgian-British team during 1983–5. Excavations were directed by Hermann Gasche and Robert Killick, while Jeremy Black acted as epigraphist.

Much of the final report on Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr (Gasche et al. 1987), which is a model of prompt and detailed publication, was written by Jeremy, who warns at least twice against inappropriate speculation on ancient Babylonian geography. The present note builds on two of his own observations, but I am unsure whether he would have regarded it as within the pale.

The report demonstrates that Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr corresponds to what may be called the Sippar cross-country wall, the more northern of two cross-country walls which Nebuchadnezzar records having built for the defence of the Babylon region (Gasche et al. 1987: 15–9). This wall ran from the Tigris to the Euphrates, passing opposite Sippar, and is said to have been 5 *bēru* long. The dictionaries offer various values for *bēru*, which cannot be pursued in detail. As a practical measure of distance it seems to have been 21,600 *ammatu* or cubits; approximate values for an *ammatu* range from 40 cm to 50 cm or somewhat higher, with 75 cm for a royal cubit. If we accept the commonest value of c. 50 cm, then 1 *bēru* would be c. 10.8 km, and 5 *bēru* would be c. 54 km. Nebuchadnezzar's more southern wall, the Kish cross-country wall which started from Babylon and passed by Kish, is said to have had a length of 4 2/3 *bēru*, or c. 50.4 km; its eastern end was at Kar-Nergal, which perhaps lay on the Tigris. The length of the Kish wall according to this *bēru* valuation is shorter than expected, but the precision of a figure like 4 2/3 suggests that both distances had been measured with some care.

Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr is also, at present, the only available candidate for identification as Xenophon's Median Wall, and was about the appropriate width (over 6 m, compared with Xenophon's 20 feet). Xenophon himself (II, 4, 12) gives the length of the Median Wall from hearsay, and presumably from memory, as 20 parasangs; even if this figure were correct it would be imprecise, since the length of a parasang can vary greatly, but it was often regarded as corresponding to 30 Greek *stadia* (1 standard *stadion* = c. 185 m). So the length of the Median Wall was said to be the equivalent of 600 Greek *stadia*, 111 km or c. 10.2 Babylonian *bēru*. This is about double the length assigned by Nebuchadnezzar to his Sippar cross-country wall; so, if the two walls were the same, it seems that in Xenophon's time it was sometimes described as twice its true length. Yet another wall, which is still presumably the same one, however, the Wall of Semiramis, is mentioned by Strabo as situated near a point where the Tigris and Euphrates are only 200 *stadia* or 37 km apart

(Gasche et al. 1987: 22). This tends to imply, although it does not specify, that 200 *stadia* was about the length of the Wall of Semiramis too, which would then have become shorter rather than longer.

Nebuchadnezzar, in Jeremy's translation (Gasche et al. 1987: 21), when describing the defences of Babylon, states that he 'surrounded the Land (or City) with mighty waters for a distance of 20 *bēru,* like the expanse of the sea'. Jeremy suggested that this total distance of c. 216 km was reached 'by adding to the lengths of the walls (which both ran from Tigris to Euphrates) a figure representing the distance between the two western ends of the walls plus the distance between their two eastern ends, measured along the rivers in both cases... This then forms an irregular tetragon with Babylon at', or possibly adjoining, 'the south west corner' (Fig. 1).
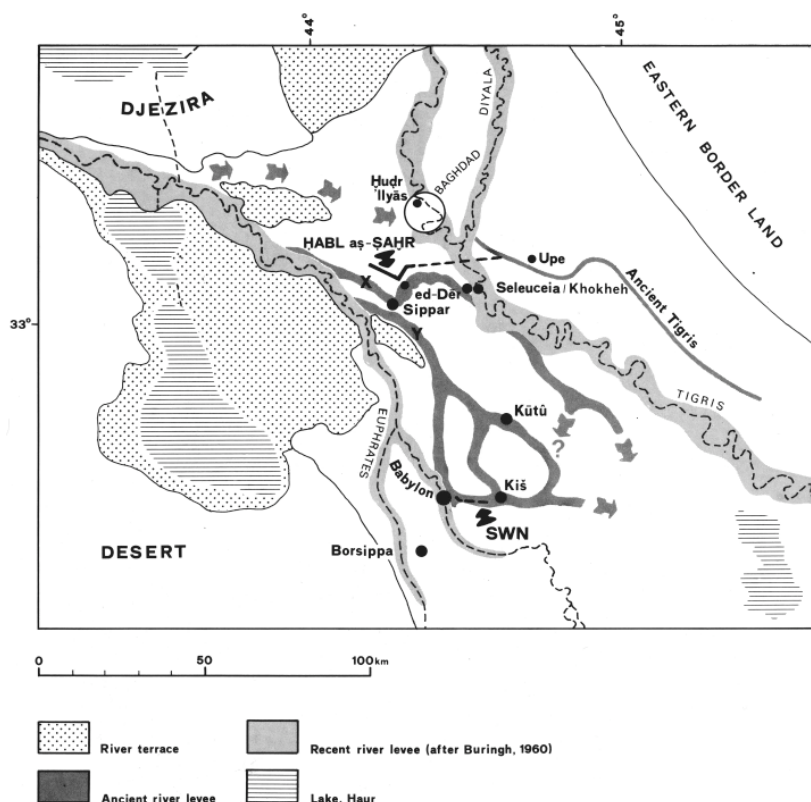

Figure 1: Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr and the Babylon region (Gasche et al. 1987: fig. 16)

Jeremy's idea of a tetragon which was regarded as forming the outer defensive system of Babylon brings to mind Herodotus' controversial statement (I, 178–9), written around 450 BC, that the outer wall of Babylon formed an exact square, with each side 120 *stadia* long (22.2 km). Herodotus also states that the wall was wide enough to support a dual carriageway on top, with space for a four-horse chariot to turn. These statements led in the nineteenth century to reconstructions of a square city plan stretching across the plain east and west of Babylon to incorporate Kish and/or Borsippa: there are square corners to some of the walls of Babylon, but the imposition of such an enormous square on the Babylonian landscape is ridiculous. The excavation of the outer wall of Babylon by Koldewey (1914: 1–3), however, did show that it was wide enough to accommodate a dual carriageway for four-horse chariots on top. It therefore seems possible that the information given by Herodotus or his informant can be explained as the conflation of two items of data. One item was the existence of a defensive tetragon, as suggested by Jeremy, albeit by no means an exact square, which was formed partly by cross-country walls with water in front of

them and partly by the Tigris and Euphrates, perhaps with some defences along the banks of both rivers. The other item was the existence of the dual carriageway outer city-wall.

The origin of Herodotus' figures of 120 and 480 *stadia* (22.2 and 88.8 km) for the length of the outer wall of Babylon is doubtful; they are close to 2 and 8 Babylonian *bēru* (c. 21.6 and 86.4 km), but do not correspond unequivocally to any Babylonian record. The Babylonian inscriptions, however, do give a number of such statistics, some unknown examples of which might therefore underlie Herodotus' figures. Of course there are fantastic elements in the Greek accounts of Babylon written before the arrival of Alexander the Great in 331 BC, but it is notable, for instance, that the lengths of 60, 40, and 30 *stadia* (11.1, 7.4 and 5.5 km) quoted by Diodorus (II, 8, 4–7), apparently from Ctesias who was at Babylon around 400 BC, for three out of four defensive walls there, conform tolerably with the archaeological remains of the outer, inner and western walls (10.5, 6.3 and 5.2 km, if the river sections are included); his 20 *stadia* (3.7 km) for the length of the citadel wall is more problematic, unless it includes both palaces and the main temple. Ker Porter (1822: 373–4) already noticed some of these relationships, although his comment does not seem to have been acknowledged since. Such third-hand Greek figures cannot prove anything, but they do not have to be dismissed as fantasy.

Diodorus (II, 7, 3) quotes Ctesias as giving another figure of 360 *stadia* (66.6 km), for the length of the 'Wall of Babylon'; this is just over c. 6 *bēru* (64.8 km) and it could perhaps have been translated directly from a Babylonian inscription. Diodorus ascribes an alternative figure of 365 *stadia* (67.5 km), for the same wall, to Greeks who visited the area with Alexander the Great; Quintus Curtius (5, 4) on similar authority gives 368 *stadia* (68.1 km), while Strabo (16, 1, 5) gives 385 (71.2 km), possibly an error for 365. The 365 or 368 figures look to be based on second-hand rather than third-hand evidence, and to be more authoritative than Ctesias' 360, as if new surveyors had taken the trouble to measure the 'Wall of Babylon' in question, whichever this wall was.

A length of 67.5 km is far too long for a wall enclosing Babylon but it could have been the length of a cross-country defence such as Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr. Is it possible, then, that Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr represents not only Nebuchadnezzar's Sippar cross-country wall, the Median Wall, and the Wall of Semiramis, but also the immoderately long 'Wall of Babylon' recorded in the more reputable of the Greek sources? Diodorus clearly thinks of the wall as encircling the city, but it would seem reasonable that the Greeks accompanying Alexander should have described, as the 'Wall of Babylon', the first cross-country wall protecting Babylon which was encountered by them on their march south. We do know, from Babylonian texts and excavations at Babylon, that the city was defended by at least two cross-country walls (Sippar and Kish), an outer wall, a double inner wall and a citadel wall. As described by Berossus, our best Greco-Babylonian authority (Josephus, Apion. I, 21), 'in order that besiegers should no longer be able to enter the city by diverting the river, he erected three enclosure walls within the city and three outside them'. It would hardly be surprising, however, if Diodorus, resident in Sicily and apparently unfamiliar with Berossus, should have failed to comprehend that the longest 'Wall of Babylon' in his fourth-century sources was a cross-country wall rather than a wall that encircled the city, and that he should therefore have written about it as he did.

A problem is that the 67.5 km (365 *stadia*) length of this 'Wall of Babylon' is significantly longer than the c. 54 km (5 *bēru*) of Nebuchadnezzar's Sippar cross-country wall; for the lengths to be the same, the *bēru* would have to be 13.5 km long. We could perhaps solve the problem by supposing that this 'Wall of Babylon' recorded by Greeks was not the Sippar cross-country wall at all, but yet another, hypothetical, even longer and still more northerly cross-country defensive wall also built between the Tigris and Euphrates, utilizing the southern edge of the Saqlawiya depression. The same hypothetical wall might also be Xenophon's Median Wall with its reputed length of 20 parasangs. Such an expedient seems not impossible but not essential. The difference between the lengths of 67.5 and c. 54 km may be adequately explained by the use of different methods of measurement; in particular, measuring directly between prominent points would tend to

reduce the total while measuring along the vagaries of the wall itself would tend to increase the total.

Jeremy also addressed himself to the lagoons and marshes immediately surrounding the outer wall of the city of Babylon itself. Nebuchadnezzar describes, again in Jeremy's translation (Gasche et al. 1987: 19–20), how 'I surrounded Babylon on the east side with a great wall, ... I dug a foundation-ditch for it. With baked brick and bitumen I made its bank as high as a mountain. I constructed a great earthwork around Babylon and surrounded it with a mighty flood, with great waters like the expanse of the sea. I ringed it with a reed-marsh and made Babylon a "mountain of life" of the people.' In this and comparable passages, Nebuchadnezzar is apparently referring first to the outer wall of Babylon, and then to an artificial lagoon confined by an earthwork outside the outer wall. He does not seem to have worried about mosquitoes.

This brings us to a contribution by Lieutenant Bewsher's colleague, Commander W.B. Selby (1859). Selby had fundamental doubts about the very location of Babylon, because he could find no trace of the massive walls recorded by Herodotus and because the presence of flourishing villages close to the ruins seemed inconsistent with biblical prophecies about the fate of the ancient city. His plan nonetheless (much of which has now been reproduced in colour by Finkel and Seymour 2008: 38, Fig. 20), while disconcertingly lacking a scale, contains information as significant as Bewsher's study of Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr. Selby (1859: 6–7) draws particular attention to details which he was apparently the first to record, and which look as if they include some of the embankments of Nebuchadnezzar's lagoons (Fig. 2).
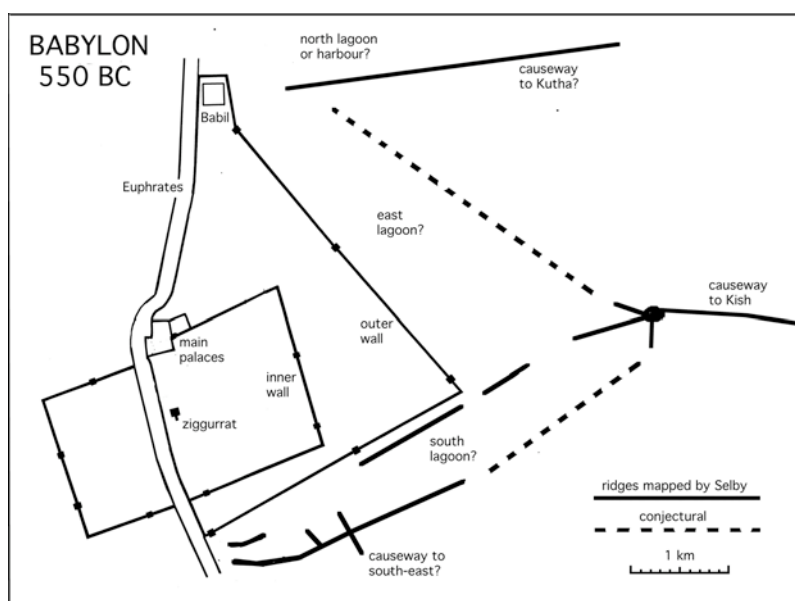

Figure 2: Babylon and its defences (author's sketch)

The east bank of the Euphrates north of the outer wall of Babylon is cut by numerous canals. Among their remains (Fig. 3) Selby observed that, 'N.N.W., 1,100 yards [1006 m] from the Mujelibé [i.e. Babil, the arsenal or so-called *Sommerpalast*], and running in the direction which is assigned to the supposed course of the ancient Nil [canal], is a ridge of small pebbles from 8 to 15 yards wide [7.3–13.7 m], and elevated about 8 feet [2.4 m] above the surface. Over the whole extent of country about the ruins I found no other soil of this description, nor any nearer than close to the vicinity of Iskanderia Khan, a distance of about 25 miles north [40.2 km]. I can in no way account for its presence there, entirely isolated as it is, and record the fact as I found it.' The feature, which appears on the map as 'A remarkable pebbly ridge', was presumably created by an

unusually deep and serious excavation which reached below the Holocene sediments of the area and threw up Pleistocene gravel; this kind of geological context is described by R. Nijs (Gasche et al. 1987: 5). The pebble ridge is surely older than other versions of the Nil canal which are present on Selby's plan. Nebuchadnezzar must have brought water from the Euphrates in this area, in order to fill the lagoons surrounding Babylon let alone other moats and canals, but whether he was responsible for the pebbly ridge remains uncertain.

South-east of this, 'East, from north end of Mujelibé and distant 650 yards [594 m], is a broad way of nearly uniform breadth of about 100 yards [91.4 m], and elevated about 18 inches to 2 feet [46–61 cm] through its entire length, extending a distance of 3,700 yards [3383 m], where it abruptly terminates in a marsh. It is quite barren, and bears the appearance of having been a broad roadway. At the western end it is slightly depressed in the centre.'

On Selby's map (Fig. 4) this embankment is 'A low flat ridge having the appearance of a Roadway', which runs roughly west-east from a point near the outer wall of Babylon. This could have been a causeway for a road leading most obviously towards Kutha but perhaps also towards Kish. It could also have been an embankment separating two stretches of water, on the north and east sides of the outer wall of Babylon, which were filled from the Euphrates to the west. The area to the north could have accommodated a defensive lagoon or a more substantial harbour basin too. A defensive lagoon on the east side of the city would presumably have been enclosed, on the east, by another embankment, which would have run from north-west to south-east.

'Just to the south of outer rampart,' continues Selby, 'and extending 7,500 yards (6858 m) in its entire length, and running in a curved line to E. 20″ N., is another exactly similar, save that nearly along its whole course it is of that nitrous soil which marks where ruins are, and so soft that one sinks to the ankles in walking over it.

'In one part of it (as marked in the plan) it widens out into a circle with four similar ways diverging from it, one of which I traced to a very ancient branch of the Nil Canal, where it assumed the appearance of a canal. I could find no traces of it further than I have marked it. Another, less in length, of a more firm soil, and running in a different direction, will be seen in the second sheet of the plan.'

On Selby's map (Figs. 5–6) the 7,500-yard-long embankment is 'A low flat ridge of Nitrous soil having the appearance of a Roadway'. That section of it which lies just to the east of the outer wall of Babylon, and runs roughly west-east, could partly have formed the southern edge of a defensive lagoon on the east side of the city. 'The circle with four similar ways diverging from it' resembles a cross-roads, and is situated about 2 km east of the eastern corner of the outer wall of Babylon. The 'way' diverging in a north-westerly direction could represent one end of an embankment running along the eastern side of the same lagoon. The cross-roads area might also have been where the lagoon system was linked with one or more canals, such as the Banītu, which like Selby's 'ancient' branches of the Nil flowed from Babylon in easterly or south-easterly directions.

The 7,500-yard-long embankment continues eastward beyond the cross-roads. This eastern section, as recorded by Selby, appears to coincide for about 2 km with a feature observed by McGuire Gibson (1972a: 50, 253, Fig. 13), who calls it 'a long, fairly wide artificial rise that may in fact be only a canal, but may be the remains of this dike.' Gibson's rise runs for about 6 km from east to west in the area between Kish and Babylon. Near its western end, at a point close to that of Selby's cross-roads, it turns in a north-westerly direction, much like the 'way' diverging north-westward from the cross-roads. It seems highly probable that both Selby and Gibson were observing the same feature, with Selby seeing more of it on the west and Gibson more on the east.

The dike to which Gibson refers is Nebuchadnezzar's southern cross-country Kish wall for the defence of the Babylon region, as cited by Gasche et al. (1987: 3). In Jeremy's translation (Gasche et al. 1987: 17), 'I constructed an earthwork from the border of Babylon as far as Kish and from opposite Kish to Kar-Nergal, over a distance of 4 2/3 *bēru* and surrounded the city with mighty waters. So that no flood should break through it, I bonded its bank as a strong embankment with

bitumen and baked brick.' So Selby's 7,500-yard-long embankment and Gibson's rise may have been at the western end of the cross-country Kish wall.

The Selby embankment continues westward from the cross-roads. Although twice interrupted, it meets the outer wall of Babylon near its eastern corner, and continues alongside the southern face of the outer wall for about 1.5 km, as if forming the northern edge of a lagoon on the southern side of Babylon.

A third embankment still further south, originally planned by Rich (1839: 58–9, plan between pp. 42–3) and Ker Porter (1822: fig. opposite p. 349), also appears on Selby's plan, where it is called 'Rampart, one end lost in marsh'. It is almost 50 m in width at its western end, but narrows as it runs eastward on a line roughly parallel with the southern face of the outer wall of Babylon, and could have formed the southern edge of a lagoon about 500 m. wide. The eastern end of this southernmost embankment is lost, but it could have curved northward to join the arm extending out southwards from the cross-roads on Selby's 7,500-yard-long embankment.

The western end of the southernmost embankment was at, or conceivably beyond, the Euphrates, close to the village of Jumjumah at the southern corner of the outer wall of Babylon. Near this point, on Selby's plan, there is another short stretch of embankment, between the southernmost embankment and the outer wall of Babylon. This suggests the presence of a canal from the Euphrates which passed between the two embankments and filled the southern lagoon. On the other hand Rich's plan suggests that the main branch of the Euphrates itself flowed between these two embankments, while Ker Porter's plan implies that the southernmost embankment continued westward, possibly across to the western side of the river.

Selby's map also shows two earthworks meeting the southernmost embankment at right angles, from north to south, near its western end. The western one might have helped control the waters of the lagoon. The eastern one continues south of the embankment, and was perhaps a causeway, crossing the lagoon, for a road that led from Babylon south-eastwards.

The area where the southernmost embankment converges with the outer wall of Babylon is one of many in and around the city where more fieldwork, if the evidence still survives in the ground, could prove enlightening. It was rightly said that 'the relationship between Babylon and Kish must be worked out in detail using air photographs, excavation, and textual material, a very large project in itself' (Gibson 1972a: 51). The same applies to research on all Nebuchadnezzzar's defensive projects. Everyone familiar with this landscape will recognise the difficulties that can arise in distinguishing between walls, canals and other natural and artificial features, ancient and modern. We do the best we can with whatever evidence we can muster. My purpose has been to draw attention to some of Selby's embankments, and to propose that these are not merely the banks of canals, although canals may sometimes have run alongside them, but the embankments of Nebuchadnezzar's lagoons, which could also have served as causeways or roads.

Selby's observations need to be integrated with the extensive other academic work on the topography of Babylon and its canals which we owe to scholars such as Robert Koldewey and his team, to Eckhard Unger (1928) and to Andrew George (1992). Such work can sometimes be done most easily by several experts in different fields working together. It was characteristic of Jeremy that he should take part in a cooperative project of this kind at Ḥabl aṣ-Ṣaḫr, helping resolve another of the many long-standing problems concerning ancient Babylon.
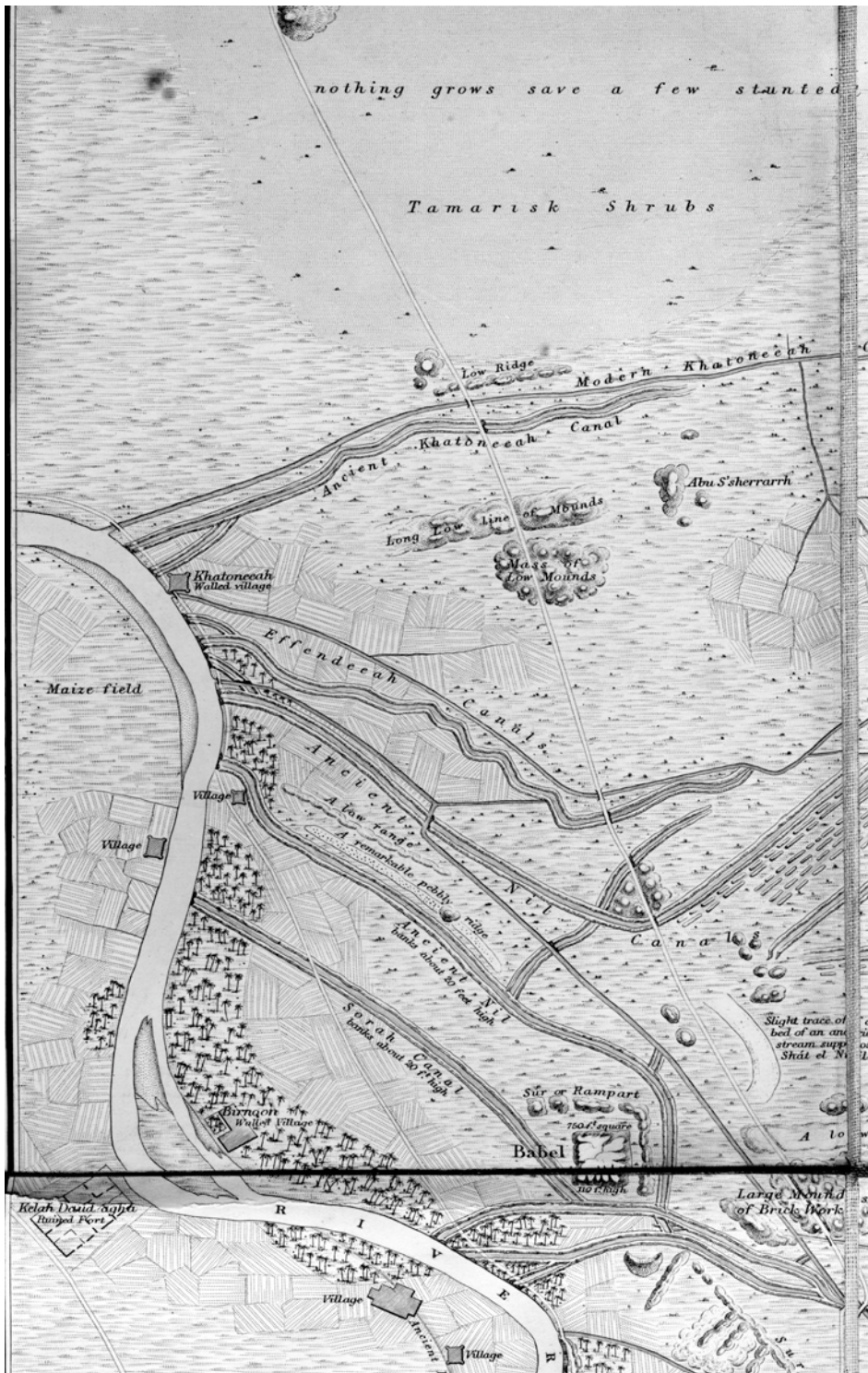
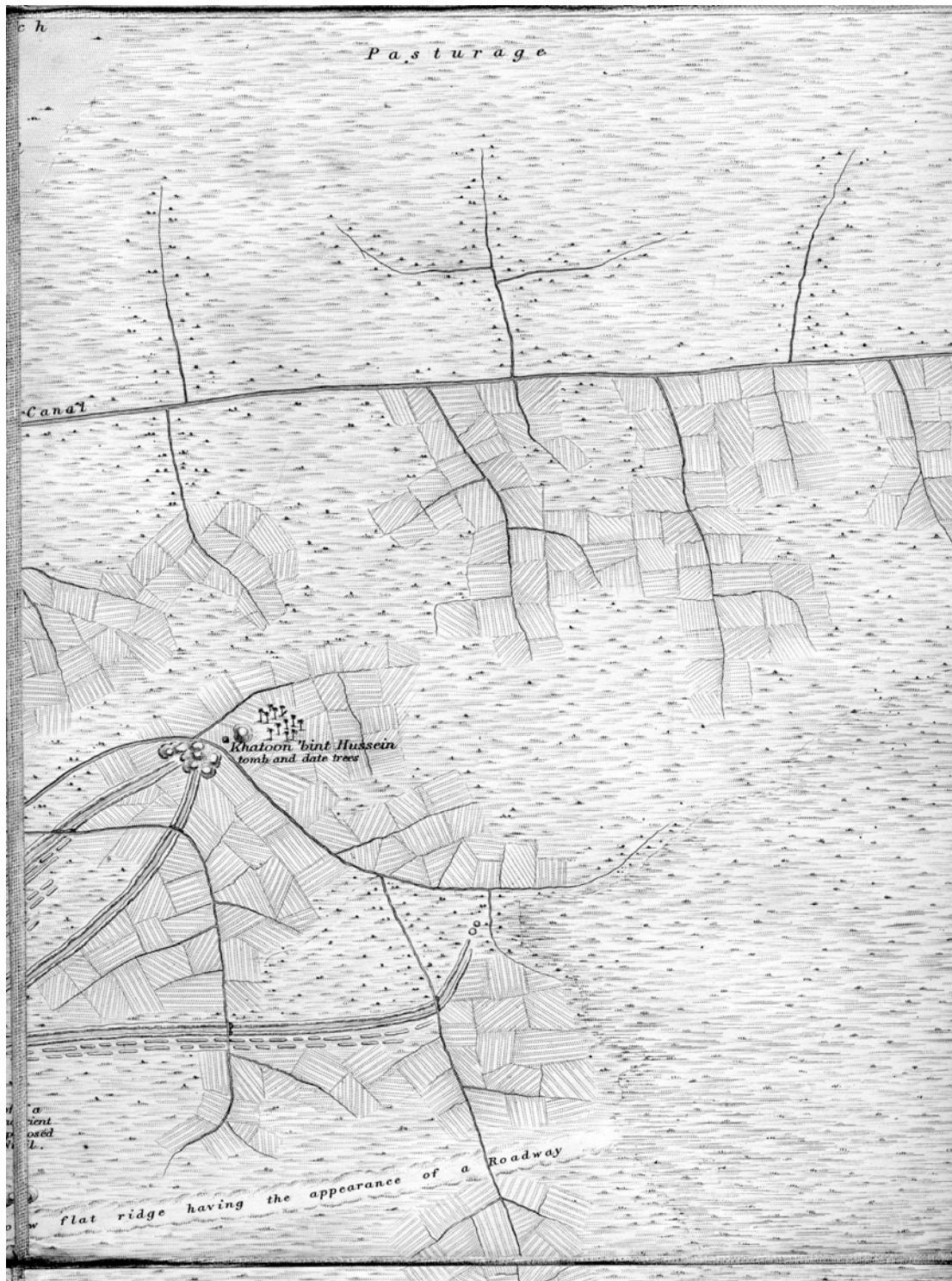**Figure 3. Map of Babylon (Selby 1859): detail, with area north of city**

Figure 4: Map of Babylon (Selby 1859): detail, with area north-east of city
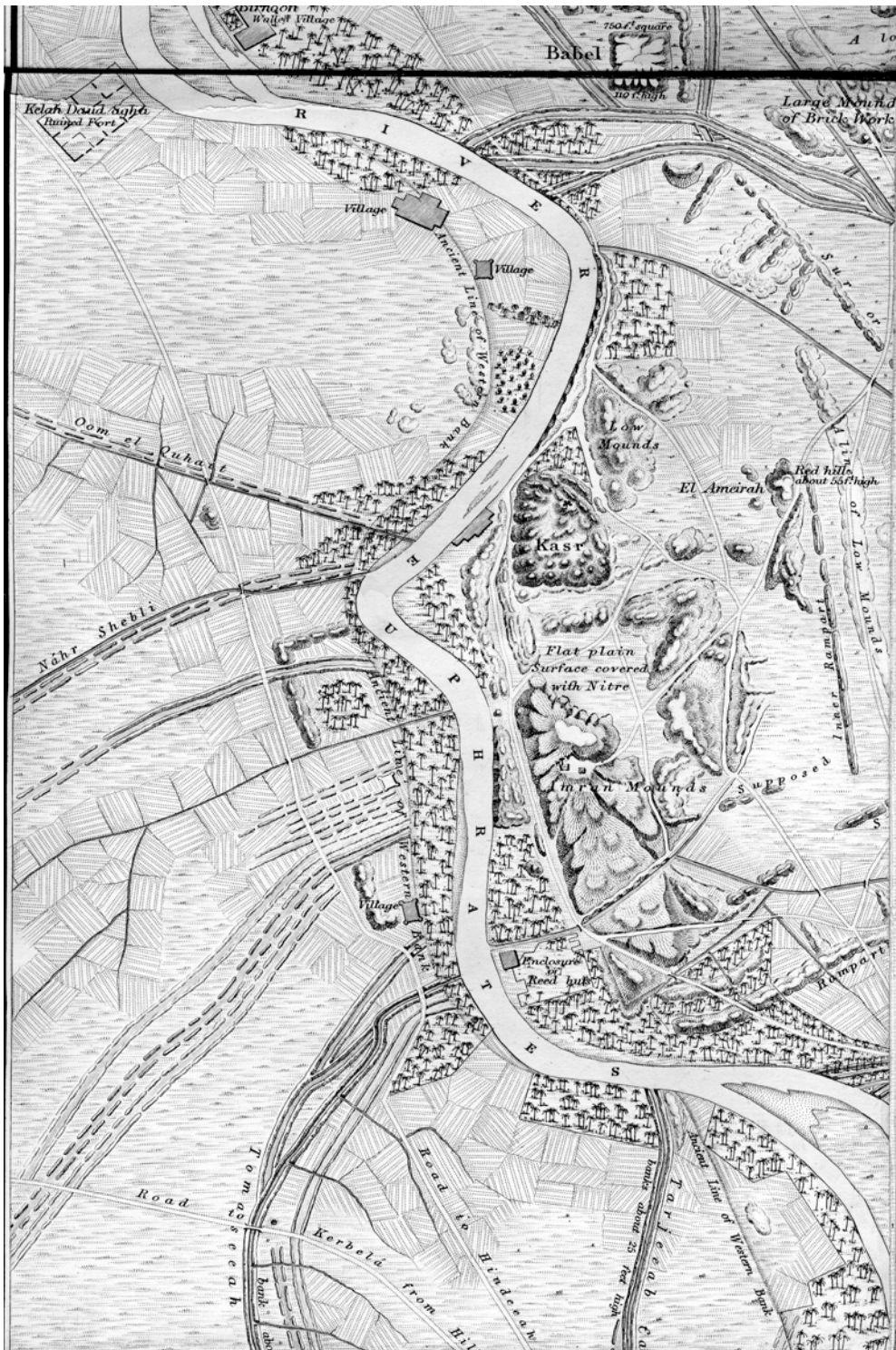
Figure 5: Map of Babylon (Selby 1859): detail, with city and areas to west and south
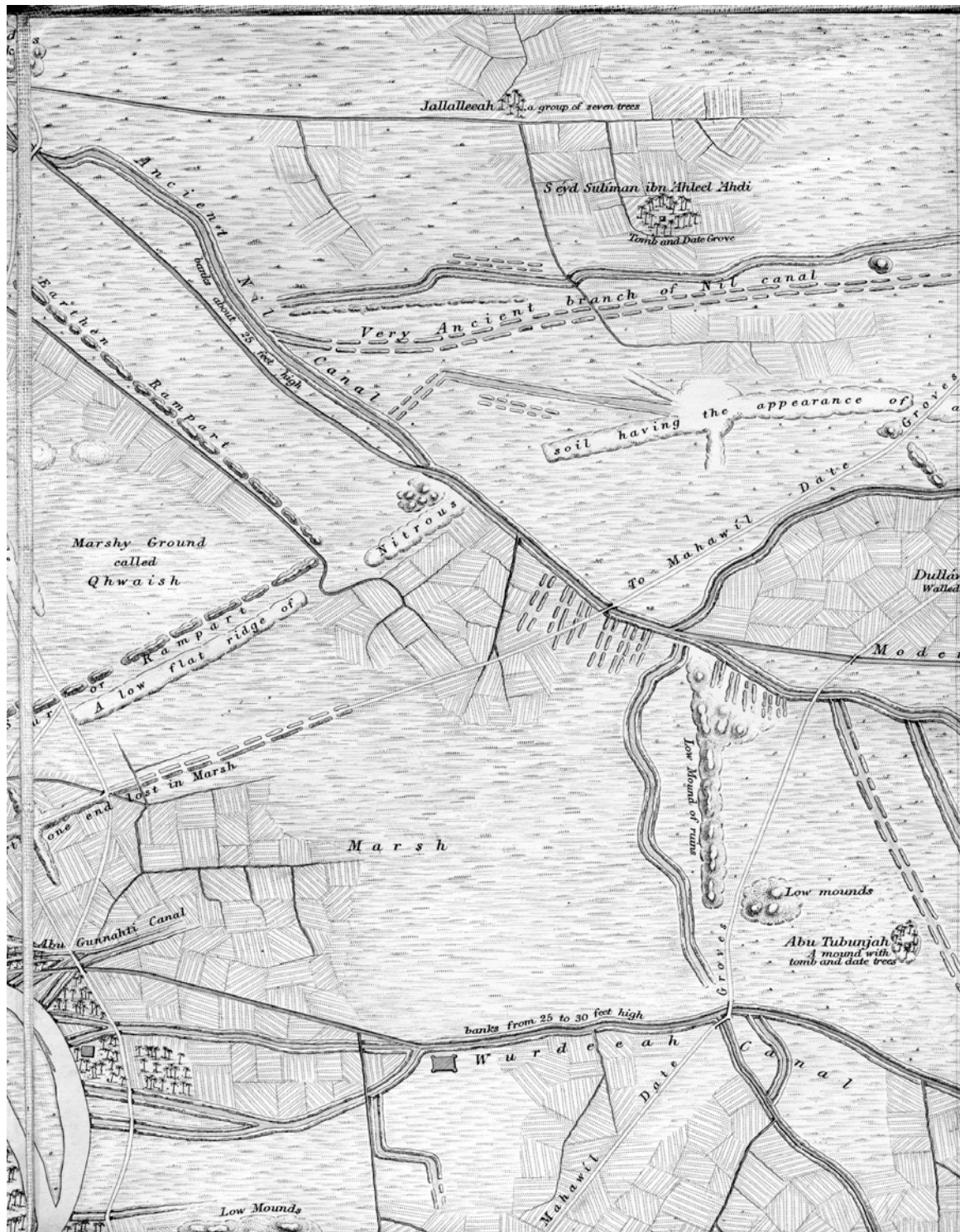
Figure 6: Map of Babylon (Selby 1859): detail, with city and areas to east and south

A DIVINE BODY: NEW JOINS IN THE SIPPAR COLLECTION

Frances S. Reynolds—Oxford

Jeremy Black is a colleague whose absence is still felt and I have many memories of his good-humoured company, both in Oxford and on a trip to Baghdad. Jeremy had a special affinity with the landscape of Iraq, both ancient and modern, and published extensively on imagery and metaphorical language (e.g., Black 1996; 1998; 2002b). I hope that this article is an appropriate way of commemorating him and that the title recalls his enjoyment of wordplay and puns.

INTRODUCTION

Two new joins to unpublished tablet pieces in the British Museum's Sippar Collection, BM 55484 and BM 55633, add material to a passage describing a god's anthropomorphic body which is partially preserved only on a Late Babylonian tablet from Babylon.[1] Part of this description was previously known from BM 55551 column v, published by the current author with cuneiform copy, edition and commentary (Reynolds 2002: 215–27). The new joins increase the available text by about 40% and restore sixteen names of body parts and eight descriptions of body parts. The new material confirms that the god's body was treated systematically from head to foot and expands the repertoire of metaphorical descriptions. This passage is compared with other material related to descriptions of divine bodies, both in ritual interpretation texts and in a well-known hymn to Ninurta. It is suggested that BM 55551+: v may preserve part of a newly recognised hymn to Ninurta.

JOINING THE PIECES

In late 2002 A.R. George identified a join between the unpublished piece BM 55484 (1882-7-4, 57) and BM 55551 (1882-7-4, 136), both in the British Museum's Sippar Collection. In the course of systematically checking the 1882-7-4 collection for further joins in 2003–4, the current author joined these two pieces to the unpublished piece BM 55633 (1882-7-4, 234) in May 2003. All these joins have been glued and BM 55633 has been glued a little low. As outlined by J. Reade, these three pieces are part of the tablet group with the date number signifying 4 July 1882 (BM 55433–55645); the British Museum's purchase of this group from the dealers Spartali and Co. was approved on 13 May of that year; and the tablets and tablet pieces are mainly from Babylon (Leichty 1986: xv–xvi).

CUNEIFORM COPY OF BM 55484 + 55633

Sidney Smith's unpublished cuneiform copy of BM 55484 was passed on to the current author by A.R. George and J.D. Hawkins, who were entrusted with Sidney Smith's Nachlass by his son, Professor H.S. Smith.[2] A.R. George added several collations to Sidney Smith's copy in columns v and vi. The present author added further collations in column v 17′-19′ and column vi 2′, 9′, and copied BM 55633. The maximum dimensions of BM 55484 + 55633 are 8.9 × 7.6 × 2.9 cm (length × width × depth).

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[1] I would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish BM 55484 and BM 55633. Thanks are also due to A.R. George for notifying me of the join with BM 55484 and for sharing his work on this piece and to I.L. Finkel for stimulating discussions about the text.

[2] For other texts from the folios of Sidney Smith see George 1988; 1991; 2004; 2006.

OVERVIEW OF THE TABLET

This Late Babylonian tablet from Babylon had six columns, three on each side. Column i is lost but columns ii–vi are partially preserved. A copy of a learned calendar text composed in Babylon in the late first millennium BCE occupies columns ii–iv.[3] Column v contains a description of a god's body. The reverse of BM 55633 contains part of column v and the reverse of BM 55484 part of columns v and vi; the obverse of these two pieces is destroyed. Column v as preserved on BM 55551 was published by the author with cuneiform copy, edition and commentary (Reynolds 2002: 215–27). The new material consists of fourteen line beginnings in the right-hand column of BM 55484 and ten part-lines on BM 55633. The left-hand column of BM 55484 preserves the ends of eleven lines in column vi, which are closely related to the calendar text in columns ii–iv and other manuscripts containing this composition. For an edition and discussion of column vi see Reynolds (forthcoming). The present article includes a cuneiform copy of BM 55484 + BM 55633 and an edition and study of column v incorporating these new joins.

THE DIVINE BODY

Column v contains a description of the anthropomorphic body of a god in terms of animals and plants and their products, minerals, artefacts, a circle and a city. The text is organised according to the relative position of the divine body parts. Overall the direction is downwards and can broadly be summarised as head, arms, trunk and legs. With the addition of the new material on BM 55484 + BM 55633 the legible body parts are ordered as follows: head (*qaqqadu*); neck muscles(?) (*šūrā*); ears (*uznā*); eyes (*īnā*); eyelids (*agappū*); nose (*appu*); tip of nose (*qaqqad appi*); mouth (*pû*); teeth (*šinnā*); crowns(?) of teeth (*rēšu? ša šinnī*); tongue (*lišānu*); lips (*šaptā*); chin (*kanzūzu*); face (*pānū*); neck (*tikku*); stomach (*karšu*); shoulder blades (*naglabā*); armpit (*suḫātu*); arms (*aḫānū*); forearms (*ammātu*); hands (*rittā*); fingers (*ubānā*); fingernails (*ṣuprā*); chest (*irtu*); pectorals (*tulâ*); ribcage (*sēlānū*); waist (*qablu*); hips (*giššā*); navel (*abunnatu*); top(?) of area of kidneys (*rēš? kalâti*); kidney-stone (*abattu*); top of kidney-stone (*qaqqad abatti*); groin (*sūnu*); seminal residues(?) (*suḫsū/suḫsā*); buttocks (*suḫḫu*); thighs (*pēnētu*); lower legs (*kinṣā*); heel bones(?) (*tuḫrā*); and foot (*šēpu*). As a writing for a body part, a logogram with the plural marker [meš] can often represent a dual or a plural form; dual forms are preferred here.[4]

Including the additional information from the new joins, the legible descriptions of the god's body parts can be categorised as in Table 1. The preserved pairings in this text are usually based on physical similarity, often in terms of shape or texture. Shape is fundamental to the following pairings: the tip of his nose with a pickaxe (8′); his shoulder blades with a pottery bowl (13′); his arms with reeds (14′); his forearms with white barley (14′); his ribcage with a circle (17′); and his hips with pegs (18′). A similar rationale probably applies to the following pairings: his ears with a paired musical instrument, possibly cymbals (7′); his fingers with a bunch of herbs, if the latter is correctly understood (15′); and perhaps the crowns of his teeth with aromatic plant seed (9′–10′).

Colour is a likely factor in some clauses. The darkness of pubic hair probably underlies the pairing of his groin with bitumen (21′) and, if correctly understood, lightness of colour is relevant to the pairing of his seminal residues with salt (22′). Some clauses pair divine body parts with similarly constituted, specified body parts or products, either human or animal. His fingernails are paired with gazelles' horn (16′); hairiness underlies the pairing of his face with a combed sheepskin (11′) and of his chest with wool (16′); and hardness the pairing of his kidney-stone with bone (20′). Bodily fluids are the probable reason for pairing his waist with oil and milk (17′). His stomach is paired with a waterskin, in origin an animal's stomach (12′). The pairing of his lower legs with *ḫusāru*-stone probably relates to strength (23′).

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[3] On the calendar text see provisionally Reynolds 1994; 2000. For publication of a critical edition with detailed commentary, incorporating additional unpublished source material, see Reynolds forthcoming.

[4] Traditional nominative forms are given in the lists, but in the transcription of logograms in the edition case vowels were determined by comparable syllabic writings in the passage.

Table 1: Categorisation of the descriptions of the god's body parts in BM 55551+: v

Category	Description		Divine Body Part	
Mammals	ša [i]mēru([A]NŠE)	(teeth of) donkey	šinnā(ZÚ)ᵐᵉ[ˢ]	teeth
	ša atānu(ÈME)	(lips of) donkey mare	šaptā(NUNDUN)ᵐᵉˢ	lips
	[ša p]agû([UG]U.DUL.BI)	(paws of) monkey	rittā	hands
Birds	ša qadû	(… of) owl	…	…
	ša ḫāzû	(neck of) ḫāzû-bird	tikku	neck
	iṣṣūru ša …	(abdomen of) bird of …	[libbu(ŠÀ)]	[abdomen]
	pašānu	(rump of) pašānu-bird	suḫḫu	buttocks
Insects	ša [bur]billat? ša …	(head of) burbillatu-insect(?) of …	qaqqadu(SAG.DU)	head
Fish	ša [g]irītu	(mouth of) eel-like fish	pû(KA)	mouth
Reptiles	ša ṣēru(MUŠ)	snake	lišānu(EME)	tongue
Humans	ša eṭli	(pectorals of) young man	tulâ(UBUR)ᵐᵉˢ	pectorals
Body parts	ša kīma kurri	like a groin fold	suḫātu	armpit
	ša qaran(SI) ṣabâtu(MAŠ.DÀ)ᵐᵉˢ	gazelles' horn	ṣup[rā](UMB[IN])ᵐᵉˢ	fingernails
	ša eṣindu	bone	abattu	kidney-stone
	ša rē[šu](SA[G]?) [š]a?	top(?) of(?) an owl's spur	r[ēš](S[AG]?)	top(?) of area of
	ḫandūri ša qadû		kalâti(ÉLLAG)ᵐᵉˢ	kidneys
Plants	ša zēr(NUMUN?) rīqu	aromatic plant seed(?)	rēšu(SAG?) ša šinnī(ZÚ)ᵐᵉˢ	crowns(?) of teeth
	[ša qa]nê	reeds	aḫānū	arms
	uṭṭātu(ŠE) peṣâtu	white barley	ammātu	forearms
	ša ṣippê	bunch of herbs(?)	ubānā(ŠU.SI)ᵐᵉˢ	fingers
Minerals	ša kupru(ESIR.ḪI.A)	bitumen	sūnu(ÚR)	groin
	ṭi[ṭṭu]	clay	[ᵘᶻ]ᵘpēnētu(ÚR)ᵐᵉˢ	thighs
	ša ḫusāri	ḫusāru-stone	[ki]n[ṣ]ā	lower legs
Wool/textile	ša ḫalīṣu	combed sheepskin	pānū	face
	ša šipātu(SÍG)	wool	irtu(GABA)	chest
	[tú]ᵍsuḫattu	suḫattu-garment	qaqqad(SAG.DU) abatti	top of kidney-stone
Foods	šaman u šizbu(GA)	oil and milk	qablu(MURUB₄)	waist
	ṭab[tu]	salt	suḫsū/suḫsā	seminal residues(?)
Containers	š[a ḫ]aṣbattu	pottery bowl	naglabā(MAŠ.SÌLA)ᵐᵉˢ	shoulder blades
	ša maškiri	waterskin	karšu	stomach
	ša ruqqu	cauldron	[…]	[…]
Instruments	tāpalu	cymbals(?)	uznā(GEŠTUG)ᵐ[ⁱⁿ·ᵐᵉˢ]	ears
Tools/other objects	ša akkullu	pickaxe	qaqqad(SAG.DU) appi	
	ša ᵍⁱˢsikkātu(KAK)[ᵐ]ᵉˢ	pegs	giš[šā](TUḪ[UL])[ᵐᵉ]ˢ	hips
Shapes	kippatu	circle	ṣēlānū(TI)ᵐᵉ[ˢ]	ribcage
Toponyms	nippuri	Nippur	abunnatu(LI.DUR)	navel
Uncertain	… dannu	strong …	appu	nose

Apart from the pairing of his tongue with a snake, which was probably based on this animal's shape (10ʹ),[5] all the other pairings with an animal or human, without any particular part being

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[5] The god's tongue is probably paired with a snake as a whole, rather than with just the snake's tongue

specified, probably concern the body part of the animal or human corresponding to the relevant body part of the god, e.g., his mouth with an eel-like fish's mouth (9´); his teeth with a donkey's teeth (9´); his lips with a donkey mare's lips (10´); his hands with a monkey's paws (15´); his pectorals with a young man's pectorals (16´). Thus, the human or animal was selected for a particularly striking physical feature. The *ḫāzû*-bird's neck (12´), the *pašānu*-bird's rump (22´) and perhaps the *burbillatu*-insect's head (5´) were all presumably distinctive features of these particular animals. In related texts body parts are probably paired with animals as a whole, rather than with the corresponding parts of animals.[6]

The text also reflects creation mythology. The god's navel is paired with Nippur, because this city is the cosmic navel (18´). His thighs are probably paired with clay, because clay provides the physical component of flesh (23´). The rationale of pairing the top of his kidney-stone with a *suḫattu*-garment (21´) and possibly the top of the area of his kidneys with the top of an owl's spur (19´) is unclear.

Thus, this passage emphasises the body of the god and its systematic metaphorical description. This conclusion is supported by the simple descriptive statement 'His eyelids are open' (7´) and by the unambiguous simile 'His armpit is like a groin fold' (13´ *kīma kurri*). Powerful metaphors are used to convey the god's extreme physique.

RITUAL INTERPRETATION TEXTS

There are six known passages in ritual interpretation texts where successive clauses pair divine body parts with items mainly from the natural world. The sources are Late Babylonian tablets, including one from Nippur and one from Borsippa, and Neo-Assyrian tablets from Aššur and Nineveh.[7] Apart from one passage attested by two Late Babylonian manuscripts (Livingstone 1986: 178, 59–67), each passage is attested by a single source.

In comparison with these six passages, BM 55551+: v has the following characteristics: the body part occurs first in each clause; all the body parts are ordered systematically according to their relative positions; and the range of items and the relationship between the items and the body parts are closer to the metaphorical descriptions of the human body in physiognomic omens.[8] In the six interpretative passages, as preserved, the body part occurs second in nearly all clauses;[9] the systematic ordering of body parts is limited to some sequences within the passages;[10] and overall plants, plant products and foodstuffs are more common.[11]

The two Babylonian texts containing relevant passages have not recently been edited with consecutive transliteration or translation.[12] One text is preserved on two duplicate Late Babylonian tablets. The colophon of CBS 6060 records that the text was restricted esoteric knowledge, that it was copied from an original by Ninurta-naṣir son of Ninurta-iqiša the [lú]*āšipu* (MAŠ.MAŠ) and that the

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[6] E.g., KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 1–18.

[7] Livingstone 1986: 178, 59–67 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV, ii 27–35 and PBS 10/4 12: ii 30–iii 5 (dupl.); Reynolds 2002: 215–27, 1´–25´; Epping and Strassmaier 1891: 243, 40–3 = Livingstone 1986: 163, 39–41 and 96, 41–2; KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 1–18; Beckman and Foster 1988: 25 no. 22 = Livingstone 1990: 9´–10´; LKA 72 = SAA 3 38: r. 9–17; CT 15 44 = SAA 3 37: r. 1´–5´.

[8] For a recent edition and study of physiognomic omens see Böck 2000. On related descriptions in these omens see commentary below on BM 55551+: v 17´ in addition to Reynolds 2002: 217.

[9] The exception is KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 14 (first clause). In the Yale piece the body part is second in each clause, since line 9´ should be translated '[... is] the ... of Anzu. Naphtha is his ankle bone. Crude bitumen [is *his* ...]' (Beckman and Foster 1988: 25 no. 22: 9´; contra Livingstone 1990: 9´).

[10] E.g., Livingstone 1986: 178, 63–6 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV, ii 31–34 and PBS 10/4 12: iii 1–4 (dupl.); KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 7; LKA 72 = SAA 3 38: r. 12.

[11] E.g., Livingstone 1986: 178, 59–67 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV, ii 27–35 and PBS 10/4 12: ii 30–iii 5 (dupl.); KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 1–18; LKA 72 = SAA 3 38: r. 9–17.

[12] Livingstone 1986: pl. III–V BM 47463 (81-11-3, 168) and PBS 10/4 12 CBS 6060 (dupl.); Epping and Strassmaier 1891: 241–4 BM 34035 (Sp. I 131). For page references to fragmented editions of both texts see Livingstone 1986: 6–7. For selective discussion see Annus 2002: 142–5; Livingstone 1986: 171–87; Lambert 1968: 110–11.

tablet belonged to Ešumeša, Ninurta's well-known temple in Nippur.[13] The colophon of the duplicate BM 47463 records exemplars from Babylon and Borsippa and that this copy was a tablet of Šemaya son of Adirum.[14] The first ruled-off section opens with fifty-eight entries, usually one per line, equating an item or group of items with a deity, demon, or group of either.[15] Many of the deities and demons are associated with Nippur and each deity or demon is listed as a whole without reference to constituent body parts. These entries are clustered according to item type and the overall order probably reflects the sequence in which the items were used in a ritual. The main item types are: containers; plants; minerals, including bitumen; artefacts, including pegs and musical instruments; cereal products; wool; and animals, including a gazelle and a goose. The first section closes with nine further entries in which six foodstuffs, including four fruits, cedar resin, naphtha and sulphur are equated with eight parts of Anzu's body and, if understood correctly, with his gods.[16] The remainder of the text is concerned with demons, many of them Asakku demons conquered by Ninurta, and with divine weapons associated with Ninurta and his father Enlil.[17]

The other Babylonian passage is part of a compendium on the Late Babylonian tablet BM 34035. According to the colophon, the long tablet (^{im}gì-ṭi) was copied from an old long tablet, an exemplar from Borsippa, by Bel-aḫḫe-iddina, son of Bel-kuṣuršu, descendant of Eṭiru, in Borsippa in 138 BCE.[18] The compendium includes an interpretation of a ritual for curing a sick man in which eleven items or groups of items used in the ritual are each equated with a deity, demon, group of either, or a net as a divine weapon.[19] Ninurta routing Asakku is presented as a mythological parallel to curing the illness. The ritual dictates the ordering of the material and this probably reflects the sequence in which the items were used. After intervening material, the text refers to $^{lú}āšipūtu$(MAŠ.MAŠ)$^{ú-tu}$ in connection with illness and then equates barley with the flesh of Ti'amat,[20] other cereals with deities, either overall or specifically their flesh, and fruits with body parts of a deity or demon, probably Anu.[21]

Thus, these two passages on BM 34035 are closely related to CBS 6060 and duplicate: nine ritual items or groups of items are equated with deities or demons in both texts, although the deities or demons usually differ;[22] the equations with divine body parts in both texts are closely related, although in CBS 6060 and duplicate they concern Anzu and in BM 34035 they concern Ti'amat, probably Anu and possibly other deities; and both texts are connected with demons, particularly Asakku demons conquered by Ninurta, and with āšipūtu.

It can be concluded that the interpretation of items used in āšipūtu rituals as body parts of hostile but vincible demons or deities was the primary aim of the passages listing divine body parts in both CBS 6060 and duplicate and in BM 34035, but that the primary aim of BM 55551+: v was the systematic description of a god's body. In CBS 6060 and duplicate and in BM 34035 the breakdown of a body into its parts reflects the role of the deity or demon as the target of conquest and destruction, whereas BM 55551+: v was probably composed in praise of a god. These

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[13] PBS 10/4 12: iv 13–17 = Livingstone 1986: 260 ($^{lú}āšipu$(MAŠ.MAŠ) omitted in translation). The tablet has been wrongly dated to the Kassite or Middle Babylonian period (e.g., PBS 10/4: 330; Hunger 1968: 29 no. 40). For the identification of the tablet as Late Babylonian see Lambert 1969–70: 291.

[14] Livingstone 1986: 259–60 and pl. V, iv 17–20.

[15] Livingstone 1986: 176–9, 1–58 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. III–IV, i 1–ii 26 and PBS 10/4 12: i 1–ii 29 (dupl.).

[16] Livingstone 1986: 178, 59–67 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV, ii 27–35 and PBS 10/4 12: ii 30–iii 5 (dupl.). On the revised reading napṭu(Ì.ḪUL), 'naphtha', in 61 see the commentary on 21´ below.

[17] Livingstone 1986: 186, 6–12 and 54–7, 1–42 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV–V, iii 1–iv 16 and PBS 10/4 12: iii 6–iv 12 (dupl.).

[18] Epping and Strassmaier 1891: 244, 55–9 = Livingstone 1986: 259. See also Hunger 1968: 54 no. 137.

[19] Epping and Strassmaier 1891: 243, 14–24 = Livingstone 1986: 172, 1–8.

[20] For collation see Reynolds 2002: 224.

[21] Epping and Strassmaier 1891: 243, 39–43 = Livingstone 1986: 73, 163 and 96, 38–42.

[22] For a partial list see Livingstone 1986: 184 but note that the cymbals are paired with Enlil, not Ea, and that the circle of flour and three heaps of flour should be added.

distinctions also exist between the related Assyrian passages on the one hand and BM 55551+: v on the other.[23] All the Assyrian tablets probably originated from or were destined for the library N4 found at Aššur which belonged to the *āšipu* family whose best-known member is Kiṣir-Aššur.[24]

A HYMN TO NINURTA

The description in BM 55551+: v is related to a hymn to Ninurta partially preserved on two duplicate tablets, one from Assur and one from Sultantepe.[25] This hymn praises Ninurta by pairing different parts of his anthropomorphic body with different deities or with celestial or cosmic features. The description of Ninurta's body is closely related to BM 55551+: v, although the two passages also display significant differences. As preserved in the main source (KAR 102: 10–35), the passage in the hymn is made up of nominal clauses, each consisting of a body part plus the second masculine singular possessive suffix followed by a description, except in one clause where the order is reversed (KAR 102: 16). Similarly the passage in BM 55551+: v is also in the form of nominal clauses and each body part plus the third masculine singular possessive suffix is followed by a description, except one clause which has a stative verb (BM 55551+: v 7´). The third person suffixes in BM 55551+: v do not rule out the identification of this passage as part of a hymn, since in Akkadian hymns the deity celebrated is usually in the second person but sometimes in the third. The two passages differ in that *ša* does not follow the body part in KAR 102, whereas this is the norm in BM 55551+: v.

In both passages the clauses are ordered according to the relative position of the body parts and overall the direction starts at the head and moves downwards. In KAR 102: 10–35 the description breaks off in the vicinity of Ninurta's navel but the legible body parts are ordered as follows: face (*pānū*); locks (*qimmatu*); eyes (*īnā*); pupils (*lamassāt īnī*); eyebrows (*šūr īnī*); eyelids (*agappū īnī*); shape of mouth (*šikin pî*); lips (*šaptā*); speech (*qibītu*); tongue(?) (*multābiltu*); roof of mouth (*šamû pî*); teeth (*šinnā*); cheek area (*ṭēḫ lētī*); ears (*uznā*); head (*qaqqadu*); forehead (*pūtu*); neck (*kišādu*); throat (*napištu*); chest (*irtu*); shoulder blades (*naglabā*); right hand (*imittu*); left hand (*šumēlu*); fingers (*ubānā rittī*); fingernails (*ṣuprā*); navel (*abunnatu*). Comparison with the list of legible body parts in BM 55551+: v given above reveals the passages' similarity in this respect.

In KAR 102, as preserved, each of Ninurta's body parts is paired either with another deity or other deities or, less commonly, with a celestial or cosmic phenomenon. The pairing of the roof of Ninurta's mouth with 'the circle of heaven (and) underworld' is based on similarity of shape and function (KAR 102: 18).[26] This is related to the pairing of the god's ribcage with a circle and the pairing of his navel with Nippur, the cosmic navel (BM 55551+: v 17´–18´). In at least some of the pairings with deities in KAR 102 it is the essential nature of a deity that provides the rationale. For example, Ninurta's ears (*uznā*) are paired with Ea and Damkina, the sages of wisdom (*apkallī*(ABGAL) *né-me-qí*) (KAR 102: 21). Ears are linked with Ea, because he is the god of wisdom, and the fact that there are two ears results in Damkina being named too, because she is

[23] KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 1–18; Beckman and Foster 1988: 25 no. 22 = Livingstone 1990: 9´–10´; LKA 72 = SAA 3 38: r. 9–17; CT 15 44 = SAA 3 37: r. 1´–5´.

[24] KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: r. 26–31 (colophon); Beckman and Foster 1988: 1–2 (colophon of no. 22 is lost; provenience); LKA 72 = SAA 3 38: r. 20 (broken colophon); CT 15 44 = SAA 3 37: r. 9´–12´ (damaged colophon). On the library N4 see Pedersén 1986: 41–76 (KAR 307 = 116). On the family see PNA 2/I: 623–4 Kiṣir-Aššur no. 26; 627-8 Kiṣir-Nabu no. 5; 629 Kiṣir-[…] no. 3.

[25] Duplicate manuscripts: KAR 102 + KAR 328 (Assur); STT 62 + 52/285A + 52/304 (+) STT 118 (Sultantepe); for the Sultantepe joins, see Gurney 1981–2: 93, 95. Edition of KAR 102: Ebeling 1918: 47–9; Annus 2002: 205–6. Translation of KAR 102 and STT 118: Foster 2005: 713–14. The tablet pieces STT 62 + 52/285A + 52/304 should be added to the sources listed by Annus and Foster. Contra Annus (2002: 159, 205–6), the Sultantepe tablet contains a duplicate version of the text, albeit with variants, and there are no apparent grounds for identifying KAR 102 and KAR 328 as separate manuscripts containing parallel versions and rejecting the join listed by Borger (1967: 99, 103). The subject matter of KAR 328 could be a later part of the description begun on KAR 102.

[26] For quotation and discussion of KAR 102: 18 see commentary on BM 55551+: v 17´ below.

Ea's wife. Thus, in the present author's opinion the two passages display parallel techniques for describing a god by the systematic metaphorical description of his body. BM 55551+: v pairs body parts with similar items largely drawn from the natural world, whereas KAR 102: 10–35 pairs body parts with similar gods or celestial or cosmic phenomena. In both passages the god is likened to the ultimate manifestations of the relevant domain. In contrast to this metaphorical understanding of KAR 102: 10–35, Annus (2002: 159–60) and Porter (2000: 240–51) have recently offered more literal interpretations.

AUTHORIAL INTENT OF BM 55551+: V

As shown above, material related to BM 55551+: v can be found in both ritual interpretation texts and a hymn to Ninurta. However, BM 55551+: v is more closely related to the hymn praising the god than to the interpretations of items used in rituals as body parts of hostile but vincible demons or deities. The nature of the description in BM 55551+: v, including the pairing of the subject's navel with Nippur (18′), suggests that a god rather than a demon is being described and that the passage was probably composed as a form of praise, celebrating that god's 'otherness' and power. The reference to Nippur as the cosmic navel raises the possibility that the description was a Nippur composition (Reynolds 2000: 225–6). A critical edition and detailed study of the other material on BM 55551+ and duplicates, largely a learned calendar text from Babylon, are given in the author's forthcoming book (Reynolds forthcoming) but it should be noted here that material concerning battles of the divine heroes Marduk and Ninurta is an important component. These battles probably provided the link between the calendar text and the description of a divine body, which was added to the tablet after the calendar text in one of the manuscript copies. It is, therefore, possible that BM 55551+: v partially preserves a systematic description of Ninurta's body using metaphorical language mainly drawn from the natural world as a form of celebration and praise and that the passage is part of an otherwise unknown hymn to Ninurta.

Transliteration of BM 55484 + BM 55551 + BM 55633 column v

Col. v

    (One line lost)

1′   [x x x x x x x x x x x x] x [(x)] x [(x)] x

2′   [x x x x x x x x x x x] x x x-ʾ-˹e⁽ʔ⁾˺

3′   [x x x x x x x x x x x] x x-˹nu˺-um-ma

4′   [x x x x x x x x x x x x x] x-um-ma

5′   [x x x x x] x ˹qaqqad˺(SAG.DU)-su šá˺ [bur]-˹bi-il˺-lat

6′   šá x [(x)] x-a-t[u₄] šūrī(ŠUR)ᵐᵉˢ-šú ˹šá˺ x x x [x] x-˹šú⁽ʔ⁾˺ šá qa-du-ú

7′   uznī(GEŠTUG)ᵐ[ⁱⁿ·ᵐᵉˢ-š]ú ta-pa-lu īnī(IGI)ᵐⁱⁿ·ᵐᵉˢ-šú x KI x [aʔ-g]a-ap-piᵐᵉˢ-šú pe-tu-ú

8′   ap-paʾ-šúʾ(coll.) [x]-˹ú˺ dan-nu qaqqad(SAG.DU) ap-pi-šú šá ak-kul-lu

9′   pû(KA)-šú ˹šá˺ [g]i-ri-tú šinnī(ZÚ)ᵐᵉ[š]-˹šú šá˺ [i]mēru([A]NŠE) ˹rêšu(SAG⁽ʔ⁾) šáʾ(coll.) šinnī(ZÚ)�¹ᵐᵉˢ-šú

10′   šá zēr(NUMUN⁽ʔ⁾) ri-˹qu˺ lišān(EME)-šú šá ˹ṣēru(MUŠ) šaptī(NUNDUN)ᵀ¹ᵐᵉˢ-šú šá atānu(ÈME)

11′   kan-zu-us-[s]u šá x (x)-ti pa-ni-šú šá ḫa-li-ṣu

12′   ti-ik-k[a]-šú šá ḫa-zu-ú ka-ra-as-su šá maš-ki-ri

13′   naglabī(MAŠ.SÌLA)ᵐᵉˢ-šú š[á ḫ]a-aṣ-bat-tu₄ su-ḫat-su šá ki-ma kur-ri

14′   a-ḫa-ni-šú [šá qa]-né-e am-ma-ti-šú uṭṭātu(ŠE) pe-ṣa-a-tú

15′   rit-˹ti-šú˺ [šá p]agû([UG]U.DUL.BI) ubānī(ŠU.SI)ᵐᵉˢ-šú šá ṣi-ip-pe-e

16′   ṣup[rī](UMB[IN])˹ᵐᵉˢ˺-šú šá qaran(SI)˺ ṣabâti(MAŠ!.DÀ!)ᵐᵉˢ(coll.) irat(GABA)-su šá šipātu(SÍG) tulê(UBUR)ᵐᵉˢ-šú šá eṭ-˹li˺

17′   ṣēlānī(TI)ᵐᵉ[š]!-šú(coll.) kip-pat-tu₄ qabal(MURUB₄)-šú šá-man u šizbu(GA)

18′   giš[šī](TUḪ[UL]!)[ᵐᵉ]š-šú(coll.) šá ᵍⁱˢsikkātu(KAK)[ᵐ]ᵉš abunnat(LI.DUR)-su ni-ip-pu-riʾ(tablet: ḪU)

19′   r[ēš](S[AG]!ʔ)(coll.) kalâti(ÉLLAG)ᵐᵉˢ-šú šá rē[šu](SA[G]ʔ) [š]áʔ ḫa-an-du-ri šá qá-du-˹ú˺

20′   [libba(ŠÀ)]-˹šú˺ iṣ-ṣur-ru šá x [(x)]-˹a˺-tú a-bat-ta-šú šá e-ṣi-in-du
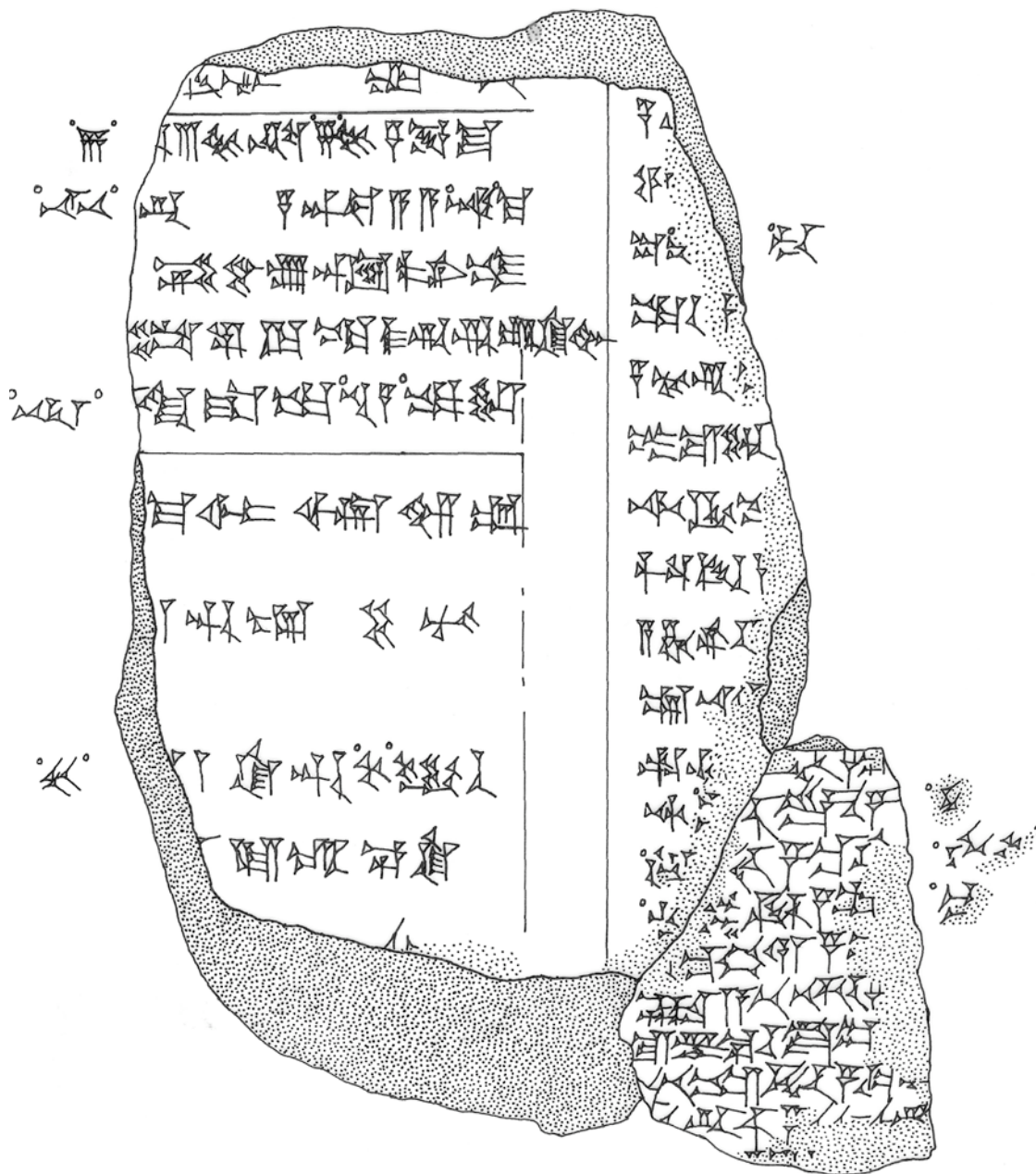
Figure 1: BM 55484 (82-7-4,57) + BM 55633 (82-7-4,234), reverse columns v and vi, 8.9 × 7.6 × 2.9 cm (copy by Sidney Smith and Frances S. Reynolds)

21′   *qaqqad*(SAG.DU) *a-bat-ti-šú* ⌜*šá*⌝ [ᵗᵘ]ᵍ? *su-ḫat-tú sūn*(ÚR)*-šú šá kupru*(ESIR.ḪI.A)
22′   *su-uḫ-si-šú ṭa-ab-*[*tú*] ⌜ᵘᶻᵘ⌝*su-uḫ-ḫa-šú pa-šá-nu*
23′   [ᵘᶻ]ᵘ*pēnēti*(ÚR)ᵐᵉˢ*-šú šá* ⌜*ṭi*⌝*-i*[*ṭ-ṭu ki*]*n-*[*ṣ*]*i-šú šá ḫu-sa-ri*
24′   [*tu*]*ḫ-ri-šú* ⌜*šá*⌝ x x ⌜RI?⌝ [x xᵐ]ᵉˢ*-šú šá ruq-*⌜*qu*⌝
25′   [x x] x [x x x x x x] x ⌜KA *šēp*(GÌR)⌝*-šú*
       (Lacuna)

Translation of BM 55484 + BM 55551 + BM 55633 column v

Col. v

	(One line lost)
1´-4´	(Traces only)
5´	[…] … His head is that of a *burbillatu*-insect(?)
6´	of … […]. His neck(?) muscles(?) are …. His(?) […] … is/are an owl's.
7´	His ears are cymbals(?). His eyes are …. His eyelids are open.
8´	His nose is (a) strong […] …. The tip of his nose is a pickaxe.
9´	His mouth is an eel-like fish's. His teeth are a donkey's. The crowns(?) of his teeth
10´	are aromatic(?) plant(?) seed(?). His tongue is a snake. His lips are a donkey mare's.
11´	His chin is …. His face is a combed sheepskin.
12´	His neck is a *ḫāzû*-bird's. His stomach is a waterskin.
13´	His shoulder blades are a pottery bowl. His armpit is like a groin fold.
14´	His arms are reeds. His forearms are white barley.
15´	His hands are a monkey's. His fingers are a bunch(?) of(?) herbs(?).
16´	His fingernails are gazelles' horn. His chest is wool. His pectorals are a young man's.
17´	His ribcage is a circle. His waist is oil and milk.
18´	His hips are pegs. His navel is Nippur.
19´	The top(?) of the area of his kidneys is the top(?) of(?) an owl's spur.
20´	His [abdomen] is that of a bird of …. His kidney-stone is bone.
21´	The top of his kidney-stone is a *suḫattu*-garment. His groin is bitumen.
22´	His seminal(?) residues(?) are salt. His buttocks are a *pašānu*-bird's.
23´	His thighs are clay. His [lower] legs are *ḫusāru*-stone.
24´	His heel bones(?) are …. His […] are a cauldron.
25´	[…] … […] … His foot
	(Lacuna)

COMMENTARY ON BM 55484 + BM 55551 + BM 55633 COLUMN V

This commentary is limited to new issues in column v raised by the joins with BM 55484 and BM 55633. For commentary on BM 55551 column v prior to these joins see Reynolds (2002: 220–7).

6´   The signs *šá* x [(x)] x-*a*-*t*[*u₄*] at the beginning of 6´ probably conclude the clause begun in 5´ describing the god's head (*qaqqadu*). If read correctly, the term *burbillatu* in 5´ probably signifies an insect (see Reynolds 2002: 220).

7´   The spacing does not favour restoring *uznī*(GEŠTUG)^m[^in.meš-*šú š*]*á*. Ears are a dual body part which accords with the musical instrument *tāpalu*, literally 'pair' (see Reynolds 2002: 221). In a related passage concerning an unknown god a lyre (^giš*sammû*(ZÀ.MÍ)) is said to be his hand, a *manzû*-drum ([^zabar?]*manzû*) his lower jaw, and a kettledrum (^liliz*lilissu*) his heart (KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 3, 8, 11). Human hands like a lyre (*qātā*(ŠU)^min *sammê*(ZÀ.MÍ)) occur in an omen of the non-canonical *Alamdimmû* series (Böck 2000: 284, 19). All four pairings are based on similarity between the body part and the instrument, either in terms of shape or, at least with the heart, sound.

8´   There is not enough space to restore [*e-ru*]-⌐*ú*⌐.

10´   The sign read NUMUN^? could be MU. The god's forearms are equated with white barley in 14´ and his fingers probably with a bunch of herbs in 15´. In other related passages divine body parts are equated with aromatic plants or their products, e.g., cedar ([^giš*e*]*rēnu*), cedar resin (*dam*(ÚŠ) ^giš*erēni*(EREN)), cypress (^giš*šurmēnu*(ŠUR.MÌN)), juniper (^giš*duprānu*) and myrrh (^giš*murru*(ŠIM.ŠEŠ)) (LKA 72: r. 10´–13´ = SAA 3 38: r. 10–13; Livingstone 1986: 178, 59 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV, ii 27 and PBS 10/4 12: ii 30 (dupl.)). Rituals commonly involved aromatic plants as incense (e.g., CAD R 368–9: *riqqu* a.1´). Instructions in a medical text for treating a patient with dental disease include making a model jaw of clay with grains of emmer representing teeth (BAM 542: iii´ 8–10, cf. iii´ 17–18):

8   *epuštašu*(DÙ.DÙ.BI) *la-áš-ḫa šá ṭiṭṭi*(IM) *kullati*(KI.GAR*) teppuš*(DÙ) *ana minât*(ŠID)^meš
9   *šinnī*(ZÚ)^meš-*šú kunāša*(ZÍZ.NA.AN) *tu-rat-ta ašar*(KI) *šinnī*(ZÚ)-*šú*
10   [*mar*]*ušti*([G]IG)^ti *kunāša*(ZÍZ.AN.NA) *ṣalimta*(GI₆) *ti-ret-ti* …

        Its ritual: You make a jaw of potter's clay. You insert as many emmer grains as he has teeth. In place of his diseased tooth you insert a black emmer grain. …

13´ The shape of a shoulder blade is reminiscent of a shallow pottery bowl, and bone and pottery are both hard substances. In a medical text *ḫaṣbattu* signifies the shell of a crab, *ḫaṣ-bat-ti a-lu-ti* (AMT pl. 31 no. 6: 10). Meanings of both the cognate *ḫaṣbu* and the semantically close *kallu* include 'pottery bowl, cranium/fragment of a skull, shell of a turtle' (AHw 332a: *ḫaṣbu*(*m*), 426a: *kallu*(*m*)).
     On the anatomical terms *suḫātu* and *kurru* see Reynolds (2002: 223–4). The new join reveals that the end of 13´ concludes a clause. In this description, as preserved, the syntax of the clause *su-ḫat-su šá ki-ma kur-ri* is unique, since the preposition *kīma* is used only here to compare a divine body part with another item. The groin fold is not allocated to any specific creature and this is comparable to the equation between the god's kidney stone and bone in 20´. Syntactical variation also occurs in 7´ with the simple descriptive statement 'His eyelids are open.'

14´ This masculine plural form of *aḫu* meaning 'arms' is unusual. Lines 14´–15´ contain three similar pairings: arms with reeds; forearms with white barley; and fingers with a bunch of herbs, if the latter is correct. Thus, on the basis of shape three closely related body parts are paired with plant stems of appropriate relative size. Shape also underlies the pairing of reeds (*qanû*(GI)^meš) with an unknown god's fingers and the pairing of oak (^giš*al-la-nu*) with the arms of a god called ^dKÁR.KÁR, possibly Dumuzi (KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 11; LKA 72: r. 14´ = SAA 3 38: r. 14).

15´ Toes like a monkey's are mentioned in physiognomic omens, and a head and face or eye like a monkey's in *Šumma izbu* (see Reynolds 2002: 224).

16´ Both fingernails and gazelle horn are horny tissue containing keratin. The incipit of *Alamdimmû* XI lists a human toenail like an ox's hoof: *šumma*(DIŠ) *ṣupru*(UMBIN) *kīma*(GIN₇) *alpi*(GU₄) *šakin*(GAR)^in 'If he has a toenail like an ox's (hoof)' (Böck 2000: 27, cf. 14–15)
     A description of a statue of the goddess Ammakurkur comments on each of her two horns: 'a horn (is) like a gazelle's' (*qarnu*(SI) *ki ṣabīti*(MAŠ.DÀ)) (Köcher 1953: 102, iv 6–7; CT 17, 42: 27–28 (dupl.)).

17´ On the writing *kip-pat-tu₄* for *kippatu* cf. 20´ *iṣ-ṣur-ru* and see George (2003: 438). A ribcage in cross section and a circle are similar in shape. Geometrical imagery concerning a human body part occurs in two consecutive omens in *Alamdimmû* II, where a man's head, written SAG and glossed as *pūtu*(SAG.KI), 'forehead', looks 'like a parallelogram(?)' (*kīma*(GIN₇) *ú-si*) and 'like a trapezoid' (*kīma*(GIN₇) *pūt*(SAG.KI) *alpi*(GU₄)) (Böck 2000: 88, 167–8). The 'circle' in 17´ may be a cosmic circle or circumference, which would be in keeping with the cosmological pairing of the god's navel with Nippur in 18´. This idea is supported by the hymn to Ninurta discussed earlier in this article, since the description of the god's body includes the following: *šamê*(AN)^e *pî*(KA)-*ka be-lum* ⌈*kip*⌉-*pat šamê*(AN)^e *erṣeti*(KI)^ti *šu-bat* DINGIR [x x] 'The roof of your mouth, O lord, is the circle of heaven (and) underworld, the dwelling of the deity/deities […]' (KAR 102: 18). Similarity of shape and function generate this pairing, as is emphasised by the repetition of the word *šamê*(AN)^e.

18´ The term *giššu* signifies the top of the leg including the protruding hip (e.g., AHw 288: *gilšu*; CAD G 73: *gilšu*). The two protruding edges of the hip bone were probably thought to resemble two protruding pegs. The head of the femur is peg-shaped but less discernible. In *Šumma izbu* VII a birth defect involves a peg-like protuberance, probably bone, on the spine: *šumma*(BE) *iz-bu ina eṣemṣērī*(GÚ.MURGU)-*šú* ^giš*sikkatu*(KAK) *ki-ma* […] 'If an anomaly [has] on

its spine a peg like […]' (Leichty 1970: 97, 98′). In *Šumma izbu* XVII a ram's horn is 'like a peg' (*ki-ma* ᵍⁱˢ*sikkati*(KAK)) (Leichty 1970: 171, 88′).

19′ Distinguishing between traces and surface damage is difficult for the first sign. The anatomical term *kalâtu* can mean either the lower back where the kidneys are located or the kidneys themselves (e.g., CAD K 75: *kalītu* 1). The omen series *Šumma kittabru*(ŠE) includes the following sequence of body parts: rib (*ṣēlu*(TI)); top of navel (*rēš*(SAG) *abunnati*(LI.DUR)); top of kidney area (*rēš*(SAG) *kalīti*(ÉLLAG)) or the kidney area (*kalītu* (ÉLLAG)); and locations related to the navel (*abunnatu*(LI.DUR)) (Böck 2000: 220–1, 73–81).

20′ The lacuna at the beginning of 20′ has space for one relatively narrow sign and could just accommodate [ŠÀ], which fits the text's head-to-foot scheme. On the writing *iṣ-ṣur-ru* for *iṣṣūru* cf. 17′ *kip-pat-tu₄*. The body part is probably compared to the equivalent part of a particular bird but *iṣ-ṣur-ru* could be plural and the comparison could be with a bird or birds as a whole. The traces …-ᵊ*a*ᵊ-*tú* suggest a feminine plural noun and recall two other complements: 5′–6′ [*bur*]-ᵊ*bi-il*ᵊ-*lat šá* x [(x)] x-*a-t*[*u₄*]; 14′ *uṭṭātu*(ŠE) *pe-ṣa-a-tú*. The same word may have occurred in 6′ and 20′, possibly specifying a particular time or habitat. For bird imagery in this text see 6′, 12′, 19′, 22′.

21′ The new piece BM 55633 adds [ᵘᶻ]ᵘ*pēnēti*(ÚR)ᵐᵉˢ-*šú*, 'his thighs', as part of the god's legs in 23′. This favours reading *sūn*(ÚR)-*šu* rather than *pēm*(ÚR)-*šu*, both meaning 'his groin', in 21′. In accordance with the head-to-foot principle, the groin and buttocks are listed before the thighs. The earlier discussion of bitumen and naphtha imagery can be expanded (Reynolds 2002: 227). A passage equating items used in an *āšipūtu* ritual with body parts of Anzu includes the entry *naptu*(Ì.HUL) *šaman*(Ì.GIŠ)-*šú*, 'Naphtha is his fat' (Livingstone 1986: 178, 61 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV, ii 29 and PBS 10/4 12: ii 32 (dupl.)). The translation of Ì.HUL without transcription as 'rancid oil' should be abandoned (Livingstone 1986: 178–9, 61). For the probable colour contrast between bitumen and salt in 21′–22′ see commentary on 22′ below.

22′ The context strongly suggests that in 22′ *suḫsu*, probably in a dual or plural form, is a term for a male body part or product in the area of the groin and buttocks. In CAD, however, one noun *suḫsu* is listed with the translation 'bed' (CAD S 349–50: *suḫsu* (*šuḫsu*); cf. AHw 1054: *s/šuḫsu*, 1064: *su''usu*). This translation is based both on an inconclusive parallel drawn between the plant names *s/šuḫsi ištari* and *mayāl/mayālti ištar*, the latter literally meaning 'Ištar's bed', and on a *Manzāzu* extispicy omen and commentary (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 143, 84):

šumma(BE) *šalšu*(3)ˢ*ú manzāzu*(na) *kīma*(GIN₇) *zi-qit zuqāqīpi*(GÍR.TAB) *aššat*(DAM) *amīli*(LÚ) *ina kub-bu-ub* SUḪ-*se-e-šú*(var. *šá*) *išāta*(IZI) *ana bīt*(É) *amīli*(LÚ) *inaddi*(ŠUB)ᵈⁱ
šum-ma SUḪ-*su ana pānī*(IGI)-*ka* SUḪ-*su qé-nu qé-na-at-ma ina qé-ni-šá išāta*(IZI) *ana bīt*(É) *amīli*(LÚ) *inaddi*(ŠUB)ᵈⁱ

If thirdly the Presence is like the sting of a scorpion: A man's wife will set fire to the man's house by burning his ….
If the word '…' is before you: '…' means 'jealous', she is jealous and in her jealousy she sets fire to the man's house.

In this passage the term SUḪ-*su* signifies something flammable, inside or in contact with a man's house, which could probably be linked with female sexual jealousy; thus a meaning 'bed' is possible.

However, other passages suggest that a noun *su'su* or *suḫsu* could also signify the residues of male and female sexual secretions. A magico-medical text from Sultantepe gives sorcery as the cause of a male condition whereby at inappropriate times unconnected with sexual intercourse: … *ri-ḫu-su illak*(DU)ᵃᵏ / *kīma*(GIN₇) *sinništi*(MUNUS) *su-u'-su là e-el* (var. *l*[*a*

e]-*lil*) … '… his seminal fluid flows (and) like a woman (there is) *su'su* (and) he is not pure …' (Farber 1977: 234, 24–5 (score edition) = LKA 144: rev. 24–25 and STT 280: i 24 (dupl.); cf. Biggs 1967: 66, 24).

In another passage closely related material after a ruling opens a poorly preserved section: *lu zikaru*(NITA)(var. NÍTA) *lu sinništu*(MUNUS) *su-u'-us*(var. *su*) *ri-ḫu-su-nu* / x-'-*uš illak* (DU)*ak* … 'Either a man or a woman, (there is) *su'us/su'su*; their sexual fluid / … flows …' (BAM 205: 40′–41′; 81-2-4, 446: 3′ (dupl.), see Biggs 1967: 68).

In a damaged commentary on Sa.gig Tablet III, a tablet concerning the head, references to head hair are followed by an entry: [x x (x x x)] x = *su-uḫ-si* (STT 403: 29). It is tempting to suggest that the link here is pubic hair coated with seminal residues but the available evidence is inconclusive.

If *suḫsīšu ṭabtu* is read in 22′ and translated as 'His seminal residues are salt', then the pairing is based on similar appearance. Other passages concerning divine body parts include *ḫurāṣu*(KÙ.SIG₁₇) *ri-ḫu-su* 'Gold is his semen' and ^giš^*murru*(ŠIM.ŠEŠ) *ni-lu-šú* 'Myrrh is his seminal fluid' (KAR 307 = SAA 3 39: 12; LKA 72 = SAA 3 38: r. 13, 15; CT 15 44 = SAA 3 37: r. 4′ and 5′ (restored)). This reading in 22′ would give a colour contrast with the preceding pair *sūnšu ša kupru*, 'His groin is bitumen', which probably refers to the blackness of pubic hair. Concerning Anzu's body, one passage includes *ṭabtu*(MUN) *šar-ka-šu* 'Salt is his pus' and pairs naphtha and crude bitumen with other body parts (Beckman and Foster 1988: 25 no. 22 = Livingstone 1990: 9′–10′). Another passage includes *dišpu*(LÀL) *šarak*(LUGUD (ÚŠ.BABBAR)) *an-zi-i* 'Honey is the pus of Anzu' and pairs naphtha with his fat (Livingstone 1986: 178, 60–1 (composite edition) = Livingstone 1986: pl. IV, ii 28–9 and PBS 10/4 12: ii 31–2 (dupl.)). The term *šarku*, as the logogram indicates, refers to light-coloured discharges, possible orifices including the urethra. Thus the pairings of salt with seminal residues, salt with pus, and honey with pus would share a similar colour-related rationale. On bitumen and naphtha imagery relating to the body see commentary on 21′ above. On black/white colour contrasts see Annus (2002: 142–5).

23′   The pairing of thighs with clay reflects the thighs' fleshiness and the traditional mythological role of clay as the inanimate material from which humans were created and to which they returned after death (e.g., George 2003: 544, 102; 710, 135; Moorey 2005: 10). Anomalous birth omens in *Šumma izbu* include a woman giving birth to clay (Leichty 1970: 35, 45, 49(?); 70, 39).

24′   On the meaning of *tuḫru*, a part of the foot, and on variant writings see Böck (2000: 54).

SKEPSIS GEGENÜBER VÄTERLICHER WEISHEIT: ZUM ALTBABYLONISCHEN DIALOG ZWISCHEN VATER UND SOHN

WALTHER SALLABERGER—MUNICH

Mit der Literatur Mesopotamiens, der akkadischen wie der sumerischen, hat sich Jeremy Black oft und intensiv auseinandergesetzt. Als er im Dezember 2003 nach München kam, um Vorlesungen und Seminare zur Literatur Mesopotamiens zu geben, und dabei auch Erinnerungen an seinen hiesigen Studienaufenthalt im Jahr 1978 auffrischte, konnte man unmöglich ahnen, dass dies unsere letzte Begegnung sein sollte. In Erinnerung an diese anregenden und lehrreichen Gespräche, die dem Thema seiner Seminare entsprechend oft der akkadischen Literatur galten, sei seinem Gedenken deshalb der folgende Beitrag gewidmet.

Das Hervorbrechen der akkadischen Literatur in der altbabylonischen Zeit in beeindruckender Dichte und Vielfalt und höchster Qualität gehört zu den faszinierendsten Momenten der mesopotamischen Geistesgeschichte. Entscheidenden Anteil hatte dabei sicher die fruchtbare Spannung zwischen der reichen tradierten sumerischen Literatur, welche die Schreiber in ihrer Ausbildung lernten, und der akkadischen Alltagssprache. Neudichtungen in der Muttersprache der Schreiber setzten sich mit den vorgefundenen Themen und Formen auseinander und führten diese weiter. Das altbabylonische Gilgameš-Epos zeigt am deutlichsten, wie die sumerischen Vorbilder in einem neuen Werk aufgingen. Im folgenden soll der Blick auf einen Weisheitstext gelenkt werden, der zwar erst in spätbronzezeitlichen Manuskripten aus den Randgebieten der keilschriftlichen Welt überliefert ist, aber wohl der altbabylonischen Zeit entstammt. Hier lässt sich in zweifacher Weise die Anregung durch die sumerische Literatur zeigen. Einmal ist die Vergesellschaftung mit sumerischen Werken in einem literarischen Katalog dokumentiert, zum anderen zeigen sich deutliche Anklänge an die sumerischen *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag*. Doch die traditionelle Belehrung wird durch die Antwort des Sohnes in einem völlig anderen Licht gesehen.[1]

DER DIALOG DES ŠUPE-AMILI MIT SEINEM SOHN

Der *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn (Dialog des Šupe-amili mit seinem Sohn)* ist auf Tontafeln des 13. Jahrhunderts aus Ugarit, Emar und Hattuša überliefert. Der Text wurde von Manfried Dietrich (1991) mit einem Anhang von Götz Keydana bearbeitet. Dietrich bietet eine Rekonstruktion des Gesamttexts und zum ersten Mal alle drei Textzeugen in einer synoptischen ‚Partitur'-Umschrift und mit einer nur ganz knapp kommentierten Übersetzung. Danach setzte sich noch einmal Stefano Seminara (2000) eingehender mit dem Text auseinander.[2]

Kollationen der Textzeugen führten zu einigen Verbesserungen, bei manchen Stellen meint man noch weiter zu kommen. Für eine Neubearbeitung des schwierigen Textes reichen weder der vorgesehene Raum noch die mir zur Verfügung stehende Zeit. Hier wird der Rahmen behandelt und die Bedeutung des Textes innerhalb der mesopotamischen Weisheitsliteratur diskutiert.

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[1] Meine Beschäftigung mit diesem Text geht auf ein Seminar zu akkadisch-hethitischen Texten mit Joost Hazenbos in Leipzig im Sommer 1997 zurück. Zur besonderen Stellung des Dialogs in der Traditionsgeschichte der Weisheitsliteratur, die Anpassung alt überlieferter Themen an die aktuelle Geisteshaltung, führte mich die Fragestellung beim Symposium „Exzentrische Formen von Weisheitsliteratur" unseres Arbeitskreises für antike Literaturen an der Universität München am 27.7.2004, das Martin Hose initiiert hat. Joost Hazenbos danke ich für wichtige Hinweise zur hethitischen Fassung.

[2] Kämmerer 1998 stützt sich auf die Bearbeitung von Dietrich; Dietrich 1993: 52–6 bietet eine Auswahl von Sprüchen in englischer Übersetzung und mit Angaben zur poetischen Struktur. Vgl. auch die Übersetzung von Foster 2005: 416–21, der die Bearbeitung Seminaras rezipiert.

Textzeugen
Die Textsiglen orientieren sich an Dietrich 1991 (dort E, U, B):

- Ug. (Ugarit): RS 22.439, aus der „Maison des Tablettes", aus der „Ville Sud" (van Soldt 1991: 182–93; vgl. Pedersen 1998: 79: Ugarit 16)
  Kopie und Erstbearbeitung: Nougayrol (1968: 273–90 Nr. 163, „Sagesse")
  Vierkolumnige Tafel, nur obere Hälfte erhalten. Auf der Rückseite (Kol. iii–iv) nicht bis zum Tafelrand beschrieben.
  Kollationiert in Damaskus im September 2004. Die Tafel ist heute stark restauriert, teilweise mit Gips aufgefüllt und mit einem Schutzüberzug versehen, weshalb kaum festzustellen ist, ob mehr als die Hälfte der Tafel erhalten ist. Nach Nougayrol fehlten nur ca. 15 Zeilen pro Kolumne, es wäre also von etwa 155 Zeilen Gesamttext auszugehen; dieser Ansatz ist nach Zeugnis der Parallele aus Emar wohl zu niedrig.

- Em. (Emar): Msk 74.177a + 74.197a= 74.177e (+) 74.107aj(+)74.233r (?)+ 74.295a (+?) 74.233q + 74.233p (= *Emar* 6/4 Nr. 778+780), aus der Bibliothek des Haruspex M_2
  Kopie: D. Arnaud, *Emar* 6/2 unter den Textnummern; Erstbearbeitung: D. Arnaud, *Emar* 6/4 Nr. 778 („Sagesse syrienne") bis Nr. 780
  Vierkolumnige Tafel mit einer Kolumnenlänge von etwa 48–50 Zeilen. Anders als Dietrich (1991: 35) vermutet, weist Kol. iii die volle Länge auf,[3] einzig Kol. iv ist nur bis zum Doppelstrich beschriftet (33 Zeilen). Damit umfasste der Gesamttext etwa 180–185 Zeilen.
  (74.234g [= *Emar* 6/4 Nr. 779], Fragment, Zugehörigkeit zu Msk 74.177a+ eher fraglich; Platz dafür wäre überhaupt nur in Kol. i zwischen 74.295a und 74.177a, doch ist beim Fragment 74.234g der linke Randstrich links neben dem Schriftbeginn gezogen, während 74.177a+ die Keilköpfe auf den Randstrich setzt.)
  Kollationiert in Aleppo im Oktober 2004; dabei waren die Fragmente 74.233p und 74.233r nicht aufzufinden. 74.233q+74.233p vom Anfang des Textes (Kol. i 1–14) lässt sich nicht direkt an 74.177a+ anschließen. An das Hauptexemplar 74.177a lassen sich in Kol. iv 74.295a (= *Emar* 6/4 Nr. 780) und in Kol. iii–iv 74.197a direkt joinen (s. Kopie unten); eine physische Verbindung von 74.107aj(+74.233r) ist wegen fehlender Tonfragmente nicht möglich. In der Emar-Sammlung ließen sich vielleicht noch weitere zugehörige Fragmente finden.

- Bo. (Boghazköy): Bo.425 + 531/t
  Kopie: KUB 4 3 + KBo. 12 70
  Zweisprachige akkadisch-hethische Fassung, wobei in der linken Kolumne, durch Abschnitte gegliedert, der akkadische Text steht, rechts – falls vorhanden – die hethitische Übersetzung oder Paraphrase.
  Durch freundliche Vermittlung von G. Wilhelm konnte ich die Fotos des Mainzer Boghazköy-Archivs heranziehen.

Erzählerischer Rahmen
Der Dialog besteht im wesentlichen aus Sprüchen des Vaters und seines Sohnes. Der Textrahmen führt kurz Vater und Sohn ein und beschließt den Dialog mit einem abschließenden. Satz.
  Einleitend wird in einem Rahmen der Sprecher des ersten, größten Teils des Textes eingeführt, der „Vater" Šupe-amili. Die entsprechenden Zeilen lauten (Em. = 74.233q [koll.] +74.233p i 1–7; Ug. i 1–8; Dietrich 1991: 38: „Spruch I.i"):

Em. i 1   *ši-ma-ma mil-k*[*a ša* ˹]*šu-ú-pè-*[...]
Ug. i 1   *ši-ma mil-ka* ˹*ša*˼ ˹*šu-pè-e-*LÚ-˹*lim*˼

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[3] Die Einordnung des Emar-Textes zu „Spruch III.xii" bei Dietrich 1991: 56–7 ist deshalb willkürlich.

Em. i 2   *ša* GEŠTU-*na ip-tu* [(x) ᵈ*e*]*n-líl-bàn-da*
Ug. i 2   *ša* GEŠTU-*na* ⸢*ip-tu*⸣ ᵈ*en- líl-bàn-da*

Em. i 3   *em-qa mil-ka šu-pè-*⸢*e*⸣-LÚ⸣ *ša uz-*⸢*na*⸣ [KI.MIN(?)]
Ug. i 3   *em-qa mil-ka šu-pè-*[*e*]-LÚ-*lim ša* GEŠTU-*na* (4) *eš-ru-ku-uš* ᵈ*en- líl-bàn-da*

Em. i 4   *ina* KA×U-*šú ú-ṣu-ú pa-*⸢*ra*⸣-*aṣ* ⸢U₄?⸣.[...]
Ug. i 4   *ina* KA×U-*šú* (5) *ú-ṣu-ú pa-ra-aṣ* ⸢U₄?⸣.[MEŠ]

Em. i 5   *a-hi-ra-ti a-na* MUNUS.NÍTA [*ni*]-*ši* ᵈ*a*-...]
Ug. i 5   [*a-hi*]-*ra-ti* (6) ⸢*ana*⸣ *ni-ši da-la-la* [...]-⸢*bi*⸣-*ra*

Em. i 6   AN.ŠÈ *bu-uk-ri it-ta-ṣi* [...]
Ug. i 6   AN.ŠÈ (7) *bu-uk-ri it-ta-ṣi* [*mi*]-*lik-šu* (8) *iz-za-qa-ra*

Em. i 7   *kab-tá-šú ta-áṣ-li-ta* DUMU-*ri* [...]
Ug. i 8   *kab-tá-*⸢*ta?*⸣ *tés-li-ta* (9) DUMU-ri ...

i 1: ⸢*ša*⸣   i 2: ⸢*ip-tu*⸣   i 5: ⸢U₄?⸣   i 6: …]-⸢*bi*⸣-
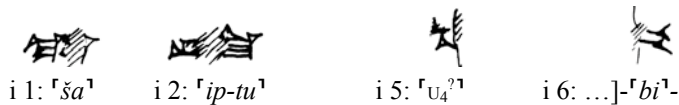
Abbildung 1: Kollationen zu Ug. i (RS 22.439)

Hört den Rat des Šupe-amili,
dessen Verstand (‚Ohren') (Gott) Enlilbanda öffnete,
den weisen, den Rat des Šupe-amili,
dem Verstand (Gott) Enlilbanda schenkte,
aus dessen Mund die Kultordnung für spätere Zeiten kam,
der den Menschen das Lobpreisen (der Götter) [*herüberbrach*]te!
Dem Erstgeborenen g*egenüber* eröffnete sich sein Rat,
sprach er seine innersten Bitten (wörtl. ‚Gedanken und Anflehen'):
„Mein Sohn, …"

Kommentar zur Lesung
Em. i 1:   Das ⸢*ša*⸣ in Ug. wird durch Kollation bestätigt; so von Nougayrol und Seminara gelesen, von Dietrich (1991: 39 mit Anm. 25) aber als -⸢*ma*⸣. Deshalb spricht Dietrich auch vom „Dialog zwischen Šupe-ameli und seinem ‚Vater'". Doch auch dieser Dialog gehört zu den Texten, in denen der namentlich genannte Ältere seinen Sohn unterrichtet (s. dazu unten).
Em. i 3:   Zeilenende frei ergänzt. Zum St.cstr. *milka* s. Huehnergard (1989: 151).
Ug. i 6:   Die Verbalform könnte z. B. [*u-še*]-*bi-ra* gelautet haben. GA (Dietrich, Seminara) ist ausgeschlossen.
Em. i 6:   Versuchsweise AN.ŠÈ als Ideogramme etwa für *eli* „über, betreffend" verstanden; vgl. AN.TA = *eliš* und ŠÈ = *ana* in der Ugarit-Zeichenliste von Huehnergard (1989). Eine Lesung *an* UMUŠ „für den Verstand" ist nach den Formen für die Präposition *ana* in Ugarit bei Huehnergard (1989: 183–4) unwahrscheinlich. Dietrich: *an ku* für *ana kūm* „stattdessen", Seminara: ᵃⁿŠÈ = *ana*. Auf jeden Fall steht hinter AN KU ein Wort oder eine Nominalphrase, von der der Genitiv *bukri* abhängt.
Em. i 7:   Dass es sich in Ug. um die Nebenform *kabtatu* zu *kabattu* handelt, wird durch Ug. ii 30 bekräftigt, Em. gibt vielleicht *kabattašu* wieder. Dietrich (1991: 38) liest *kapdu,* das er zu *kapādu* stellt; zu *kapādu* ebenso Seminara (2000: 491–2). Seminara (2000: 489) möchte

teslītu als Wort mit Doppelsinn verstehen, nämlich neben *teslītu* „Anflehen" auch *taslītu* „abwertende Rede" (AHw), und sieht darin den Schlüsselbegriff des Textes. Das von ihm ins Spiel gebrachte *salā'u* (AHw) „betrügen" u.ä., *sullû* „Frechheit, Lügen", ist allerdings ein assyrisches Wort, was gegen diesen Vorschlag spricht. Abgesehen davon wäre eine negative Charakterisierung der Rede in diesem Kontext nicht zu erwarten.

Šupe-amili wird als Weiser beschrieben: der Weisheitsgott Ea („Enlilbanda") selbst schenkte ihm Verstand. Seinen Namen verstehe ich mit Dietrich (1991: 39) und Seminara (2000: 490) als „Erschienener/Herrlicher der Menschen".[4] Er hat die Kultordnung und Riten für spätere Zeiten verkündet, womöglich die Menschheit das Beten („Preisen") gelehrt. Das erinnert einerseits an die Rolle von Gilgameš im nach-altbabylonischen Epos des Sîn-lēqi-unninni, der Kunde vom Sintfluthelden Ūt-napišti brachte und damit die Riten im Lande begründete. Und andererseits denkt man an den Sintfluthelden selbst, den verständigen Diener Eas, oder dessen Vater Šuruppag; schon Nougayrol sah in ihm einen Šuruppag (Nougayrol 1960: 169–70; 1968: 276). Der alte, erfahrene Weise richtet seine Wort an seinen Sohn, so wie dies in der Weisheitsliteratur üblich ist. Sein Sohn spricht ihn mit *abī malku* „mein Vater, Gebieter" an (Em. iv 4). In den sumerischen *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* ist in der altbabylonischen Version der Belehrte der Sintfluthald Ziusudra, der von seinem Vater Šuruppag, Sohn des Uba/ur-Tutu, unterwiesen wird: Šuruppag ist der Name der letzten Stadt vor der Sintflut, Uba/ur-Tutu ihr letzter Herrscher. So wird durch den Rahmen angedeutet, dass hier uralte, vorsintflutliche Weisheit überliefert ist, die allein durch die Person von Ziusudra in die historische Zeit gelangte. Die Unterschrift der altbabylonischen *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* preist die Schreibergöttin, die die Worte auf Tafeln festgehalten hat. Die akkadischen *Belehrungen* des I. Jahrtausends, die W.G. Lambert unter dem Titel *Counsels of Wisdom* publiziert hat, richtet wohl ein „Meister" an seinen Sohn (Lambert 1960: 106–7, K 13770; Zugehörigkeit unsicher).

Die Lebensweisheiten des Vaters Šupe-amili betreffen die rechte Lebensführung: bescheiden zu bleiben und keine Nachrede zu führen, Kränkungen zu ertragen, üble Stätten zu meiden, die Unsicherheiten der Steppe zu bedenken. Sie geben praktischen Rat zur Anlage von Feld und Brunnen, beim Kauf eines Rinders, Vorsicht bei der Brautwahl, ein gewisses Misstrauen, selbst der Ehefrau die Güter anzuvertrauen. Daraus lässt sich auch die soziale Stellung der Protagonisten erschließen: sie verfügen über Feldbesitz, können Tiere und Sklaven kaufen. Die Ratschläge kreisen um Landwirtschaft und Haushalt sowie das gesellschaftliche Umfeld. Das ist auch die Welt des *Šuruppag* (s. unten).

Der Vater Šupe-amili entspricht damit in seinen Zügen dem altbabylonischen Šuruppag, so wie dies Nougayrol (1968: 276) sofort festgestellt hatte und was nun vor dem heutigen Kenntnisstand von Literatur an Relevanz gewinnt.

Während aber in den sumerischen *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* der Sohn ausschließlich als Adressat der Lehren erscheint und nie selbst handelt oder spricht, wird dem Sohn im akkadischen *Dialog* eine aktive Rolle zugewiesen. Nach mehr als drei Vierteln des Textes (etwa 150 Zeilen) beginnt der Sohn eine 29 Zeilen lange Rede. Die Rahmenerzählung nach der Rede des Vaters und die Einleitung der Rede des Sohnes lauten folgendermaßen (Dietrich 1991: 58–9, Spruch IV.1; Em. = 74.177a iv 3–5, Kopie „80′–82′"; Bo. = KUB 4, 3 Rs. 19–21):

Bo.	————————————————	
Em. iv 3	⸢*ma*⸣-*ru* ᴋᴀ×ᴜ-*šú i-pu-ša i-qáb-bi iz-za-*⸢*qa*ʔ⸣-*ra*	
Bo. Rs. 19	[	]
Em. iv 4	*ana* ᴀᴅ-*šú ma-al-ki a-mat a-bi-ia ma-al-ki*	
Bo. Rs. 19	[-*š*]*u ma-al-ki* (20) [	]

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[4] Damit mag auf den Sintfluthelden oder seinen Vater angespielt sein, ohne dass sich eine direkte Verbindung ziehen ließe.

Em. iv 5   *a-na-ku aš-me* AD ⌈*ina*⌉ *qu-lim-ma a-ma-ta ana ka-ša lu-uq-ba-ak-ku*
Bo. Rs. 20   [   ] (21) [   ]-*ak-ku*
Bo.   _____

Der Sohn bewegte seinen Mund und sprach,
er sagte / zu seinem Vater, dem Gebieter:
"Das Wort meines Vaters, des Gebieters, / habe i c h w o h l gehört,
Vater, ganz in Ruhe will ich nun d i r ein Wort sagen!"

Kommentar zur Lesung

Em. iv 3: Die Spuren könnten ein (grammatikalisch unmögliches) ⌈*aq*⌉ für -*qa* in *iz-za-qa-ra* nahelegen; wegen der Beschädigung ist die Stelle nicht eindeutig, weshalb ich *qa* über Rasur annehme.

Bo. Rs.19: Das -*kiʾ** (statt des *ku* bei Dietrich) ist keineswegs eindeutig; der charakteristische Winkelhaken ist wohl recht knapp auf die linke obere Ecke des Zeichens gesetzt worden.

Em. iv 5: ⌈*ina*⌉ (Keilkopf abgebrochen) fehlt bei Arnaud und Dietrich. Zur ‚assyrischen' Form *ašme* vgl. *talqe* in Em. iv 19 (s. unten).

Die Rede des Sohnes beginnt mit poetischen Tierbildern, die ebenso wie die Überleitung zu den Sorgen des Landmanns mir noch weitgehend unverständlich sind.[5] Die unten wiedergegebene Rede des Sohnes endet mit der Schlusszeile vor dem Kolophon (Umschrift Em. iv 32–3, Ug. iv 11′–12′ s. unten): „[...] dieses Reden haben Vater und Sohn gemeinsam hervorgebracht". Im Emar-Text folgt ein Leerraum, in Ugarit der Kolophon.

DER ALTBABYLONISCHE KONTEXT

Der *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* ist in Abschriften der ausgehenden Späten Bronzezeit, des 14./13. Jhs. überliefert. Je ein Textzeuge fand sich im Zentrum der Hethiterhauptstadt Hattuša, in einer Bibliothek in der syrischen Küstenstadt Ugarit und in der Bibliothek des Opferschauers von Emar am Mittleren Euphrat. Die Verweise auf babylonische Orts- und Götternamen wie Uruk (Ug. i 27), Enlilbanda (Em. i 2) oder Ereškigal (Em. iv 29) beweisen aber, dass es sich um einen babylonischen Text handelt, der in diesen entfernten Schreiberzentren ebenso wie weiteres Schrifttum tradiert wurde.[6]

Texte der Späten Bronzezeit lassen immer ein altbabylonisches Original zumindest wahrscheinlich erscheinen.[7] Für unseren *Dialog* zeigt dies zusätzlich ein altbabylonischer Katalog aus der Andrews University, der unter den drei akkadischen Titeln sehr wahrscheinlich auch unseren Text anführt. Dies hat M. Civil (1989: 7) gesehen, womit der altbabylonische *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* in einen Kontext gestellt wird, den es zu erkunden gilt.

Altbabylonischer Katalog AUAM 73.2402, Übersicht[8]
1–14 Sumerische Texte
    1–3   Inana-Hymnen (innin šagura, innin mehuša #8, ninmešara #4)
    5, 7–11   Ninisina E; Šulgi A #1, Lipiteštar A #2, Lied von der Haue #3, Enlil A #5
15–17 Akkadische Texte
    [*ši-me*]-*e? mi-il-kam*   „Höre den Rat!" (= Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn)[9]

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[5] Vgl. die Interpretation von Seminara 2000: 517–23.

[6] Dabei wurden die Orthographie und zum Teil die Formen an den Lokalgebrauch angepasst. Für Seminara 2000: 523 ist das ein Argument, dass der Text in der Späten Bronzezeit in Syrien entstanden ist.

[7] Wie der *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* in den thematischen Kontext mesopotamischer Weisheitsliteratur zu stellen ist, zeigt an einem Beispiel Dietrich 2001: 84–6.

[8] Cohen 1976: 130–3. Die Identifikationen sumerischer Dichtungen entnehme ich ETCSL 0.2.11.

[9] Die Lesung folgt Edition und Kopie. Oder sollte [*ši-ma/me*]-*a* zu lesen sein, weil in den erhaltenen Manuskripten Em. und Ug. der Plural steht (*ši-ma,* vgl. Seminara 2000: 488 mit Anm. 9–10)? Die Ansprache richtet sich jedenfalls an den oder die Zuhörer. Da zwischen dem herausgegriffenen einzelnen Zuhörer und

[...-*u*]*n li-ib-bi*   „... mein Herz"
[...]-*i mu-de-e ši-tu-lim*   „... der Wissende des Überlegens"
18   unklar

19–27 Sumerische Texte
       19 Unterweisungen des Šuruppag(?) [ETCSL 5.6.1]
       21 Unterweisungen des Ur-Ninurta [ETCSL 2.5.6.7]
       22 Unterweisung eines Bauern [ETCSL 5.6.3]
       24 Enkis Fahrt nach Nippur #7
       25 „10 Briefe von Šulgi"
       26 Brief an Šu-Suen
       27 Sum. Brief an [Sumul]a'el

28–35 fragmentarisch, darunter
        30 Sum. Sprichwortsammlung 5 (Fabeln)

       Mit #1 bis #10 sind die Texte aus der „Dekade", dem literarischen Basiscorpus von Nippur (Tinney
       1999), bezeichnet.

Das Zeugnis dieses Katalogs ist aus mehreren Gründen wichtig. Erstens führen die altbabylonischen Kataloge literarischer Texte dem Corpus der Zeit entsprechend fast ausschließlich sumerische Literaturwerke und Listen an, kaum je Akkadisches (s. Groneberg 2003: 56). Unter den zwölf im *ETCSL* edierten Katalogen, finden sich überhaupt nur je ein anderer akkadischer Eintrag in zwei Katalogen aus Ur: einmal *inu Anum Enlil* (UET 6, 123: 50 [ETCSL 0.2.04]; dazu z. B. Groneberg 2003: 56), ein anderes Mal *Anum u Antum*, vielleicht der Beginn einer einsprachigen Version der Weidnerliste (Michalowski 1984: 90; [ETCSL 0.2.04]). Einzig in einem Katalog von Klageliedern finden sich mehr akkadische als sumerische Titel, nämlich sechs bzw. zwei (Groneberg 2003: 56). Die Präsenz akkadischer Literatur im Andrews University-Katalog, der nach Format und Schrift der spätaltbabylonischen Zeit zugewiesen wird (Cohen 1976: 131), ist also bemerkenswert.

    Zweitens sind zwei der drei akkadischen Texte, vielleicht sogar alle drei Weisheitstexte. Bisher ist zwar nur unser *Dialog* (Z. 15) identifiziert, für die Bestimmung von Z. 17 genügt jedoch der Titel.[10] Die naheliegende Ergänzung von Z.16 zu [*lumu*]*n libbi* „Herzeleid" erscheint wegen der fehlenden Mimation nicht zwingend. Die Bedeutung der Komposition für die akkadische Literatur wird umso deutlicher, wenn man die Gruppe der Weisheitsliteratur altbabylonischer Zeit betrachtet. Nach dem Katalog von Wasserman (2003: 185–224) gehören hierher abgesehen von zweisprachigen Texten, meist Sprichwörtern (No. 34, 46, 48, 139, 185–188, 218; weiters No. 164, 166): Kleinformen wie ein Sprichwort (Nr. 47), ein Rätsel (Nr. 171), eine Fabel (? Nr. 15); eine Ermahnung an wütende Personen (Nr. 158); schließlich Dialoge: *Dattelpalme und Tamariske* (Nr. 162), zwischen einem Gärtner und einer Frau (Nr. 55), wobei in Art der Sargon-Briefe eine Liste von Grünpflanzen folgt; zwischen zwei Freunden mit relativ kurzen Redeabschnitten (Nr. 68, das Fragment CT 46 44); und der humoristische berühmte Dialog bei den Wäschern (No. 197). Ein dem *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* vergleichbarer Text fehlt; dieser gehört in die nachfolgend genauer zu beschreibende Tradition von Weisheitsliteratur von *Šuruppag* bis zu den *Belehrungen* und dem *Pessimistischen Dialog* des I. Jtsd.

    Drittens zeigt die Bibliothek oder Tafelsammlung, deren Bestand in diesem Katalog festgehalten wird, unter den sumerischen Titeln einen deutlichen Schwerpunkt bei Weisheitstexten.

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der Gruppe kein fundamentaler Unterschied besteht, sehe ich in der Differenz des Numerus kein Hindernis, den Katalogeintrag auf unseren *Dialog* zu beziehen.
[10] Groneberg 2003: 56 verweist auf dasselbe Wort *šitūlum* in der großen Mardukhymne Z. 70 (Lambert 1959–60: 57), doch kann das wegen des abweichenden Wortlauts und der Textstelle, die kein *incipit*, weder des Textes noch eines Abschnitts, darstellt, nicht der Bezugspunkt sein.

Das Standardcurriculum dominiert am Anfang des Katalogs; im Gegensatz zu den großen Nippurkatalogen fehlen aber wesentliche Teile sumerischer Literatur. Nach den akkadischen Titeln folgen geballt alle wichtigen sumerischen Belehrungen: *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag*, die *Unterweisungen des Ur-Ninurta (Ur-Ninurta G)* und die *Unterweisung eines Bauern.*

Dieser Katalog gibt meines Erachtens einen wichtigen Einblick in die Entstehung von akkadischer Weisheitsliteratur in altbabylonischer Zeit. Denn in der Auseinandersetzung mit der sumerischen Literatur der Schulbildung wurde eine neue Literatur in der akkadischen Muttersprache der Schreiber geschaffen, die die Themen der sumerischen Dichtung aufgriff, imitierte oder gar — wie in anderen Fällen — spöttisch-humoristisch veränderte.[11] Unser Katalog führt sowohl die sumerischen *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* als auch den akkadischen *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* an, die beide zunächst dieselbe Weltsicht vermitteln. Man wird nicht schließen wollen, dass der Schreiber, dem diese Tafelsammlung einst gehörte, auch unbedingt der Dichter der akkadischen Werke gewesen sein muss; aber sein außergewöhnliches Interesse an Weisheitsliteratur tritt insbesondere im Vergleich mit den anderen altbabylonischen Katalogen recht klar zu Tage.

Bevor wir auf die altbabylonische Umgestaltung des sumerischen Vorbildes eingehen, ist das verwandte Thema der Tradition von Weisheitsliteratur anzusprechen.

ZUR TRADITION VON WEISHEITSLITERATUR

Wenn unser *Dialog* in altbabylonischer Zeit in Babylonien verfasst wurde, wie aufgrund der Eigennamen und des besprochenen Katalogeintrags angenommen werden darf, dann ist die weite Verbreitung in den Schreibstuben der Späten Bronzezeit in der westlichen Peripherie des Keilschriftraumes auffällig. Doch gerade Weisheitsliteratur zeichnet sich durch eine besondere Texttradition aus, die sowohl in Hinblick auf die Entstehung als auch auf die Verbreitung unseres *Dialogs* zu beachten ist.

Für den Begriff ‚Weisheitsliteratur‘[12] folge ich im übrigen dem Ansatz von G. Buccellati (1981), der von ‚Weisheits-Themen‘ ausgeht und diese von der literarischen Form trennt; er vermeidet dementsprechend den Begriff der ‚Weisheitsliteratur‘. Buccellati betont den absoluten Anspruch der Weisheitsthemen: es geht um universelle Prinzipien, nicht einzelne Ereignisse. Das lyrische Ich des Erzählers oder Lehrers zeichnet sich durch seine Erfahrung aus, nicht durch seinen Status oder seine Taten, wobei die in kritischer Prüfung erreichten, durchaus auch leidvollen Erfahrungen zu einer Grundhaltung von Bescheidenheit führen. Solche Themen finden sich in Texten unterschiedlicher Art. Man denke nur an das Gilgameš-Epos in seiner kanonischen Fassung, in dem der Lebenssucher Gilgameš reich an Erfahrung zurückkehrt und dessen ursprüngliche Hybris bescheiden-gelassener Einsicht gewichen ist. Dennoch wird man Gilgameš nicht zur Weisheitsliteratur zählen. Denn in der Erzählung wird Lebensweisheit indirekt über die Figur des Helden vermittelt, während sie in der Weisheitsliteratur das eigentliche Anliegen ist. Diese Texte behandeln *direkt* das Wissen um Maßstäbe des Handelns und die Position des Menschen in der ihn umgebenden Welt, das ist das zentrale Textthema, von dem keine Handlung und auch keine Hinwendung an einen anderen Handlungsträger ablenken. Prototypische Weisheitstexte sind deshalb die Belehrungen oder Anweisungen sowie die Fragen zur Gerechtigkeit Gottes, auch die Sprichwörter und die sogenannten Rätsel sind hier zu nennen.

Weisheitstexte begegnen in denselben Kontexten wie andere mesopotamische literarische Texte: im altbabylonischen Schreibercurriculum, vereinzelt in neubabylonischen Schultexten, in

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[11] Zu diesem Thema vgl. Wasserman 2003: 175–86, Sallaberger 2004: 583–5 mit weiteren Hinweisen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auf Seminara 2000: 527 einzugehen, der für den Ursprung des Textes in der Späten Bronzezeit in Syrien anführt, nur in einer so späten Zeit und in einer so weit entfernten Gegend, könnte eine vergleichbare ‚Parodie‘ entstehen. Allerdings diskutiert er das geistesgeschichtliche Umfeld der altbabylonischen Zeit nicht, auch nicht das Aufkommen der ‚neuen‘ Weisheitsthemen in der altbabylonischen Zeit.

[12] Zu einem Überblick über das Thema Weisheitsliteratur s. nun Alster 2005: 18–24.

Bibliotheken. Sie weisen aber gegenüber anderen literarischen Texten eine Eigenheit auf, die unbedingt hervorgehoben werden muss: die lange Tradition, die auch über Sprachgrenzen hinweg führt. Anhand unseres *Dialogs* und seines vermuteten Vorbilds *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* lässt sich das eindrucksvoll belegen.

Für die *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* ist eine frühdynastische Fassung aus Tell Abū Ṣalābīḫ und Adab bezeugt. Obwohl frühdynastische Literatur von der Mitte des III. Jt. kaum je bis in die altbabylonische Zeit tradiert wurde, was am deutlichsten der Bruch in der Tradition der lexikalischen Listen zeigt, bildete die Standardversion von *Šuruppag* dann einen beliebten und weit verbreiteten Text in den altbabylonischen Schreiberstuben des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der alte Text blieb in großen Teilen erhalten und er wurde thematisch nicht erweitert: die Lebensweisheiten von Šuruppag stellten demnach tatsächlich jahrhundertelang tradiertes Wissen dar, das dank der Verschriftlichung im wesentlichen unverändert die Zeiten überdauert hat. Die wichtigste Erweiterung der altbabylonischen Fassung betraf den Prolog: der stereotype Verweis auf die ferne Urzeit wurde vorangestellt, selbst ein uraltes Thema sumerischer Dichtung, die Beschreibung wurde ausgestaltet und der Sohn erhielt den Namen des Sintfluthelden, Ziusudra.[13] Die sumerische Literatur erlebte in der altbabylonischen Tradition ihre letzte und größte Blüte, aber über das Ende von Nippur oder das von Babylonien hinaus wurden nur recht wenige sumerische Texte weiterhin tradiert und dann mit einer akkadischen Interlinearübersetzung versehen. Die Situation bei *Šuruppag* stellt sich schon wieder anders dar: ein kleines Fragment aus Assur, paläographisch in die mittelassyrische Zeit datiert, und eine mittelbabylonische(?) Tafel bieten eine einsprachig akkadische Version des *Šuruppag*; anders als sonst fehlt die sumerische Fassung. Das Fragment einer akkadisch-hurritischen Bilingue, wohl aus dem Syrien der Späten Bronzezeit, zeigt die Übertragung des Textes in eine weitere Sprache (vgl. Alster 2005: 207–8). So wurde der Text inhaltlich unverändert über Jahrhunderte hinweg tradiert, dazu in weitere Sprachen übersetzt. Doch die lange Tradition von Weisheitsliteratur ist nicht auf diesen Fall beschränkt, und für beides, die Übersetzung vom Sumerischen ins Akkadische[14] bzw. vom Akkadischen in andere Sprachen Syriens oder Kleinasiens, lassen sich weitere Beispiele anführen.[15]

Die Weisheitsliteratur zeichnet sich also unter der gesamten tradierten keilschriftlichen Literatur dadurch aus, dass sie jahrhundertelang tradiert und in andere Sprachen übersetzt wurde. Die einfache Form der kurzen Sprichwörter und Sprüche und die zeitlosen Aussagen, dazu die Verwendung im Anfängerunterricht und die völlige Unabhängigkeit vom rituell-kultischen Bereich, das sind alles Faktoren, die eine solche Tradition bei der Weisheitsliteratur begründen. Hier liegen also einmal die Bedingungen vor, unter denen ein Einfluss altorientalischer Texte auf benachbarte, spätere Literatur glaubhaft erscheint. Denn die Transformation ins Hurritische und Hethitische bereitete den Weg über das Ende der Späten Bronzezeit hinaus vor. Doch auch wenn die Rahmenbedingungen günstig sind, dass auf diese Weise Sprüche aus dem Alten Orient bis ins Alte Testament oder bis zu Hesiod gelangten, so verhindert auf der anderen Seite die Allgemeingültigkeit der meisten Aussagen einen überzeugenden Nachweis literarischer Abhängigkeit. Denn man möchte schon annehmen, dass einfache volkstümliche Sprüche allerorten geprägt werden konnten, ohne von außen übernommen oder angeregt worden zu sein.

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[13] Ubar-Tutu wird im jungen, altbabylonischen Anfang der Sumerischen Königsliste als der vorsintflutliche König von Šuruppag angeführt; s. dazu Wilcke 1978: 202.

[14] Den systematischen Rahmen dazu bietet ein leider nur zur Hälfte erhaltener Katalog aus der Bibliothek Assurbanipals, der einst 35 Titel der ‚Serie von Sidu' anführte (Finkel 1986). Alle Titel sind sumerisch, und alle identifizierten betreffen Sprichwörter oder vergleichbare Texte der Weisheitsliteratur, zum Beispiel auch die *Unterweisung eines Bauern* oder Abschnitte der altbabylonischen sumerischen Sprichwortsammlungen.

[15] Vgl. nun die bei Alster 2005 bearbeiteten Texte.

DAS VORBILD UNTERWEISUNGEN DES ŠURUPPAG IM DIALOG ZWISCHEN VATER UND SOHN

Betrachtet man also die allgemeine konstante Tradition von Weisheitstexten, wie sie gerade skizziert wurde, so gewinnt die Adaption überkommener Themen in einer Neuschöpfung eine besondere Aussagekraft.

Dieser Fall könnte beim akkadischen *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* vorliegen, wenn er auf die sumerischen *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* zurückgreift. Zunächst lässt sich das am Lebensumfeld ablesen, das in den Weisheitstexten gezeichnet wird. Diese Unterweisungen sind bei Personen angesiedelt, die Besitz an Feldern, Vieh und Sklaven ihr eigen nennen und die dem Palast untergeben sind.[16] Im *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* umfasst die Rede des Vaters weitaus den größeren Teil des Textes; sie entspricht in Ton und Thematik genau den bekannten Unterweisungen. Und tatsächlich lassen sich gerade zu *Šuruppag* die überzeugendsten Parallelen finden. Die zwei besten Beispiele mögen hier genügen.[17]

Beispiel 1: Unterweisungen des Šuruppag *Z. 17 (auch in der archaischen Fassung)*

[Auf deinem] Feld errichte keinen Brunnen, denn die Leute werden es dir dort zerstören!

Dialog Ug. iii 5–9′ // Bo. Vs. 6–10 (= Spruch III.iii bei Dietrich 1991: 50–53; XI Precetto bei Seminara 2000: 507–8), akkadische Fassung:

Grabe keinen Brunnen am Kopfende deines Feldes!
Gräbst du am Kopfende deines Felds einen Brunnen, dann …st du
dir fremde Füße auf dein Feld,
für dich ist das eine Verbindlichkeit, ein Einkommen mit Verlusten,[18]
und man lässt dich noch zum Eid hinausgehen.[19]

Hethitische Fassung (nach Keydana 1991: 71, dazu Hinweise von Joost Hazenbos, Leipzig):

Auf (deinem) Land aber mache für dich keinen Brunnen.
Wenn du aber doch einen Brunnen machst,
dann lässt du des Feindes Fuß hinein,
dann wird dein Land *zertreten* (und) geebnet,
dich aber wird man zum Eid *zerren*.

Beispiel 2: Šuruppag *208–213 (nach Alster 2005)*
Beim Fest sollst du keine Frau heiraten:
Innen ist alles gemietet, außen ist alles gemietet,
das Silber ist gemietet, der Lapislazuli ist gemietet,
das Gewand(?) ist gemietet, das Leinen(?) ist gemietet,[20]

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[16] Während nur in älteren Texten die Landwirtschaft eine Rolle spielt, also bei *Šuruppag*, *Unterweisungen Ur-Ninurtas* und dem *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn*, taucht der städtische Beamte ohne Bezug zum Land schon in altbabylonischer Zeit auf, nämlich vor allem in den sumerischen *Belehrungen* (*Counsels of Wisdom*; Alster 2005: ch. 2), dann in jüngeren Texten, den *Belehrungen* (*Counsels of Wisdom*) und dem *Pessimistischen Dialog*.

[17] Vgl. nun auch Alster 2005: 41–2 sowie dort die Kommentare zu den jeweiligen Textzeilen.

[18] In Ug. iii 6′ Ende *tu-ta*-[...]*; Nougayrol *tu-ta-a*[*r*(??)], Dietrich, Seminara: *tu-ta-š*[*ar*]; // Bo. ɢáʟ-*ma*; in 7′ nehme ich den Obliquus Plural ernst; in 8′ lese ich *ka-tá i-e*[*l-t*]*um šu-ru-bá-*ˤ*at*˥ *šá mu-ṭe₄-ti*; die Kollation erwies die Kopie als zutreffend; Nougayrol, Dietrich, Seminara ... *i-ṣ*[*u-t*]*um šu-ru-bá-ku* ... Bo. Vs. 9: ...]-*u*[ˀ]-*bi-ka* (Rasur) *ha*ˀ *mu-da-a-ti*.

[19] Bo.: „... man wird dich zum Eid wegziehen", ... *i-š*]*a-da**-*du-ka*.

[20] Die Aufzählung 209-211 folgt dem am besten erhaltenen Textzeugen TCL 16 93 Rs. 9′–11′; Alster 1974 ergänzt „216a" = 212 zu [lu₂-tur-ĝu₁₀ niĝ₂ nu]-mu-un-da-sa₂-(a), begründet dies aber nicht.

…
Ein … Rind sollst du nicht kaufen …

Dialog Ug. iii 10′–14′ // Bo. Vs. 12–18 (= Spruch III.iv bei Dietrich 1991: 52–3; XII Precetto bei Seminara 2000: 509–10), akkadische Fassung:

Du sollst kein ⌈Rind⌉ im Frühling kaufen,
du sollst kein Mädchen beim Fest heiraten!
[...] ist gut […] ...,
dies Mädchen [*ist bekleidet*] mit einem Gewand, das sie ziert,
… Feinöl als Darlehen …[21]

Hethitische Fassung (nach Keydana 1991: 71–2, dazu Hinweise Hazenbos, Leipzig):[22]

Eine Rind kaufe nicht im Frühling,
eine *Abgesonderte* aber nimm dir nicht bei Gelegenheit eines Festes.
Selbst ein unzuverlässiges Rind befindet sich im Frühling wohl,
und die schlechte *Abgesonderte* schmückt sich bei der Gelegenheit eines Festes.
Und sie bekleidet sich mit einem erbetenen (= geliehenen) Kleid,
mit geliehenem Feinöl salbt sie sich.

Weitere Parallelen bilden die Warnung vor dem Wirtshaus (*Šuruppag* 67, *Dialog* Spruch I.iii) oder das alte Thema von Angeberei und Verleumdungen (*Dialog* Spruch I.iv).

Wie im vorigen Abschnitt betont, ist bei der Allgemeingültigkeit der Sentenzen eine literarische Abhängigkeit von Weisheitstexten schwer zu beweisen. Die weite Verbreitung der *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* als einzigem derartigen sumerischen Text zur Zeit der Abfassung des *Dialogs zwischen Vater und Sohn*, der wahrscheinliche nachweisbare Zusammenhang im altbabylonischen Katalog, dieselbe Diktion, der vergleichbare Lebenshintergrund der Protagonisten, die Gemeinsamkeiten einzelner Sprüche, das alles zusammen legt es nahe, *Šuruppag* als den literarischen Text anzusehen, der die Komposition des *Dialogs* entscheidend geformt hat.

DIE ALTBABYLONISCHE UMGESTALTUNG:
DIALOG UND FRAGE NACH DEM SINN DES LEBENS
Die Lebensweisheiten Šuruppags und Šupe-amilis, Anweisungen und Sentenzen, betreffen die rechte Lebensführung. Sie geben praktischen Rat zu Reisen und zur Erntearbeit, beim Kauf von Tieren oder eines Sklaven, zur Anlage von Feldern. Die Unterweisungen thematisieren die Normen sozialen Zusammenlebens und sie raten zu vorsichtiger Schläue, um den Besitz zu wahren und zu mehren.

In der Weisheitsliteratur wurden alle Lehren dem alten, lebenserfahrenen Vater in den Mund gelegt. Diese Autorität verkündete für seinen Sohn und damit für alle Hörer und Leser die auch in großen Sammlungen von Sprichwörtern überlieferte Weisheit. Von diesem Schema weicht unser *Dialog zwischen Vater und Sohn* ab.[23] Neu ist zuerst die Form des Dialogs. Der Dialog als Form verbaler Auseinandersetzung ist dem Alten Orient im Prinzip nicht fremd: in der sumerischen

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[21] Die hethitische Fassung erlaubt manche Ergänzungen von Ug. Nach Kollation ist die Kopie von Ug. für diese Zeilen korrekt, doch lässt sich heute eher weniger erkennen; die Rekonstruktionen von Dietrich sind m. E. etwas zu optimistisch. Ug. iii 1′ Ende vor *ši i ma ni* aber nicht *na*, vielleicht ⌈KA⌉. Em. iii lässt sich meines Erachtens nicht einfach mit Ug. und Bo. harmonisieren, ist deshalb hier nicht berücksichtigt; das wichtigste Emar-Fragment für diesen Abschnitt, 74.233r, ließ sich für die Kollation nicht auffinden; ich vermute, dass die Anordnung der Sprüche in Emar an dieser Stelle von der der beiden anderen Fassungen abweicht.
[22] Die Kollationen von Rüster *apud* Kümmel 1969: 165 sind bei Keydana nicht berücksichtigt.
[23] Der *Pessimistische Dialog* verlässt so weit die prototypischen Formulierungen, dass man ihn hier beiseite lassen kann.

Rangstreitliteratur argumentieren zwei Kontrahenten, etwa Schaf und Getreide, Vogel und Fisch, wer den Vorzug verdiene. Eine Parodie stellen die Beschimpfungen der Schuldialoge dar. Die Rangstreitliteratur wurde auch ins Akkadische übernommen, ohne dort eine vergleichbare Bedeutung zu erlangen. Wenn eine Unterweisung zu einem Dialog umgestaltet wird, könnten bekannte Sinnsprüche auf verschiedene Personen aufgeteilt werden, die sich dann gegenseitig bestätigten. In der Tat sind die Themen aus der Rede des Sohnes nicht neu, sondern schöpfen aus einem in der altbabylonischen Zeit vorhandenen Fundus an Ideen. Sie gehen aber in eine ganz andere Richtung als in der väterlichen Ermahnung.

Der erste Abschnitt der Rede des Sohnes ist noch in vielem unklar; womöglich verweist er mithilfe von Tierbildern auf den raschen Lauf des Lebens (Seminara 2005). Dann geht es bald um die Sorgen des Bauern in der Landwirtschaft, wenn er sagt (Em. „97–99" = iv 15–17):

„Für seinen Bedarf betrachtet er den Himmel,
es *fließt nicht* … ergießt sich [nicht]
und so kann er keinen schweren Ertrag einbringen."

Die Intention der Rede des Sohnes wird dann in den Schlusssätzen deutlich. In diesem Abschnitt können nun die Zeilenanfänge von Em. iv 20ff. (in der Kopie von 74177a in Emar 6/2 Z. 96´ff. = Umschrift 102ff.) durch den Join mit Msk 74.295a wiederhergestellt werden (s. Kopie). Trotz einzelner weiterer Verbesserungen ließen sich aber noch nicht alle Einzelheiten klären.

Em. iv (17)	.... *a-bi* DÙ-*uš* ⌈É⌉ (18) [^{giš}I]G *tu-ul-li* ~
Bo. Rs. 10´	[……………..] ⌈É?⌉ *dá-al-ta tu-ul-li*

Em. iv (18)	*ṣu-up-pa* GÁ×LA-*ka* (19) [*mi-na*]*m-ma tal-qì* ~
Bo. Rs. 11´	[..] *me-na-a ta-al-qí*
Bo.	————————————————————

Mein Vater, du hast ein Haus gebaut, das Tor hast du hoch gemacht,
mit einer Breite von einem ṣuppu (60 Ellen)—doch was hast du behalten?

(Hethitische Fassung nach Keydana (1991: 73), mit Ergänzungen von J. Hazenbos:[24]
Mein Vater! Ein Haus hast du dir gebaut und hast das Tor
erhöht, in der Breite hast du es neun ,Knochen' breit gemacht.
Was aber wirst du daraus wegnehmen?)

Em. iv (19)	*ru-gu-ub* ⌈É⌉-*ka e-ma* SI.A (20) ⌈*ù ga*⌉-*ni-ni-šú* ~
Bo. Rs. 13´	[.................]-⌈*ka e?*⌉-*ma* SI.A *ù ka-ni-ni-šu*

Em. iv (20)	SI.A ^dNISABA *a-*[*na*] U₄-*mi* (21) *šá ši-im-ti-ka* ~
Bo. Rs. 14´	[...........................]-⌈*um?*⌉-*mi ša-a ši-im-ma-ti-ka*

Em. iv (21)	9 PAD.MEŠ ŠID-*nu*
Bo. Rs. 15´	[.......].MEŠ *i-ma-an-nu-ú*

Em. iv (21)	⌈*i*⌉-[*šak*]-*ka-nu* (22) *i-na re-*⌈*šu*⌉-*uk-ka* ~
Bo. Rs. 16´	[.................................] *re-e-ši-ka*
Bo.	————————————————————

Die Dachgeschoße deines Hauses sind überall voll
und seine (d. h. des Hauses) Speicher voll Getreide,
(doch) zum Tag deines Geschicks wird man neun Brotbrocken hinzählen

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[24] In Rs. 10´ lies ^{giš}IG-*an* statt „*mar-na-an*" (so aber CHD M 192); s. HW 277. Zum hethitischen Längenmaß ,Knochen' s. van den Hout 1987–90: 520.

und dir zu Häupten hinlegen.

> (Hethitische Fassung nach Keydana (1991: 73–4):
> Und was die Vorratsräume und Lager angeht, die du mit Korn gefüllt hast:
> sobald aber dir die Schicksalsgöttinnen die Tage festsetzen,
> zählt man neune Brotopferrationen
> und legt sie dir zu Häupten).

Em. iv (22)   *ina* NÍG.GA-*ka* [...] (23) *li-im* [U₈.U]DU.ḪI.A-*nu* ~
Bo. Rs. 18′   [.......................] ⸢É?⸣ *a-na li-im ṣe-e-ni*

Em. iv (23)   *en-zu ku-sí-t*[*u₄* ....š]À?-*ka*
Bo. Rs. 19′   [....................... *zi-i*]*t-ta-ka i-na* ŠÀ-*ka*
Ug. iv 1′   [...-*k*]*a*
Bo.   ───────────────────────────────

In deinem Besitz, [im] Haus(?) sind (bis zu) tausend Stück Kleinvieh,
(doch) nur eine Ziege und ein Gewand sind davon dein Anteil.[25]

> (Hethitische Fassung nach Keydana (1991: 74):
> Deines Herzens Anteil, oder: Von Deinem der Anteil)

Em. iv 24   *ina* KÙ.BABBAR-*ka šá* TUKU-*šu-u* NINDA *u* GÚ.UN.[...]
Bo. Rs. 20′   [.. G]Ú.UN LUGAL KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-ma* È-*ma*
Ug. iv 2′   [.. G]Ú.UN.ME
Bo.   ───────────────────────────────

Von deinem Silber, das du besitzt, bleiben (nur) Speisung und Abgaben. (Bo.: Der König holt sich auf jeden Fall sein Silber.)

Em. iv 25   *mi-ṣu* U₄-*mé-tu₄ šá* GU₇ NINDA.MEŠ *ma-a'-*⸢*du*⸣ [x] ⸢x⸣ [(x)]-⸢*ri*⸣-*du* KA×[UD]-*ni*
Bo. Rs. 22′   [...]-*a-da* U₄.KAM.ḪI.A
Ug. iv 3′   [....................... š]*á* GU₇ NINDA.MEŠ (4′) [............] *ša* [x]-*ri-qa* KA×UD.MEŠ

Em. iv 26   *mi-ṣu* [x] *šá na-da-ga₅-lu* ᵈUTU ~
Bo. Rs. 23′   [...] ~
Ug. iv 5′   [......]-*tu₄ šá ni-da-ga-lu* ᵈUTU

Em. iv (26)   *ma*¹-*a'-*⸢*du*⸣ KI.MIN (27) *šá* ⸢KI/DI⸣-[x]-⸢*šu?*⸣ *ina* GISSU GÁ×LA.LA
Bo. Rs. (23′) ....] U₄.KAM.ḪI.A (24′) [...   (Fortsetzung abgebrochen)
Ug. iv 6′   [......]-*tu₄ ša nu-šab ina* GISSU[26]
Bo.   [───────────────────────────]

Wenig sind die Tage,[27] die wir Speisen essen, viele die, die (Em.: unser) Durst ….
Wenig sind [*die Tage*], die wir die Sonne erblicken, viele die Tage, die wir uns im Schatten aufhalten (so Ug., Em.: im weiten Schatten).[28]

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[25] Wohl eine Anspielung auf Totenopfer und Totengewand. Ergänzung [*zi*]*ttaka* mit Dietrich nach dem hethitischen ḪA.LA; [*i*]*t* nach Foto eindeutig.

[26] Nach GISSU fehlt nichts.

[27] Fem. Pl. zu *ūmu*, s. zur Form *ūmētu* AHw *s.v. ūmu* A.3a) (Nuzi), 5g) (Ug.); anders Seminara 2000: 522 Anm. 168.

[28] *mīṣū ūmētu*: Fehler in der Genuskongruenz; vgl. Em. iv 28. Das Zeilenende von Em. iv 25 ließ sich nicht sicher ergänzen; statt -*du* ist auch -*qa* über verschriebenem Zeichen möglich; s. die Kollationsskizze.

Em. iv 28   KI.[*er*]-*ṣe-tu₄-um-ma*²⁹ *ni-šu i-ni-lu*
Ug. iv 7′   [.................] x-*ma* UN.MEŠ *i-ni-lu₄* ~

Em. iv 29   ᵈE[REŠ].KI.GAL AMA-*ni-ma né-e-nu* DUMU.MEŠ-*ši*
Ug. iv (7′)   ᵈEREŠ.KI.GAL (8′) [............] *né-e-*⌜*nu*⌝ DUMU.MEŠ-*ši* ~

Em. iv 30   [.........]-*ma ina* KÁ-*bi* KI.*er-ṣe-ti ṣa-lu-lu*
Ug. iv (8′)   GAR-*nu-ma* (9′) [............]-*ti ṣa-*⌜*lu*⌝-*lu* ~

Em. iv 31   [........] ⌜TI?⌝.LA-*tu₄* NU *i-da-ga-lu* BA.ÚŠ-ti
Ug. iv (9′)   *aš-šum* TIL.LA (10′) [...](Rasur) BA.ÚŠ.MEŠ ~

In der Erde liegen die Menschen,
Ereškigal ist unsere Mutter und wir, wir sind ihre Kinder.
Die Tore zur Unterwelt aber sind überdacht,³⁰
so dass die Lebenden die Toten nicht sehen können.

Em. iv 32   [x x] ⌜x⌝ *an-na-a da-ba-ba a-bu* (33) [x (x x)] TÉŠ.BI *de-ku*
Ug. iv (10′)   ⌜x⌝-[...] (11′) *an-na-a* ⌜*da-ba*⌝-*ba* AD DUMU ⌜TÉŠ⌝.[BI] (12′) *de-ku*
                 ─────────────────────────────────────(Em., Ug.; in Ug. folgt Kolophon)

[...] dieses Reden haben Vater und Sohn gemeinsam hervorgebracht.

Abbildung 2: Kollationen zu Em. iv 25-26 (Msk 74177a) und Ug. iv 11′ (RS 22.439)

Neu sind im altbabylonischen *Dialog* gegenüber *Šuruppag* einige Details: von Vorratskammern wie in der Rede des Sohnes ist im Šuruppag nie die Rede—vielleicht weil die Speicher damals institutionell verwaltet wurden, was in der altbabylonischen Zeit weniger der Fall war? Trotz des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes ist zu erkennen, dass im *Dialog* Gebete und Opfer gelegentlich vorkommen;³¹ bei *Šuruppag* wird allein das Gebet in einem Passus über Sprechweisen rühmend angeführt (Z. 141). Das Gebet und persönliche Frömmigkeit werden später eines der beherrschenden Themen akkadischer Weisheitsliteratur. Diese Seite war dem sumerischen Text noch fremd, er hatte noch nicht diese weite Perspektive auf die Situation des Menschen in seiner Welt.

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²⁹ Dietrich und Seminara lesen noch *kirṣitu* (Seminara 2000: 523 Anm. 172); zu dieser Schreibung von *erṣetu* s. prinzipiell Wilcke (1990) sowie in der literarischen Tradition schon Huehnergard 1991. Dass der Begriff „Land" (*erṣetu*) in der Sprache der Immobilienurkunden Hausgrundstücke mit Grundmauern bezeichnet, ist dann eine Frage des Wortgebrauchs, aber nicht des Lexikons.
³⁰ Wörtlich „An den Toren der Unterwelt sind Bedeckungen angebracht".
³¹ Emar i Ende: Opfer, Ug. ii 21: Opfer der Väter, Ug. ii 8 Gott nicht verhöhnen, Spruch IV.vii (Dietrich 1991): Ernte hängt vom Himmel ab.
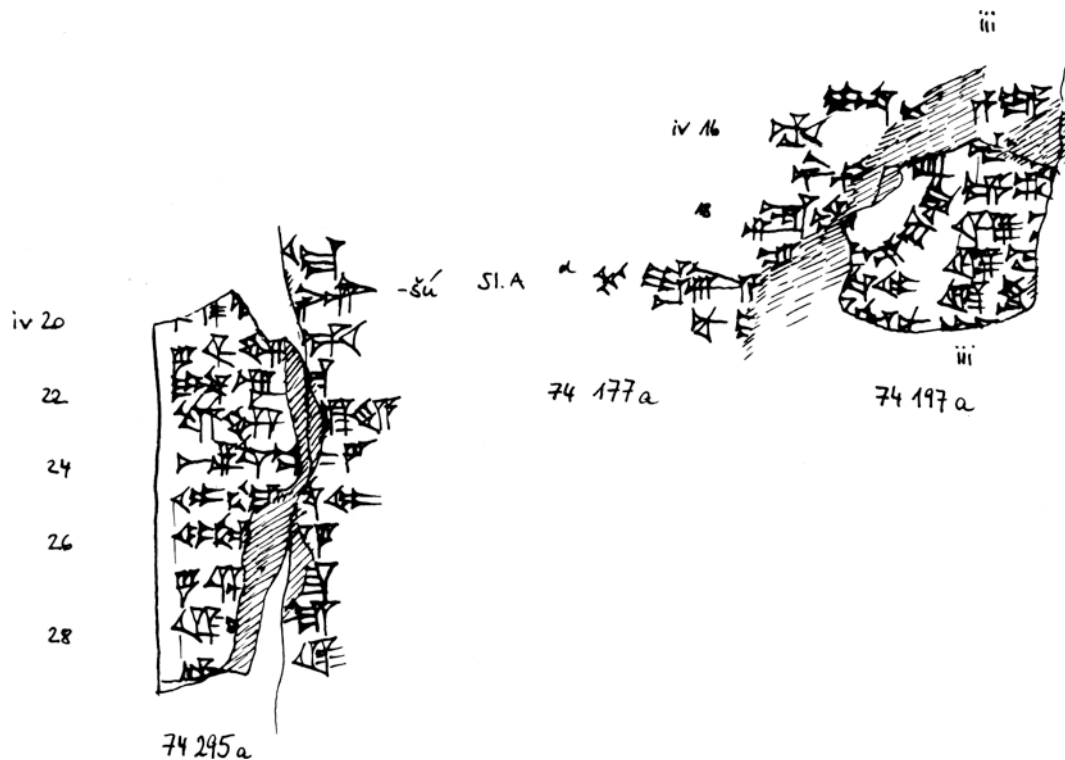
Abbildung 3: Joins zu Em. iv: Msk 74177a + 74197a + 74295a

Entscheidend ist aber der Schluss des Textes. Der Sohn kontert demnach alle Lebensweisheiten seines Vaters, die der Mehrung des Besitzes und Wohlstandes dienen, mit dem Verweis auf den Tod, vor dem alles Bemühen um Besitz wertlos ist. Der Besitz zählt nichts im Angesicht des Todes, den vollen Vorratskammern werden die mageren Totenopfer gegenübergestellt. Die letzten Zeilen des neu gewonnenen Textes sind am deutlichsten: kurz sind die Tage des Lebens, lange die in der Unterwelt.

Ein solcher Text passt gut in die altbabylonische Zeit, als zum ersten Mal das Thema des leidenden Gerechten behandelt wurde, als das Thema des Todes als Schicksal jeden Menschen in Gilgameš seine literarische Ausgestaltung erfuhr.[32] In den *Unterweisungen des Šuruppag* wurden solche Fragen nicht behandelt. Der akkadische Text kennt das Vorbild, aber durch die Einführung der Rede des Sohnes wird nicht nur die aktuelle Sprachsituation verändert, sondern die ursprüngliche Botschaft relativiert, vielleicht sogar in Frage gestellt.

Mit seiner knappen Argumentation bringt der Sohn nicht nur ein Gegenargument gegen die Rede des Vaters, sondern er widerlegt gewissermaßen die gesamte Tradition der Unterweisungen. Die dort geforderte Unterwerfung unter Autoritäten wird nun mit einem kritischen Hinterfragen der angeblich ewigen Werte beantwortet. Wie weit diese Kritik geht, wird durch den Vergleich mit *Šuruppag* umso deutlicher: es ist die uralte, vom Sintfluthelden tradierte Weisheit, die durch die Rede des Sohnes in Frage gestellt wird. Und vor dem Schema des lebenserfahrenen Lehrers der Weisheitsliteratur erstaunt es umso mehr, dass der altbabylonische Dichter dem Sohn die entscheidenden Argumente überlässt und dass es zudem der Sohn ist, der auf den Tod verweist. Die

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[32] Die Thematik altbabylonischer Weisheitsliteratur, die sich mit der Vergeblichkeit menschlichen Strebens auseinandersetzt, behandelt Lambert (1995), ohne allerdings unseren *Dialog* zu erwähnen. Vgl. nun Alster 2005, dort insbesondere ch. 3 ‚The vanity theme in Sumerian literature‘; die angeführten Beispiele entstammen altbabylonischer Zeit und werden teilweise weiter tradiert. Seminara 2000 vergleicht hingegen die großen Weisheitstexte des I. Jtsd. und spricht von ‚alten‘ und ‚neuen‘ Themen der Weisheitsliteratur.

Form des Dialogs bedeutet demnach mehr als eine Verteilung von Sentenzen auf zwei Sprecher, denn er führt zu einer kritischen Neubewertung der väterlichen Weisheit. Alle Kniffe, das Leben zu meistern, die dem väterlichen Lehrer in den Mund gelegt werden, verblassen vor dem Tod, der das Leben bestimmt.

ADDENDUM

Der Artikel wurde im Sommer 2005 eingereicht, substantielle Änderungen waren nicht mehr möglich. Zwei weitere Textzeugen des Dialogs aus Ugarit, RS 94.2544+2548 und RS 94.5028, veröffentlichte Arnaud (2007) als Nr. 49 (S. 139–79 und pl. xxiii–xxv). Die neuen Fragmente ergeben keine substantiellen Änderungen bei den zitierten Passagen.

Ein wichtiger Beitrag zum Text, der in manchen Details den oben getroffenen Überlegungen entspricht, stammt von V.A. Hurowitz (2007).

UR III KINGS IN IMAGES: A REAPPRAISAL

Claudia E. Suter—Basel

A main concern of Jeremy Black was Sumerian literature. He launched a monumental project with the goal of compiling the entire corpus of Sumerian literary compositions in updated transliteration and translation, a project conceived as international collaboration and work in progress. The *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* has become an indispensable tool for students of ancient Mesopotamia and, at the same time, makes Sumerian literature, for too long treated almost as an occult science, accessible to a wider audience. Jeremy also provided us with an unparalleled and most insightful guide to *Reading Sumerian Poetry* (1998), in which he appealed to the reader's appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of poetry. In spite of the many difficulties imposed by the fragmentary tradition of ancient texts in a long dead language, he succeeded in disclosing in one example the complex and sophisticated imagination and techniques of Sumerian poetry.

Although Sumerian literature is mainly preserved on Old Babylonian tablets, a peak was reached in creative writing under the patronage of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who united Mesopotamia for approximately one century (c. 2112–2004 BCE) under a centralized administration. This peak is undoubtedly related to the self-deification of king Šulgi and his successors. The epics around the mythical kings of Uruk, for example, are best understood as a 'rewriting of past history into a heroic paradigm which sanctioned the ideology of divine kingship', and the royal hymns as an extension of the heroic literature so that 'literature as a totality sanctions the divine king and his might' (Michalowski 1988: 21–2).

The norm in Mesopotamia was sacred rather than divine kingship.[1] Even if some kings were portrayed as divine-like, deification that included a royal cult and the divine determinative in front of the king's name was confined to the Akkad and Ur III hegemonies, two short periods in the last quarter of the third millennium BCE. In either case it was the consolidator rather than the founder of the dynasty who initiated self-deification—Naram-Suen and Šulgi—and it continued only for a few generations under their successors and some epigones before returning to the norm. Piotr Michalowski (2008: 39) argues that divine kingship in Mesopotamian was not an autonomous symbolic system but one component of a 'complex fabric of economic, structural, and ideological reformations that took place in a concrete historical context'.

The self-representation of Ur III kings in royal hymns has repeatedly been described and the texts are easily accessible through ETCSL. They combine traditional aspects of kingship with a novel type of glorification. The former include topoi of divinely sanctioned legitimacy, the king as servant of the gods and as provider and protector of his people, and to some degree also descriptions of his wisdom and his strength in battle. In unison with the deification of Ur III kings, the hymns then adopt forms and features for the king that had previously been reserved for heroes and deities, and endow him with supernatural powers. By mingling descriptions of king and god without naming the subject, they blur the boundaries between them. The king is thus assimilated into the divine world and, as a consequence, represents himself on a par with heroes and deities.

How did the ideological reformations of Ur III kings affect their visual representation? Only few and fragmentary Ur III royal monuments have survived the ravages of time. Based on these, it is generally assumed that visual media were much more conservative than verbal media and reflected traditional sacred rather than divine kingship.[2] Although visual and verbal media differed from one another in several respects, I find it hard to believe that the ideological reformations of the Ur III kings were completely passed over in their visual representation. Our picture begins to change once we start looking beyond the surviving identified monuments.

In view of the outstanding role the Ur III kings played in Mesopotamian history, it seems worthwhile to compile all available sources on their visual representation, even at the risk of some repetition.[3] Official images exist in the form of foundation figurines, in statuary, on stelae, on rock-reliefs, and on cylinder seals.[4] My discussion will include not only images identified by an inscription, but also anonymous candidates for Ur III royal images and written sources that inform us about now lost monuments. In addition, I take into consideration some images of contemporary or slightly later rulers that obviously emulate Ur III royal images. During the early Isin-Larsa period a strong continuity, at times blatant imitation, of Ur III kingship is manifest not only in ideology and propaganda as expressed in verbal and visual arts, but also in state organization, bureaucracy, and cult. By providing a comprehensive survey of the images from a widened perspective and then juxtaposing them with poetry, I hope to contribute to a more accurate picture of the Ur III kings' official representation, which, regardless of actual politics, must have contributed to the success of uniting Mesopotamia for a few generations under a divine kingship.

FOUNDATION FIGURINES

Inscribed copper figurines, which were buried together with stone tablets at crucial locations in the foundation of temples, have survived of all Ur III kings, except for Ibbi-Suen. The inscriptions record the king's construction of a particular temple. Such foundation deposits are attested since Early Dynastic times. They were aimed at commemorating the temple builder for future generations and, especially, for future kings who would rebuild the temple. The Ur III figurines represent a beardless, bare-headed and bare-chested male who carries a basket on his head (Fig. 1). This type was introduced under Gudea of Lagaš (Rashid 1983: nos. 111–15). In contrast to the short kilt of Gudea's figurines, some of Ur-Namma's figurines wear an ankle-long kilt (Rashid 1983: nos. 120–3), while others exhibit a peg-shaped lower body (Rashid 1983: nos. 124–7). The latter shape became standard for the succeeding Ur III kings (Rashid 1983: nos. 128–71) and was continued up to the end of the Larsa Dynasty, after which this class of objects ceased to exist.

The basket carrier can be understood as an icon for temple construction. While groups of workmen carry baskets on their heads in construction scenes on the stelae of Gudea and Ur-Namma,[5] the foundation figurines represent the royal builder. This is suggested by two Early Dynastic door plaques that record temple constructions of Ur-Nanše of Lagaš and depict him carrying a basket on his head,[6] and by Gudea's Cylinder Inscriptions describing the ruler carrying a basket on his head when proceeding to the construction site.[7] Together with an axe and a folded hoe, a basket is also depicted on Ur-Namma's back in the scene on his stela in which he proceeds to the construction site (Fig. 9a). The context in Gudea's Cylinder Inscriptions suggests that the

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[2] Most recently, Braun-Holzinger 2007: 117–33; Winter 2008: 77–9.

[3] Braun-Holzinger 2007 had not appeared when I first submitted my manuscript in May 2005. Although we reached some similar conclusions independently, we also disagree on a number of issues. A comparison of our studies shows how dissimilar compilation, description, and interpretation of images can be, which leads me to the conclusion that they are not redundant.

[4] Royal figures on terracottas will not be included because they belong to popular art and represent types rather than actual kings.

[5] Suter 2000: pl. A, and perhaps also pl. C.; Canby 2001: nos. 23–5.

[6] Braun-Holzinger 1991: nos. W1 and W4; see Suter 2000: 61 and fig. 37.

[7] Gudea Cylinder (ETCSL 2.1.7) A 20: 24–26, see Suter 2000: 93.

basket was used for removing earth in the process of digging the foundation. The royal basket carrier thus evokes the king's initiation of and personal involvement in construction work for a temple, much like high dignitaries today lay cornerstones.
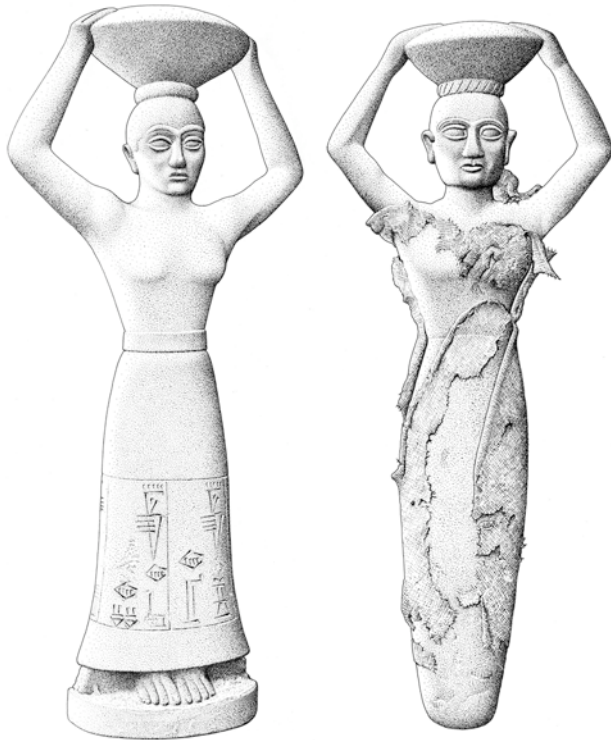

Figure 1: Foundation figurines of Ur-Namma and Šulgi (after Rashid 1983: nos. 121, 136)

STATUARY

Mesopotamian statues were traditionally dedicated to a deity and set up in his/her temple. Although hardly any were found *in situ*, we can surmise that from the Ur III period onwards, if not earlier, the temple's courtyard, where they could be seen by the general public, was their preferred location.[8] Only statues of deified Ur III kings were also set up in private houses of high officials (Sallaberger 1993: 105–6). This is attested in particular for Šu-Suen, who seems to have propagated the cult of the living ruler more than any other king. Upon accession to the throne, he had statues of himself erected all over the realm, and several temples were built for him by the governors of Ur, Girsu, Adab, and Ešnunna (Sallaberger 1999: 170–1). It is unlikely that these statues were dedicated to a deity.

Hardly any statues of Ur III kings have survived. In part this is probably due to their function as icons of power prone to being destroyed or deported as trophies, in part to the material from which they were made. From the Ur III period onwards, written sources record almost exclusively metal deliveries, especially gold and silver, for royal statues (Limet 1960: 200–1). The increased use of precious metal as opposed to stone seems to have begun earlier. There is evidence for royally commissioned metal statuary already in the Akkad period,[9] and Gudea obviously reacted to it: not only did he leave us with more statues than any other Mesopotamian ruler, he also pointed out—in

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[8] This is indicated not only by some statues found in courtyards, but also by Ur III and Isin I texts (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 238), and it accords with the iconography of the statues, see Suter 2000: 59–60.

[9] For example, the head from Nineveh, the statue of a doorkeeper from Bassetki, and two texts referring to metal statues of Akkad kings, see Braun-Holzinger 1991: 232.

the longest of his statue inscriptions—that he had this image made of diorite rather than metal so that nobody could rework it (St. B 7: 49–54). All of this suggests that more statues of Ur III kings were made of materials other than stone and that it was common to melt precious metal for reuse. Before turning to the question of what such statues looked like, I will review the statues of Ur III kings identified by an inscription and possible candidates among anonymous statues, all of which happen to be of stone, as well as the textual evidence pertaining to statues of these kings.

Identified statues

Only two statues preserve an inscription of an Ur III king; both pertain to Šulgi. Unfortunately their heads are missing, leaving us in the dark about the king's headgear and beard. One is a 26 cm high, damaged torso of diorite found in Nimintaba's temple at Ur (Fig. 2).[10] The short text on the back commemorates Šulgi's dedication of the statue for his life to Nanna and its name expressing Nanna's support for the king. If the pedestal found together with the statue belonged to it (Woolley 1974: 98: no. U.6276 = IM 1172), there was no additional inscription. The titulature—strong man, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad—together with the lack of a divine determinative before the royal name, date this statue to Šulgi's first ten or twenty years.[11] The king wears a fringed robe tucked in under his shoulder. This draping, as well as the rendition of the fringes by simple diagonal lines, follows the tradition of the Gudea statues (Strommenger 1960: 69), as does the statue's static appearance. The angled right arm indicates that the king held his hands clasped on his chest.

Figure 2: Statue of Šulgi from Ur (after Orthmann 1975: pl. 63)
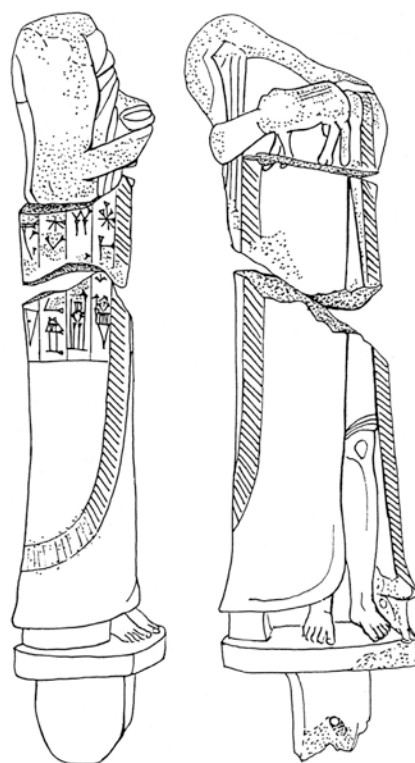
Figure 3: Statue of Šulgi from Girsu (drawing by Phoebe Adams)

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[10] IM 1173. Woolley 1974: 98 no. U.6306, pl. 47b; Braun-Holzinger 1991: St 150; RIME 3/2.1.2.56; for good photos, see Orthmann 1975: pls. 63a–b.

[11] For a chronology of Ur III kings' titulature, see Sallaberger 1999: 180.

The other exemplar comes from Girsu (Fig. 3).[12] The short inscription on its back records Šulgi's dedication for his life to the local god Ig-alim. The same titulature as on the Ur statue, together with the divine determinative before Šulgi's name, date this statue after his first ten or twenty years and before his twenty-sixth year. Standing at 20 cm, the statuette is made of steatite and includes a small base with a pierced dowel. Its material and size may indicate that this statuette was intended to imitate metal statuettes (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 233), of which the dowel may have been typical.[13] The king wears a fringed robe that leaves the left leg uncovered and reveals a short kilt underneath. He holds a small animal, probably a kid, in his arms. The uncovered leg evokes movement and thus a departure from the static appearance of the Ur statue.[14]

Two unpublished diorite fragments from Ur may have belonged to statues of Ur III kings: one records Šulgi's presentation (in-na-ba) of the inscribed object to Nin-sumun (RIME 3/2.1.2.57) and dates to his later reign starting with his twenty-sixth year when he re-introduced the Old Akkadian title 'king of the four parts (of the world)'; the other object was dedicated by Šu-Suen to a god whose name is lost (RIME 3/2.1.4.26). If these fragments belonged to statues, they confirm that Ur III kings continued to dedicate stone statues to deities after they assumed divine status.

In addition, the statue that Šulgi-kiursagkalama dedicated for Šulgi's life to Nindara may exceptionally represent the king rather than the dedicator.[15] Based on Šulgi's titulature, this statue can be dated to the same period as the Girsu statuette. Only the lower body of a standing figure made of hornfels is preserved. It is 26 cm high and exhibits a flaring robe with a slightly elevated hem in the same place as for fringed robes, but with no fringes indicated, probably because of the inscription, which covers the entire lower body and records regulations concerning artisans in addition to the dedication of the statue. The object in front of the body can be interpreted as part of a libation vessel that the figure held. No comparable statue is extant. Richard Zettler (Civil and Zettler 1989: 65) suggested identifying the statue with Šulgi based on its name: 'Šulgi, who has been given strength by Nindara, is the breath of life of the city' (ll. 16–19). However, the statue is dedicated to a god, and in analogy to personal names of this period that replace a theophoric element with the name of a deified king, as Šulgi-kiursagkalama does, its name may have been appropriate for the statue of a subject of Šulgi.

Although the formulation alan-a-ni mu-tu, 'he made his statue' (ll. 13–14), is standard for dedicators, the possessive pronoun could theoretically also refer to Šulgi. Because Mesopotamian statues usually represent the dedicator even if they are dedicated for the life of a king, Eva Braun-Holzinger (1991: 219–20; 2007: 119–20) voted for Šulgi-kiursagkalama. If the libation vessel was indeed a spouted jug rather than a goblet (Braun-Holzinger 2007: 119 n. 69 vs. Civil and Zettler 1989: 69–77), it would speak for Šulgi-kiursagkalama, not necessarily because he was in charge of offerings according to the inscription (l. 11), but because the spouted jug is traditionally used by priests, while kings and queens libate from goblets (Figs. 9a, 10, 16–17).[16] The ultimate obstacle in identifying the statue with its dedicator, however, lies in the end of the inscription: 'Let me forever be the protective spirit (dLama) of the man who stokes his oven with wood. May he invoke my name! May he take care of me!' (ll. 84–8). This wish can only be taken as the statue speaking directly and it is hard to believe that the concept of the protective spirit applied to any other than the deified king.

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[12] AO 36 + EŞ 438. Braun-Holzinger 1991: St.154+147; Suter 1991–3; RIME 3/2.1.2.55.

[13] Compare Braun-Holzinger 1984: pls. 47–8 nos. 219, 222–4, 233.

[14] The more naturalistic appearance may in part be due to the softer material; Gudea statue M, which is made of a translucent green stone (good photos in Aruz 2003: no. 306), appears less static than his diorite statues.

[15] MMA L. 1983 95a–b. Civil and Zettler 1989; Braun-Holzinger 1991: St 152; RIME 3/2.1.2.2031.

[16] The libation jug goes back to Early Dynastic times, but still occurs on the Enheduana Disc, a stela fragment of Gudea, and the seal of Ur-DUN, priest in Girsu under Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen (Suter 2000: 196). For royal libators on Akkad-period seals, see Suter 2008: 18, 21, and on Ur III seals, see pages 252–5 below.

Anonymous statues

Because few identified male statues have survived from the Ur III to the Old Babylonian period, it is difficult to date anonymous exemplars more precisely within this time period. Moreover, images in other media such as glyptic and terracotta show continuity in dress, headgear, and hairdo from the Ur III to the Isin-Larsa period in southern Mesopotamia, while local styles were developed in the north (especially at Mari and Ebla). Only one identified statue has survived of the kings of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon, and this miniature work portraying Bur-Suen enthroned was obviously made in Syria under Egyptian influence.[17] As for other rulers of this period, there are only two identified statues: a very damaged and still unpublished one of Erišum of Assur,[18] and that of Ur-Ningišzida of Ešnunna (Fig. 4),[19] who reigned approximately one hundred years after the end of the Ur III dynasty (Whiting 1987: 22). This headless statue exhibits a fringed robe draped over the left shoulder in three loose-hanging folds and fringes reminiscent of royal statuary of the kings of Akkad. Influenced perhaps by this single piece from the periphery, most anonymous statues are generally attributed to the Isin-Larsa or Old Babylonian period without arguments in support of this assumption and despite two counter-voices.
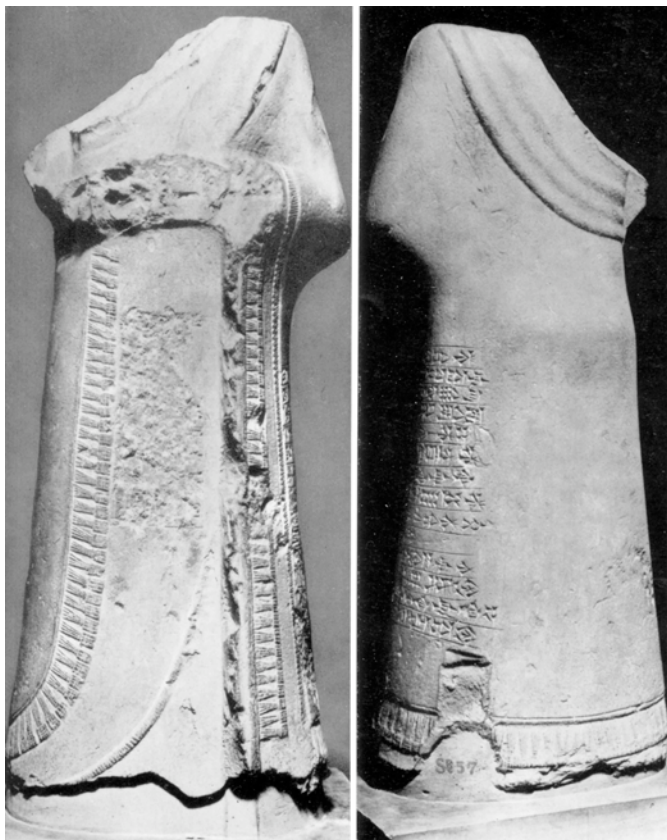
Figure 4: Statue of Ur-Ningišzida of Ešnunna from Susa (after Strommenger 1960: pl. 21)

Eva Strommenger (1960: 71; 1971: 47) observed a development in Ur III visual arts towards richer forms that at least in part revived traits of the Akkad period. This development is manifest under Šulgi, but may already have begun under Ur-Namma. Pronounced folds, more naturalistic rendering of garments, and a growing preference for jewellery go together with a new version of

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[17] Braun-Holzinger 1991: St 171; RIME 4.1.7.2.
[18] Braun-Holzinger 1991: St 174; RIMA 1 AO 33.12.
[19] S 57; Braun-Holzinger 1991: St 173; RIME 4.5.8.2.

the fringed robe characterized by three folds that are loosely draped over the left shoulder and fall in a semi-arch over chest and back, respectively, as, for example, in the statue of Ur-Ningišzida (Fig. 4). The fringe along the right side of the front is now curved rather than straight. Dated seal images (Figs. 16, 21) reveal that the new version of the fringed robe was fully developed under Šulgi. A still unpublished statue that Ur-Ningirsu, high priest of Nanše, dedicated for Šulgi's life, shows this feature more clearly than his other statue damaged during World War II.[20] The new draping survived into the Old Babylonian period, as can be seen on the stela of Hammurabi (Fig. 11). In view of this development, the identified statues discussed above are hardly representative of Ur III sculpture.

Based on a comparison of the depiction of Ur-Namma on his stela with some statues deported from Ešnunna to Susa, Betty Schlossmann (1981–2: 147–8) suggested that beard and jewellery may prove to be more precise dating criteria for the long period during which the new version of the fringed robe was worn. While Ur-Namma wears a long, rectangular beard consisting of fine, knotted strands and a necklace made up of two alternating types of beads (Fig. 9a), the beard of the Ešnunna statues is short, rounded, and ends above the necklace, which consists of a massive cord with three large stones at the front.[21] The headless Ur-Ningišzida (Fig. 4) may have worn such a beard and necklace. If this hypothesis is correct, then several larger statues with the Ur-Namma-type beard and necklace could represent Ur III kings.
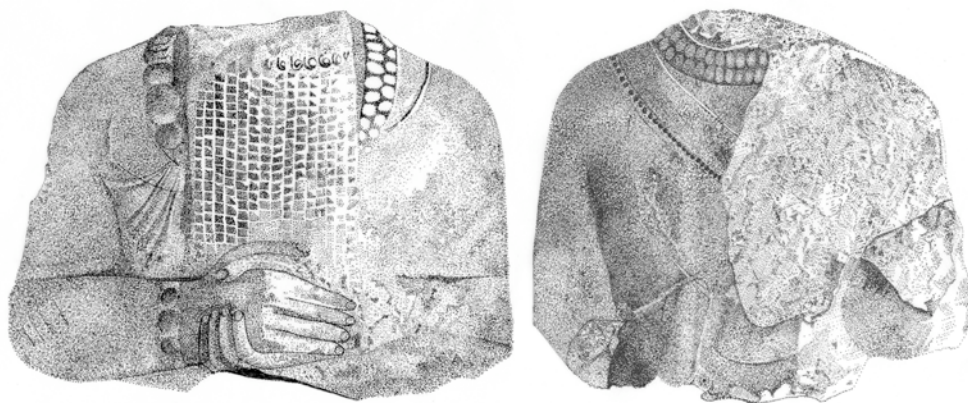
Figure 5: Statue torso from Nippur (drawing by Reingard Dirscherl)

A torso from Nippur almost certainly represents an Ur III king (Fig. 5),[22] since it was found in an Ur III context in the Ekur, just above the Ur-Namma floor, and because of the form of the sign NAM in its fragmentary inscription (Spycket 1981: 208). This torso exhibits a beard of fifteen fine strands, a necklace with two alternating types of beads, and a fringed robe tucked in under the left shoulder. I find Strommenger's attribution to the time of Ur-Namma–Šulgi convincing, not only because of the beard and jewellery but also because these two kings were involved in the (re)construction of Ekur, and because Šulgi can still wear the older form of the fringed robe.[23]

A headless seated statue from Šamaš's temple in Larsa shows a beard with equally fine strands, the same necklace, but the fringed robe with the three loose folds and the left fringe curved (Fig.

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[20] For these statues, see Braun-Holzinger 1991: St 157–158, pl. 18; RIME 3/2.1.2.2032 and 3/2.1.5.2005; for photos of the latter before it was damaged, see Meissner 1928-1929: pl. 6: 1–2.

[21] Especially Sb 56 (Schlossmann 1981–2: figs. 6–7; Harper et al. 1992: no. 112).

[22] The best photos of this torso in Istanbul are in Meissner 1928–9: pl. 5: 4–5.

[23] Strommenger 1960: 83 with n. 513. Schlossmann (1978–9: 74 with n. 35) dated it to Ur-Namma; Spycket (1981: 208 with n. 120) to the end of the Ur III period; and Braun-Holzinger (1991: 297 with n. 828) to the transition from the neo-Sumerian to the Old Babylonian period.

6).[24] Interestingly, simple diagonal lines indicate the fringes, as on the Šulgi statue from Ur (Fig. 2). Because of the combination of the Ur-Namma-type beard and jewellery with the later fringed robe with simple fringes, I would attribute this statue to the second half of Šulgi's reign or to one of his successors.[25]

Figure 6: Statue of seated ruler from Larsa (after Orthmann 1975: pl. 157)

A similar headless seated statue was deported from Ešnunna to Susa (Fig. 7).[26] Since Šulgi and his successors held sway over Ešnunna, this statue need not necessarily represent a ruler from Ešnunna. It exhibits the same three folds of the later robe and the same necklace as the statue from Larsa, while the beard consists of eight thicker strands rather than nearly twice as many fine ones. The hem of the robe is made up of several folds rather than fringes, like the robe worn by Hammurabi (Fig. 11). The jewellery and beard, however, are quite different from Hammurabi's and speak for an earlier date. Moreover, the modelling of the body is strongly reminiscent of the statuary of Akkad kings, whom the Ur III kings, especially Šulgi and his successors, imitated in various respects. Schlossmann (1978–9: 73–4) wanted to attribute this statue to Šulgi, Spycket (1981: 239 with n. 72 and pl. 165) to Ur-Ningirsu of Ešnunna, while Strommenger (1960: 74) allowed for a date within the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods.

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[24] IM 74970. For good photos, see Orthmann 1975: pls. 157a–b.

[25] This statue had not yet been discovered when Strommenger wrote her seminal article on early Mesopotamian statuary in 1960. Schlossmann (1978–9: 73 with n. 29) attributed it to Ur-Namma; Spycket (1981: 239 with n. 68) and Braun-Holzinger (1991: 294 with n. 804) to post-Ur III times.

[26] Sb 61. For photos of front and back, see Strommenger 1960: pl. 22; for a colour photo, see Harper et al. 1992: no. 114.

Figure 7: Statue of seated ruler of Ešnunna from Susa (after Strommenger 1960: pl. 22)

Figure 8: Statue head from Susa (after Harper et al. 1992: no. 113)

A beautiful diorite head from Susa (Fig. 8) would, as Strommenger (1960: 84 with n. 518) observed, fit this statue.[27] What is left of the beard and the hair protruding from under the brimmed cap as well as the extraordinary quality and fine modelling recall the image of Ur-Namma (Fig. 9a). The Susa head, which was dubbed the 'Hammurabi head' for a long time, may well have belonged to an Ur III king.[28]

The works discussed above are certainly more impressive than the identified statues of Šulgi. Even if some represented early Isin-Larsa rulers, they can still give us a better idea of what Ur III stone statuary looked like, since early Isin-Larsa rulers followed closely in the footsteps of the Ur III kings and do not seem to have introduced radically new forms and styles. Our perception of Ur III statuary can be expanded further still if we include textual information on now lost monuments.

Statues known from texts

Old Babylonian scribes copied texts inscribed on monuments of outstanding kings of the past that were still (or again?) on display and left us comments regarding these monuments. While copies of Ur III stela inscriptions (na-ru$_2$-a = *narû*) will be reviewed below, this section discusses texts that were most likely inscribed on statues of Ur III kings, some of which stood on pedestals carved in relief. I am not convinced that the word alan exclusively designated statues,[29] since its Akkadian equivalent *ṣalmu* can also refer to representations in relief in the more general sense of 'image, likeness'. The inscriptions on the Anu-banini rock-relief (Fig. 14) and on the Hammurabi Stela (Fig. 11), for example, refer to the royal image carved in relief with the term *ṣalmu* (CAD Ṣ 80, 82), and the Hammurabi inscription beautifully juxtaposes *ṣalmu* with *narû*, the latter referring to the entire monument (CAD N/1 364).

A *Sammeltafel* from Nippur presents sort of an inventory of texts inscribed on dedicatory objects in the temple of a goddess, possibly Inana, at Nippur (Civil 1985: 40–5). It lists various royal inscriptions pertaining to Šulgi, in abbreviated form. Among them is the dedication of a statue to an unnamed goddess (RIME 3/2.1.2.2055). The text is similar in content and structure to the inscriptions of the Ur and Girsu statues and can be dated to the first half of Šulgi's reign.[30]

Two fragmentary sections on the same tablet record dedications of royal statues by Eaniša and Ninkalla, both consorts (lukur) of Šulgi (RIME 3/2.1.2.81 and 84). The first preserves the king's titulature and can be dated to Šulgi's later reign. They have been understood in the sense that Eaniša made a statue of her husband and set it up before herself (lugal-a-ni mu-tu mu-ud-na-ni igi-ni-še$_3$ in-gub), while Ninkalla made 'his' statue and the text was inscribed on Šulgi's shoulder (alan-na-ni mu-dim$_2$, murgu šul-gi). Did these statues represent the king rather than the dedicator as in the controversial case of Šulgi-kiursagkalama? The first section could be read differently: Eaniša made a statue of herself for (the life of) her king and set it up next to his; statues of royal consorts are evidenced in administrative texts (Steinkeller 1981: 80). In any case, a statue of Šulgi stood in close proximity to one of Eaniša. This leads me to wonder whether Ninkalla may have made an image of herself together with the king, the inscription of which was written on his shoulder. Such fia sculptural group might be at the root of the well-known image of an embracing couple on

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[27] Sb 95. Three views are illustrated in Schlossmann 1981–2: figs. 18–20; a colour photo in Harper et al. 1992: no. 113.

[28] Edith Porada (quoted in Schlossmann 1981–2: 155–6) considered it closer to Ur-Namma than to Hammurabi. Strommenger (1960: 84 with n. 518) and Braun-Holzinger (1991: 297) allow for a date within the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods.

[29] So Braun-Holzinger 1991: 281. The absence of 'portrait-stelae' from the Ur III period is not a convincing argument, since such stelae are a later phenomenon. Although an alan made of metal was more likely a statue than a stela, note that Išme-Dagan claims to have made a copper stela (urudu na-ru$_2$-a) for Enlil, inscribed with his hymns (Hymn Za 5–10, see Ludwig 1990: 62–3).

[30] Šulgi's name is written with the divine determinative and this was obviously not added later, since the scribe of this tablet distinguished between inscriptions with and without divine determinative.

terracottas of the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods.[31] Since there are lacunae at the beginning of both text sections, it remains unclear whether these statues were dedicated to a deity or not.

A short poetic text (Šulgi V [ETCSL 2.4.2.22 = RIME 3/2.1.2.54]) is reminiscent of Šulgi Hymn A (ETCSL 2.4.2.1), and may have been inscribed on a statue of this king in Nippur.[32] It recounts how Šulgi ran from Nippur to Ur and back, after Enlil had decreed a good fate for him, and ends with the following statement:

In order that heroes forever praise Šulgi's great exaltedness, he made his …… enduring statue (destined) for everlasting fame brilliant like the heavenly stars, and set it up in majesty before the happy, joy-filled eyes of the immutably eminent father Enlil.[33]

This seems to imply that Šulgi dedicated a shining metal statue of himself to Enlil. Jacob Klein (1990: 77–9) proposed that this statue depicted Šulgi 'running toward Nippur'. There is, in fact, a text recording material deliveries for an image of Ibbi-Suen described as running or riding (see no. 4, page 342 below). Marie-Thérèse Barrelet (1974: 35) associated this image, together with two Old Babylonian year names that commemorate the fashioning of similar royal images, with a royal figure whose beard is splayed over the chest as if scattered by the draught of rapid movement (Fig. 22, pages 356–7 below). Although this correlation is tempting, especially since such a beard is now attested for Ibbi-Suen, caution is needed. The peculiar nature of this hymnic statue inscription, together with the fact that it is written on the same tablet as a very similar text of Išme-Dagan (Išme-Dagan S [ETCSL 2.5.4.19]), a great imitator of Šulgi, leads me to doubt its authenticity.[34] More credible is the statue of gold and lapis lazuli that Šulgi claims to have set up for Ninlil in his Hymn Y (ETCSL 2.4.2.25).

A number of stamped bricks from Ur must have belonged to the pedestal of a statue of Amar-Suen (RIME 3/2.1.3.10). The stamped text comprises the king's name with epithets and titles, the statue name 'Amar-Suen is the beloved of Ur', and a curse intended to protect statue and pedestal. The absence of a dedication, together with the statue's name, suggest that this statue was intended for the worship of the king. A very similar text on a Neo-Babylonian clay barrel was, according to its colophon, copied by Nabu-šuma-iddin from 'a baked brick from the debris of Ur, the work of Amar-Suen, king of Ur' (RIME 3/2.1.3.11). This text elaborates on certain details: it states that Amar-Suen erected (du$_3$) the statue, that it was named 'Called by Sin, beloved of Ur', and it speaks in the curse of 'these statues of my gold from a storehouse'. Did the Neo-Babylonian scribe copy a variant text of Amar-Suen or did he make up the additions?

The pedestal made for a statue of Šu-Suen in his accession year was obviously also made of bricks.[35] Administrative texts record the delivery of several types of bitumen, 24 talents altogether, plus 20 workmen for one day. The large amount of bitumen and the high number of workmen suggest that this pedestal was monumental and may have been intended for carrying images.

Several statues of Šu-Suen are known through Old Babylonian copies of their inscription. One was made of stone and belonged with a diorite pedestal from Nippur that preserves part of the same inscription.[36] The text on the statue's right shoulder states that Šu-Suen dedicated the statue for his

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[31] For a good photo of a well-preserved example from Ur, see Orthmann 1975: pl. 184a; more examples from Ur are published in Woolley 1976: pls. 82–3. Stone sculptures of couples are extant from the Early Dynastic period (Asher-Greve 1985: 84, 205 nos. 549–55).

[32] ETCSL labels the transliteration of this text *A dedication of a statue*, but the translation *A praise poem of Šulgi*. On the thesis that hymns were originally inscribed on stelae or statues, see Flückiger-Hawker 1999: 78–85.

[33] ^{d}šul-gi-ra nam-maḫ gal-gal-a-ni a-re-eš$_2$ pa$_3$-de$_2$-de$_3$, X alan$^?$ ud su$_3$-ra$_2$ mu-da-ri$_2$-ka-na, mul an-ne$_2$-eš$_2^?$ bi$_2$-in-gun$_3^?$, a-a ^{d}en-lil$_2$ maḫ-di nu-kur$_2$-ra, igi-dug$_2$ niĝ$_2$-giri$_{17}$-zal si-a-ni-še$_3$ nam-nun-na mu-ni-in-gub.

[34] For an edition and discussion of both texts, see Ludwig 1990: 75–91, who does not exclude the possibility that *Šulgi V* is a fictive text composed under Išme-Dagan.

[35] ITT no. 795, see Edzard 1959–60: 18–19; Braun-Holzinger 1991: 345.

[36] RIME 3/2.1.4.7; Braun-Holzinger 1991: St 156. For the pedestal, see also Civil and Zettler 1989: 60–64.

life, while the text on the pedestal specifies offerings for it from the table of Enlil and Ninlil and ends with a curse protecting these offerings. The statue was apparently not dedicated to a deity.

In Nippur, Šu-Suen also dedicated a statue each to Enlil and Ninlil, whose inscription was in Sumerian and Akkadian respectively (RIME 3/2.1.4.3–5). Content and structure of these texts follow Old Akkadian rather than Ur III royal inscriptions. They commemorate military campaigns against Simaški and include labels identifying figures carved on the statues' pedestals. The statues were made of gold taken as booty from Simaški. The two labels in Sumerian identify Šu-Suen with epithets and titles, and Ziringu, governor of Zabšali, who is described as fettered captive. The Akkadian labels describe Šu-Suen treading on Indasu, governor of Zabšali, and identify ten more captive governors of Zagros districts arranged in two groups. Braun-Holzinger (1991: 287–90) suggested placing the victorious Šu-Suen treading on Indasu on the front of the pedestal and the two groups of additional captives on its sides. The pedestal inscribed in Sumerian may have depicted a similar scenario with a review of unlabelled captives on its sides. Like the inscriptions, these images recall victory monuments of the kings of Akkad (Börker-Klähn 1982 nos. 18–27).

Another fragmentary inscription of Šu-Suen from Nippur records military campaigns against Simanum and Habura (RIME 3/2.1.4.1). If correctly reconstructed, this text, too, was inscribed on a royal statue or its pedestal. Because Inana is praised as the king's helper and companion in battle, this monument may be identical with the one called 'dInana kaskal dŠu-dSuen' in offering lists from Šu-Suen's fourth year on (Sallaberger 1993: 103 n. 458). Rather than designating a statue of Inana, I suggest that the label 'Inana of the Road (and) Šu-Suen' refers to an image carved on the statue's pedestal that depicted the victorious king together with the warrior goddess, like the rock-reliefs of Anu-banini and Iddi-Sin (Figs. 14–15).

Administrative texts describe Ur III royal images as follows:

1. image of the king standing (alan lugal in-gub-ba; Šulgi; Durand in Barrelet 1974 no. D.5).
2. image of the king sitting (alan lugal tuš-a; Ibbi-Suen 6, 11; Durand in Barrelet 1974 no. D.7, 9).
3. image of the king praying/making offerings (alan lugal siškur$_2$; Šulgi 41; Durand in Barrelet 1974 no. D.3).
4. image of the king running$^?$ (alan lugal kaš$_4$; Ibbi-Suen 13; Durand in Barrelet 1974 no. D.10).
5. image of the king riding on a chariot (alan lugal kaš$_4$ ^{giš}gigir; Šulgi 41; Durand in Barrelet 1974 no. D.4).
6. image of the king who subjects <the lands from> the upper to the lower sea (alan lugal a-ab-ba sig-ga a-ab-ba igi nim-da gu$_2$-gar; Šu-Suen; Sollberger 1983: 73–4).
7. image of the king of the four parts of the world (alan lugal an-ub-da-limmu$_2$-ba; Amar-Suen; Waetzoldt 1990).

While nos. 1–2 describe the postures of extant statues, nos. 4–7 are more difficult to visualize. Rather than doubting a correlation between verbal description and actual image (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 236; Sallaberger 1993: 107), we need to think beyond literal meaning. To give an example: the image carved on the Hammurabi Stela depicts the god of justice investing the king in his office (Fig. 11), and the epilogue of the law code inscribed on this stela states: 'Let anyone who was mistreated come to the image depicting me as king of justice (ana maḥar ṣalmiya šar mīšarim), let my stela (narûì) show him the case ...' (xli 9 + 15, compare 75, 84). No. 3 may refer to a kid carrier, like the Šulgi statuette from Girsu (Fig. 2), or to a libator, like the statue of Šulgi-kiursagkalama. No. 4 may simply be an abbreviation of no. 5, and nos. 4-7 may all relate to statues on pedestals that depicted the victorious king, like those just described.

Observations on statues of deified kings

The texts discussed above range from short dedications of the statue to a deity, to long reports of the king's deeds, which use phraseology of royal hymns. They were inscribed on the statue itself and/or its pedestal, which could be carved with images in relief, and confirm that more Ur III

statues were made of precious metal than of stone. The gold and silver statues may have been small, like the Šulgi statuette from Girsu and similar metal statuettes. However, if their pedestals were as monumental as that of Amar-Suen and carved in relief with scenes involving as many figures as the Akkadian statue inscription of Šu-Suen mentions, it is inconceivable that they were only 20 cm high. Given that administrative texts mention the same precious metals and stones for statues of Šulgi and his successors, as for divine statues, and that statues of these deified kings could travel in processions, like divine statues,[37] they may have been similar in manufacture and size.

Although no early Mesopotamian divine statues have survived, there can be no doubt that anthropomorphic cult statues of deities existed at least from Akkad times on if not earlier (Renger and Seidl 1980–3). Based on the small amounts of precious metal recorded in Ur III administrative texts for their fashioning, their height has been estimated at c. 12 cm. I cannot imagine, however, that such small objects could serve the purposes of a cult statue. A comparison with catholic festivals or Hindi cult (Winter 2000) suggests that cult statues need not be life-size, but at least some 40–50 cm in height, so that they can be seen when carried in procession. The small amounts of precious metal are better explained by assuming that early Mesopotamian cult statues were similar in make to those of later periods, which consisted of a wooden core covered with a precious garment, while the exposed body parts—head, hands, and feet—were modelled in wood, or cast hollow in copper, and then plated in silver and gold, and certain parts, such as eyes and hair, inlaid with precious stones (Berlejung 1998: 80–177). Ur III texts mention garments for divine statues (Renger and Seidl 1980–3: 312), as well as gold and silver plating over copper (Spycket 1968: 69–70). This allowed for impressive, colourful, and shining images that were large and light at the same time, and it would explain the absence of such statues from the archaeological record. In fact, administrative texts, together with a few fragmentary archaeological remains, suggest that composite statues made of wood, metal and stone, which could attain human size, were already common in Syria in the Early Dynastic III period (Archi 2005: 85–92), and they may also have existed in contemporary Mesopotamia (Selz 1992: 246, 248–50).

Did statues intended for the worship of the deified king differ in appearance from royal statues dedicated to a deity? Braun-Holzinger (1991: 238) assumed that the former represented the king as protective spirit ([d]Lama) of the land rather than as worshipper, and later (2007: 130) specified that such a statue may have held a vessel with overflowing water, as Šulgi does on the unusual seal of his high official Utu-girgal (Buchanan 1981 no. 642).[38] Such a statue, however, would not have differed in appearance from Gudea Statue N, which is dedicated to Geštinanna. Like other royal images, this type simply visualized a particular aspect of kingship, in this case the ruler who provides his people with prosperity received from the gods (Suter 2000: 58, 66–7).

The implication of the king's Lama is still debated. While literary texts speak of kings as Lama of their city or land, Ur III administrative texts show that deified kings' Lama received cultic attention in the form of offerings (Sallaberger 1993: 85). Although the offerings were probably assigned to a statue, I agree with Walther Sallaberger (2002: 94 n. 36) that the king's Lama cannot be reduced to a cult statue of the divine king—whether royal, divine or of another type. The deification of Ur III kings applied to the royal office rather than to the person of the king, and so did the king's Lama. The Lama was not a deity, but the embodiment of divine protection, a function that any deity could assume (Foxvog et al. 1980–3). It is in this function that the

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[37] For the administrative texts, see Durand apud Barrelet 1974: nos. D.3–5, 7–10. Processions of the royal statue are attested for the sowing festival in Girsu (Sallaberger 1993: 283), and for the Šulgi festival (Sallaberger 1993: 188); perhaps we can infer from the latter that royal statues were regularly carried in procession during the festivals of deified kings (Sallaberger 1993: 197).

[38] The overflowing vase that Šulgi holds on this seal may be a remnant of recutting a royal figure out of a god, since the only parallels for an enthroned figure with such a vase in contemporary glyptic are found in a series of seals of the Lagaš II and Ur III periods from Girsu that depict Ningirsu holding out an overflowing vase towards the approaching presentee (Suter 2000: 67); the enthroned figure on these seals may have been modelled on a large-scale image of Ningirsu that Gudea donated when he (re)built Ningirsu's temple.

personification of the Lama in visual arts, a goddess who either takes her protegé by the hand or stands behind with raised arms (Suter 2000: 67), intercedes between humans and deities. When deified kings assumed the role of Lama in relation to their people, this accorded with the ancient Mesopotamian king's status as mediator between his people and the divine world as well as with the conceptual nature of Lama, since these kings were deified on account of their office.

I doubt that there was a special type of image for the deified king. He could not be represented as protective spirit, since there already existed an image in the visual arts for divine protection. The attire of the king did not dramatically change when he assumed divine status: Šulgi is dressed in a fringed robe whether his name is written with a divine determinative or not (Figs. 2–3). On seal images (see below), the deified king wears either a fringed robe or the flounced robe of deities and high priestesses, and the alternation between these garments appears to be without pattern.[39] The royal headgear was the brimmed cap, which was introduced under Gudea. It remains doubtful whether in sculpture a pair of horns could be attached to this cap, as to Naram-Suen's helmet (Fig. 13) and perhaps also to the headband of some high priestesses (Suter 2007), in view of its absence on the rock-reliefs and post-Ur III royal figures discussed below.[40]

Nor is it likely that cult statues of deified kings differed much in appearance from the statues they dedicated to a deity. Already in Early Dynastic statuary, there was hardly a dichotomy between cult object and cult subject (Selz 1992). The offerings for Šu-Suen's stone statue, which lacks a dedication to a deity, are strikingly similar to those for Gudea Statue B (column 1), which is dedicated to Ningirsu and does not differ typologically from other Gudea statues (Suter 2000: 57–61). Winter's suggestion that standing statues were placed in attendance upon divine images, while seated statues were themselves the objects of cultic attention, is not convincing, because all Gudea statues were dedicated to a deity and also standing ones were intended for receiving offerings after Gudea's death (Suter 2000: 59). In general, I would assume that the now lost composite statues were more suited for the cult, especially processions, while stone statues were more suited for perpetuating the king's memory for eternity. In addition, the former must have appeared more god-like simply because they were made in the same way and of the same materials as divine statues.

STELAE

Like statues, stelae were public monuments usually dedicated to a deity and installed in the courtyard of this deity's temple, though copies could also be placed at newly designated boundaries after a war, or in various cities of the realm in the case of a law stela.[41] In contrast to statues, stelae were exclusively royal monuments. Providing space for extensive visual narratives and long texts, they served as ideal vehicles for royal propaganda, so much so that the Akkadian equivalent and loan of the Sumerian term for stela came to mean 'memorial monument set up by a king' (CAD N/1 364).

Identified stelae

The only identified carved stela of the Ur III period remains the Ur-Namma Stela (Canby 2001).[42] Whether the fragments found scattered in the area of Nanna's precinct at Ur belonged to one or more stelae remains uncertain, as does the precise reconstruction of the fragments.[43] If there were several stelae, they depicted similar scenes, as did the stelae of Gudea (Suter 2000: 161–234), with which they share imagery and composition in registers. The Ur-Namma Stela—for convenience, I

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[39] So Mayr personal communication.

[40] There is to my knowledge only one Isin-Larsa seal that may represent a deified king with horns on his cap, see Collon 1986: no. 68. Whether the Mari governor Puzur-Eštar wore horns or not remains problematic; Blocher 2003: 269 proposed that his cap was remodelled between 750 and 652 BCE.

[41] In general, see Braun-Holzinger 1991: 330–3, and Suter 2000: 165–6.

[42] Canby's doubts about its attribution to Ur-Namma are unwarranted, see Suter 2005: 109–10.

[43] For earlier reconstruction proposals, see Suter 2000: 217–20. For criticsm of Canby's reconstruction, see Winter 2003 and Suter 2005. The proposal that the Ur-Namma Stela 'illustrates' year names of the first half of Ur-Namma's reign (Hallo 2005) is incompatible with the nature of Mesopotamian royal monuments.

shall continue to refer to it in the singular—most probably commemorated the king's construction of the temple of Nanna and Ningal at Ur and was dedicated to these deities. As I have discussed possible reconstructions elsewhere,[44] I shall give only a summary here. The large top registers conveyed the climax of the story narrated in a selection of representative episodes on the lower registers, with the construction and inauguration of the temple on side A and B, respectively. The construction probably included a parade of the labour force, activities on the construction site, and a libation scene (Fig. 9b) that may at the same time have evoked Nanna's entrusting Ur-Namma with the temple construction and the king's successful verification of the divine communication. The inauguration included a ritual in the presence of the king which was perhaps intended to invite the gods into the completed temple, a musical performance, perhaps a wrestling match, and an animal slaughter probably in preparation for the banquet. The presentation scenes on top recapitulated the primary ideological message of the monument: the gods bless the king with prosperity in return for the temple he built for them, and temple construction is a royal prerogative that requires divine sanction. They evoke the royal rhetoric according to which the king fills his office on behalf of the gods and thus guarantees the well-being of his subjects.

Figure 9a: Stela of Ur-Namma, king proceeding to construction site (drawing by author); Figure 9b: Stela of Ur-Namma, libation scene (after Canby 2001: pl. 10)

Anonymous stelae

The arch-shaped stela top found at Susa was probably deported from Mesopotamia (Fig. 10).[45] It depicts a royal figure pouring a libation in front of an enthroned god, who extends royal insignia in the form of 'rod and ring' to the king. The scene is reminiscent of the libation scene on the Ur-Namma Stela (Fig. 9b), but also shares some details with the presentation scene on the Hammurabi Stela (Fig. 11). The king's beard is stylized in horizontal bands, like that of Hammurabi, while his robe exhibits the three folds common from Šulgi to Hammurabi, but has a hem indicated by a double line and a border of knots rather than the puffy folds of Hammurabi's. The god's beard

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[44] In a talk given at the RAI in Chicago in 2005, which I intend to publish in more detail than the conference proceedings allowed for.

[45] Sb 7. Börker-Klähn 1982: no. 100; for a good colour photo, see Harper 1992: no. 110.

consists of bands like that of the god on the Hammurabi Stela, though they are less puffy. In contrast to the latter, his horned crown is seen *en face* rather than in profile, the flounces of his robe are incised, and his lower necklace consists of alternating beads. Moreover, his rod is longer than that on the Hammurabi Stela, and such 'rods and rings' appear in the Ur III period (Fig. 17).[46] The sun-disc as well as the shape of the throne speak for a pre-Old Babylonian date too. Finally, libations with a goblet onto a plant in a biconical vase are typical of the Ur III period (Figs. 9a, 16–17). For all these reasons, I can conceive of attributing the Susa stela to the late Ur III period or to one of the imitators of the Ur III kings in the early Isin-Larsa period.

Figure 10: Stela top from Susa (drawing by author)

Figure 11: Stela of Hammurabi, detail (drawing by author)

The analogies with the Hammurabi Stela may indicate that this top, whose back remains undecorated, crowned a stela inscribed with a law code (Börker-Klähn 1982: 19 §51). It is well known that Ur III kings promulgated law codes. Part of such a code preserved on a clay tablet from Sippar, which may be the end of the Ur-Namma Code or of an otherwise lost code of Išme-Dagan, includes curses to protect the monument and thus indicates that the text was originally inscribed on a stela (Michalowski and Walker 1989). If this interpretation of the Susa stela top is correct, it gives us an idea of what an Ur III law stela looked like, even if it belonged to an early Isin I ruler, since he would probably have modelled it on an Ur III prototype.

Stelae known from texts

Two stelae of Ur III kings are evidenced in texts. Šulgi dedicated one 'befitting eternity and suitable for praise' to Adad, whose inscription survives in a copy on an Old Babylonian tablet from Tell Harmal (RIME 3/2.1.2.38). Since the text merely records the stela's dedication and includes a longer curse, it is likely that this stela was either carved with images or inscribed with a hymn.[47] The king's titulature allows us to date it to the same time as Šulgi's statue from Girsu. Šu-Suen dedicated a stela to Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur, which gave the name to his sixth year. A fragmentary part of its inscription seems to be preserved on an Old Babylonian *Sammeltafel*

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[46] Compare also Figs. 15 and 24 discussed below.
[47] For the latter possibility, see footnotes 29 and 32.

providing copies of several Šu-Suen inscriptions (RIME 3/2.1.4.8). It states the king's boast that he made a stela like nobody before him.[48]

ROCK-RELIEFS

Rock-reliefs were royal monuments, like stelae, but in contrast to them they were set up at the fringes of the realm and exclusively celebrated the king's military victories (Börker-Klähn 1982: 44 §155). They must have been aimed not only at the commemoration of the king's victories, but also at overawing the subjugated inhabitants of these regions. Although no inscribed rock-relief of an Ur III king has yet been discovered, the anonymous rock-relief at Darband-i-Gawr most probably represents an Ur III king. In addition, I am including two related reliefs of peripheral rulers that must have been modelled on now lost Ur III exemplars.

The rock-relief at Darband-i-Gawr in the Zagros mountains depicts a victorious king ascending over fallen enemies (Fig. 12).[49] The image is obviously inspired by victory monuments of the kings of Akkad, such as the Naram-Suen Stela (Fig. 13).[50] The posture of the figures, king as well as fallen enemies, is almost identical, and the enemies exhibit the same long braid that must identify them as Lullubi. In contrast to Naram-Suen, the Darband-i-Gawr king wears a brimmed cap and a long rectangular beard, like Ur III kings. His garment, jewellery, and weapons also differ in detail from those of Naram-Suen. He wears a short kilt similar to that worn by royal figures in the same pose on seals dating to the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods (see below), a necklace with alternating beads, like in Ur III statuary, and bracelets also made of beads. His axe has a different shape and is held in the right rather than together with the bow in the left. Although several Ur III kings (Šulgi, Amar-Suen, Šu-Suen) report military campaigns against the mountain tribes in this area, Šulgi is the most likely patron of this relief, since he is the only one to claim a victory over the Lullubi in particular (years names 44–45).

Several rock-reliefs at Sarpol-i Zohab, a bit further south of Darband-i-Gawr, depict local rulers as triumphant victors. They can be dated to the late Ur III period when Ur lost its grip on this area or to the early Isin-Larsa period (Börker-Klähn 1982: 45–7 §§158–63). The best-preserved and most detailed one is that of Anu-banini, king of Lullubum (Fig. 14).[51] Stepping on a defeated enemy, the armed Anu-banini faces a belligerent Ištar, who holds two captives bound by nose-rings on a leash and extends the ring, probably the end of the leash, to the king. In a small register below the king, six bound captives advance from left to right. The motif of the war goddess extending a ring to which captives are leashed by nose-rings probably dates back to the kings of Akkad, of whom only few monuments have survived.[52] Since Anu-banini is closer to the Darband-i-Gawr king than to Naram-Suen, however, the image was more likely modelled on an Ur III prototype that revived Akkad imagery rather than directly on an Akkad period monument. Anu-banini's treading on a single enemy above a row of captives recalls the image of Šu-Suen treading on Indasu in the presence of ten more captivated rulers, while his facing a belligerent Ištar recalls the image of 'dInana kaskal dŠu-dSuen'.

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[48] More monumental inscriptions of Ur-Namma and Šulgi are known, though it remains unclear whether they belonged to statues or stelae: RIME 3/2.1.1, 20, 21, 29; 2.25–6, 35–7; they add no information on visual aspects of these monuments.

[49] Börker-Klähn 1982: no. 29. For good photos, see Strommenger 1963: pls. 15–18; for the dating of this relief, see also Börker-Klähn 1982: 44–5 §§156–7.

[50] Börker-Klähn 1982: no. 26; for good photos, see also Harper et al. 1992: no. 109.

[51] Börker-Klähn 1982: no. 31; for its inscription and date, see also RIME 4.18.1; for new observations regarding text and image, see Mofidi Nasrabadi 2004, which came to my attention only after I made the drawing of Fig. 14.

[52] A nude captive leashed on a nose-ring survives on a stone vessel fragment (Amiet 1976: pl. 24). More complete is the fascinating image on the mould of Naram-Suen (Hansen 2002), whose authenticity is, however, disputed (Braun-Holzinger 2007: 93 n. 59; Winter personal communication). In view of our fragmentary material record, I am not sure whether we can dismiss a new image only because it gives a new outlook, especially when this new outlook accords with non-visual royal propaganda of that time.

Figure 12: Rock-relief at Darband-i-Gawr (drawing by author)

Figure 13: Stela of Naram-Suen of Akkad, detail (drawing by author)

Figure 14: Rock-relief of Anu-banini of Lullubum (drawing by author)

Figure 15: Rock-relief of Iddi-Sin of Simurrum (after Wassermann and Seidl 2003: fig. 6)

The rock relief of Iddi-Sin, king of Simurrum (Fig. 15),[53] lends further support to the existence of similar-looking Ur III victory monuments. Like Anu-banini, Iddi-Sin faces a goddess who extends regalia to him, in this case 'rod and ring'. He assumes the same posture as Anu-banini, is armed with the same weapons, and wears the same type of dress, headgear, and jewellery. Even the posture of the enemy on which he steps is the same. Only minor details diverge: Iddi-Sin is beardless, his feet are bare, the brim of his cap is decorated with crescents, his kilt and bracelet are slightly different, the captive wears a kilt rather than being nude; and the goddess wears her flounced robe differently draped and is characterized by a double volute rather than by maces. This image must go back to a similar prototype as the Anu-banini relief. In this case, the atypical beardlessness of the ruler can be directly linked to an Ur III king: Ibbi-Suen, who is frequently beardless on seal images (Mayr and Owen 2004: 153). What is more, three less well preserved reliefs of Zagros rulers from Sarpol-i Zohab apparently go back to the same prototype (Wassermann and Seidl 2003: 50–1).

SEAL IMAGES
In contrast to public monuments, seals are small artefacts that were used as tokens of legitimacy and authority in state administration. The unusually high degree of bureaucracy during the Ur III period—approximately 40,000 administrative texts are presently published—correlates with a novel standardization of seal images. The repertoire is almost exclusively restricted to presentation scenes depicting the seal owner either before a deity or a king.

No personal seal of an Ur III king is extant. We may not have found seals of these kings because their tombs were looted in antiquity. In view of their absence among the innumerable seal impressions of this period, however, I wonder whether they existed at all. Ur III kings may have forgone a seal because their divine status set them ideologically farther beyond the human sphere than other Mesopotamian kings, while the state administration was strictly controlled by their functionaries. The king is represented on seals of his subordinates.

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[53] Wassermann and Seidl 2003.

King libating before deity

Two unusual seals of high-rank officials, who mention the reigning king in their inscription, depict libation scenes that are reminiscent of those on the Ur-Namma and Susa Stelae (Figs. 9a, 10). They were commissioned by members of the influential Ur-Meme family of Nippur. The seal that Ur-Nanibgal, governor of Nippur, dedicated to the god Nuska for Šulgi's life (Fig. 16) is one of the four extant dedicatory seals of the Ur III period.[54] It depicts a Lama with raised arms following behind a figure who pours a libation from a goblet into a biconical vase with palm fruits before a standing god, probably Nuska. The bearded libator wears a brimmed cap and the fringed robe with the three folds over the chest.

Figure 16: Seal of Ur-Nanibgal (drawing by author)

The other seal, known from impressions only, belonged to Lugal-engardu, prefect (ugula-e₂) of the Inana temple and priest (nu-eš₃) of Enlil (Fig. 17).[55] In addition to the then common title 'king of the four parts (of the world)', the inscription calls Amar-Suen 'beloved of Inana'. This epithet is odd in a seal inscription and clearly relates to the seal owner's occupation as well as to the seal image. The image depicts a bearded figure dressed in fringed robe and brimmed cap, who pours a libation from a goblet into a biconical vase, from which a palm shoot with fruits emerges. On the other side of the vase stands a full-face belligerent Inana, who bestows royal insignia on the libator, just as the enthroned god does on the stelae (Figs. 9–10). The scene is staged in a mountainous landscape indicated by a band of scales on which the figures stand, and by the small mountain god and tree flanking the scene on either side.
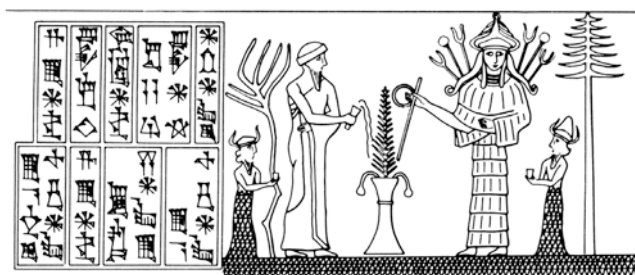
Figure 17: Seal of Lugal-engardu (after Zettler 1987: 60 fig. 1)

Because most Ur III seals depict the seal owner, some scholars have identified the libators with Ur-Nanibgal and Lugal-engardu, respectively.[56] However, libation scenes do not necessarily follow

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[54] AO 22312; for a good illustration, see Tallon 1992: 39 fig. 9; for its inscription, see RIME 3/2.1.2.2023. For Ur III dedicatory seals, see Braun-Holzinger 1991: nos. S 6–9.

[55] For a complete drawing, see Zettler 1987: 60 fig. 1; for photographs of ancient impressions and for the inscription, see Buchanan 1981: no. 681.

[56] Buchanan 1981: no. 681; Braun-Holzinger 1991: no. S 8; 2007: 112; Mayr and Owen 2004: 147.

the same rules as presentation scenes. In Akkad times, when libation scenes are more frequent, the libators appear to represent king or queen rather than the seal owners (Suter 2008: 18, 21, 25). The seals under discussion were evidently made on the order of highest-ranked officials and depict a scene that occurs in this period on royal monuments with the king as protagonist rather than in glyptic. While the dedicatory seal does not have an owner, the libator of the other is invested with royal insignia. Further, the brimmed cap worn by both libators can be regarded as a royal insignium (see page 356 below). Moreover, rulers of Ešnunna and Mari, who reigned toward the end or shortly after the Ur III period, had just such libation scenes depicted in on their seals, obviously appropriating an Ur III royal image.[57] Since it is unlikely that at the height of the Ur III empire two of its highest-ranked officials appropriated a royal image on seals on which they acknowledge their allegiance to the king, the libators in question probably represented Šulgi and Amar-Suen respectively.[58]
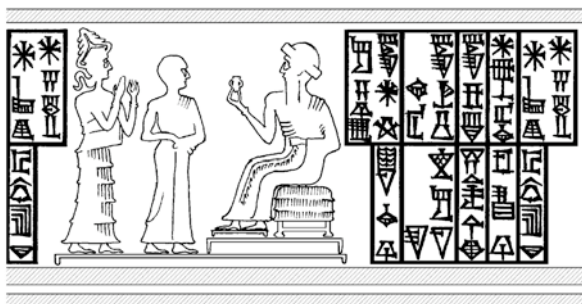
Figure 18: Seal of Ur-nigara (drawing by Rudi Mayr)

Enthroned king receiving subordinate
The typical seal image featuring the king shows him enthroned, receiving a subordinate who represents the seal owner (Fig. 18).[59] In this scene, the king adopted the place usually held by a deity. The seal owner is either led by the hand by a Lama or stands directly before the king with or without a Lama following behind; the latter composition reflects direct access to the king of highest-ranked officials and members of the royal family. While there is a forerunner for Ur-Namma (Collon 1982: no. 469; RIME 3/2.1.1.2001), the increasing frequency of this scene in Šulgi's later reign and thereafter must be related to the Ur III kings' deification. Rather than symbolising cultic worship of the king, however, Irene Winter (1986; 1987) convincingly argued that it represents a general relationship of authority and hierarchy.[60] The king in the deity's place must be understood in terms of his role as source of authority in relation to his subjects, which parallels the deities' role in relation to humankind. This interpretation is corroborated by two

[57] Two seals of Uṣur-awassu of Ešnunna, contemporary of Šu-ilišu of Isin (Reichel 2001: 216 figs. 27a–b), and one of Hitlal-Erra from Mari (Beyer 1985: 178 nos. 6–7), who may have been a contemporary of Išbi-Erra of Isin (Michalowski 2004b: 232–3).
[58] So apparently also Winter 1987: 67, and Tallon 1992: 39. Two more seals may represent the king rather than the seal owner before a deity (Grégoire 1981 no. 245, described by Winter 1987: 65 n. 27; Buchanan 1981: no. 588); both, however, are reconstructed from poorly preserved impressions and cannot be used in support of any thesis.
[59] On this scene, see Winter 1986; 1987; Haussperger 1991: 101–4, 200–2 (with many examples, though not always reliable descriptions); Fischer 1997: 130–4 with nos. 48–52; Mayr 2002; Mayr and Owen 2004: 147–8 with nos. 1, 5–24, 28.
[60] The best quality seals generally belonged to highest-ranked officials and express the relationship between seal owner and king in both text and image: 'On the one hand, the seal articulates the legitimate authority of the seal owner, as granted by the king, to exercise his office within the Ur III bureaucracy; on the other hand, the seal attests to the legitimate authority of the king, both to grant the particular seal and office, and, by implication, to exercise his divinely-sanctioned rule in the first place' (Winter 1987: 60). It is unfortunate that many scholars still call the subordinate before the king 'worshipper' rather than presentee or petitioner. The gesture exhibited by many presentees in such scenes parallels the Sumerian verb kir₄ šu—gal₂, which can be understood as a form of petitioning (Suter 2000: 260–1).

Akkad-period seals that already express a similar relationship of authority and hierarchy: they depict an enthroned royal woman who receives a subordinate in audience (Suter 2008: nos. S 91–2). The king receiving subordinates thus represents him in his role as patron of his subjects and chief of state.

Although the royal figure is not standardized by a fixed set of attire and insignia, it is marked by a number of varying features, not all of which are confined to this figure, but which, in combination, leave no doubt about its identity. Characterization by a selection of varying and not always exclusive elements is typical for ancient Mesopotamia; it also applies to regalia in texts. The enthroned position was synonymous with ruling (Winter 1986: 255, 260). The brimmed cap and the stool covered by a fleece were reserved for the king. The king may, however, also sit on a divine throne in the shape of a temple façade or a high-backed chair. Similarly, he can wear either a fringed or a flounced robe (page 332 above). If he adopted single divine attributes, such as the throne in the shape of a temple façade or the flounced garment, they were combined with other features so that the king remained recognizable as such.[61]

The king typically holds out a small vessel toward the approaching subordinate, which takes the shape of a cup or a two-handled vessel. The way he balances it on his fingertips suggests that this vessel was an object of exchange rather than an attribute of the king.[62] Based on textual evidence attesting to a symbolic system of ceremonies in the form of banquets and ritualized gift exchange that cemented the recognition of authority and hierarchy, Michalowski (1994: 36–7) suggested that the king offered this vessel to his subordinates as a symbol of royal patronage and sovereignty.[63] This interpretation accords well with the basic message of the presentation scene as well as with the function of the image carrier, both of which express the recognition of authority and hierarchy. It is further supported by the seal of Geme-Ninlila (Fig. 20), which shows the vessel in the presentee's hand.

An interesting variation regarding the object of exchange depicts the king offering a plough to a plough-foreman (Ravn 1960 no. 29).[64] If this image visualizes an official promotion to the status of farmer (Civil 1994: 67), it lends further support to the assumption that the presentation to the king expressed the royally sanctioned instalment in office of the seal owner. To go one step further: seals depicting a presentation to the enthroned king may have been made on the occasion of the seal owner's instalment in office. It is well known that Ur III seals were frequently recarved or exchanged for new ones in order to adapt the image and/or inscription to a promotion of the seal owner or to political changes.

Standing king receiving subordinate

Three seal images of high officials that depict them before a standing king have so far been published (Fig. 19).[65] All three seals, of which only ancient impressions survive, were royal gifts (arad₂-da-ni-ir in-na-ba), implying that they were made on special order of the crown. One dates to Šulgi, two to Ibbi-Suen. On all three images, the king extends a vessel to his subordinate, who

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[61] He apparently never appropriated divine horns. Haussperger's examples (1991: 103) are not convincing; Fischer 1997: 132 explains the traces of horns on them as remnants from recutting a king out of a deity. See also footnote 40 above.

[62] Gudea's seal shows that objects held by enthroned figures in presentation scenes need not be attributes, but could be conferred on approaching figures (Suter 2000: 66–7 with fig. 9; 258).

[63] Braun-Holzinger's (2007: 124) interpretation of the two-handled vessel as a container of precious oil remains mere conjecture and might be influenced by its faint resemblance to much later amphoriskoi. I would not exclude that the two-handled vessel was a drinking vessel, especially since it alternates with a cup. With the introduction of a token serving as a symbol of royal patronage it may have become necessary to develop a distinctively shaped vessel so that this token could easily be recognized in private houses. It might be worthwhile to examine whether the cup was progressively replaced by the two-handled vessel.

[64] I am grateful to Rudi Mayr for pointing out this seal to me, and to Miguel Civil for confirming that the object is a plough and for referring me to the text.

[65] Mayr and Owen 2004: nos. 3, 25, 27. On page 154 n. 15 the authors announce the forthcoming publication of two more such seal images.

stands directly before him with arms in front of the abdomen, a posture marking high rank.[66] The king wears a brimmed cap and is dressed in a kilt, the lower end of which is apparently laid over his left arm, a feature that lived on in Mari.[67] Felix Blocher (1992a: 64 n. 68) proposed that this royal figure may have been at the root of the 'figure with mace', so popular in Old Babylonian glyptic. This suggestion, to which I return below, may indicate that the kilt on our seals represented military garb. It may be no coincidence that Šulgi receives the governor of Simurrum in this attire, and Ibbi-Suen a vizier (sukkal) and a comptroller (ša₁₃-dub-ba), all of whom had to do with provinces outside the heartland.
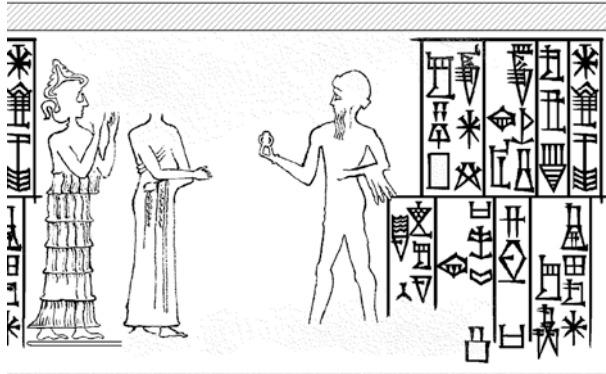
Figure 19: Seal of Ṣilluš-Dagan (drawing by Rudi Mayr)

The seal that Šulgi gave as a gift to Geme-Ninlila depicts an extraordinary scene (Fig. 20).[68] Unlike other consorts, who stand accompanied by a Lama in front of an enthroned king (Suter 2008: nos. S 132, 134–5), Geme-Ninlila stands alone facing a larger figure who, dressed in a long kilt of leopard skin and equipped with a double lion-headed mace, ascends a mountain. Were it not for the brimmed cap, we would not recognize the king in this figure. A stag rearing up a tree draws further attention to the mountainous landscape in which the scene is staged. In her right hand, Geme-Ninlila holds the two-handled vessel, which she has presumably just received from Šulgi. While her garment and hairdo correspond to those of other court women, Šulgi's kilt is comparable in shape to the one worn by the Darband-i-Gawr king (Fig. 12). Yet the double lion-headed mace was a divine weapon and the king's size and demeanour recall not only images of victorious kings (Figs. 12–13), but also a series of seal images, mostly from Ur, that depict presentations to an armed god who ascends a mountain (Fig. 21).[69] Šulgi is represented as a god-like warrior who subjugates the foreign lands (kur-kur) indicated by the mountainous setting.

The ascending pose as well as the stag on the tree are reminiscent of Akkad-period images. Rather than jumping to the conclusion that this royal gift seal of the king's consort was recut (Braun-Holzinger 2007: 124 n. 96),[70] I think that these features were intentionally emulated. The ascending pose on a mountain originally characterized the sun god. Akkad and Ur III kings likened themselves to the sun god in texts, thereby casting themselves as the conduit of the course of destiny for their realm (Polonski 2000: 99). Claudia Fischer (2002: 130–3) suggested that this

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[66] See Fischer 1997: 131; Mayr 2002: 363.

[67] Braun-Holzinger 2007: 136. For the Ur III kings' family relations with Mari, see Michalowski 2004.

[68] Mayr 2002: fig. 9; Mayr and Owen 2004: 167 no. 2.

[69] E.g., Collon 1982 nos. 459–71, especially no. 471 (= Fig. 21) dedicated to Meslamtaea for Šulgi's life. It is perhaps no coincidence that one of the rare cases of an Ur III seal referring to the king in its inscription without depicting a presentation to him shows the seal owner, also a servant of Šulgi, before a warrior god (Buchanan 1981 no. 660).

[70] In this footnote, Braun-Holzinger also considers the seal Fig. 21 recut, while in her study of dedicatory objects she insisted that it was not recut (1991 no. S 9).

aspect was visualized on the Naram-Suen Stela (Fig. 13), and perhaps also on the seal of Lugal-ušumgal, governor of Lagaš under Šar-kali-šarri, which depicts the seal owner before an armed figure ascending a mountain, just like Šulgi on the seal of Geme-Ninlila. Šulgi, in particular, associated himself with Utu and Utu has a martial aspect in his hymns.[71]
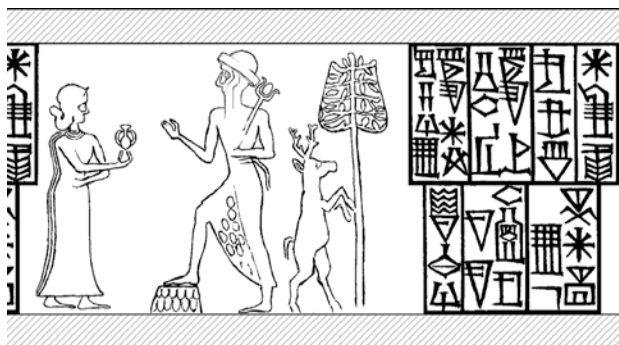

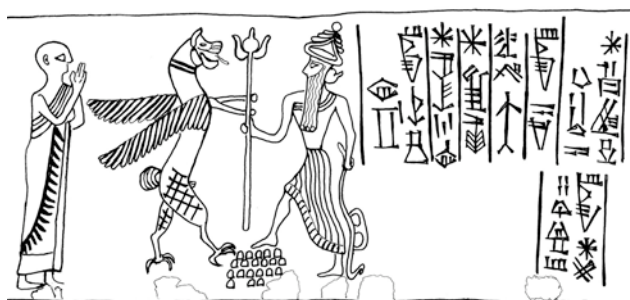**Figure 20: Seal of Geme-Ninlila (drawing by Rudi Mayr)**

Figure 21: Seal dedicated to Meslamtaea for Šulgi's life (drawing by author)

Royal figures in post-Ur III glyptic

The standing, kilted king on royal gift seals (Figs. 19–20), especially that of Geme-Ninlila, leads one to suspect that there were large-scale images of deified Ur III kings as heroic warriors. It is unfortunate that the statue pedestals depicting victorious kings are known only through texts, while the uninscribed Darband-i-Gawr rock-relief remains our only surviving candidate for such an image. The rock-reliefs of Anu-banini and Iddi-Sin (Figs. 14–15) were more than likely modelled on now lost Ur III royal images. So it appears to be with certain figures in Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian glyptic, two of which will be discussed here, since they contribute to a better understanding of the visual representation of Ur III kings as warriors: the 'figure with mace' and the related 'triumphant hero'.[72]

Aside from a small group of Isin-Larsa seals that continued the tradition of Ur III presentation scenes, the bulk of later Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian glyptic is dominated by divine and royal figures; common human beings cease to be depicted. The figures often appear in one or more groups without forming a discernible scene. The owners of these seals are no longer defined in terms of status and occupation within a bureaucratic hierarchy but in terms of religious beliefs or—more precisely—their preoccupation with divine protection; most inscriptions name only deities (Braun-Holzinger 1996: 263).

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[71] Šulgi A (ETCSL 2.4.2.1) 79–80; Šulgi B (ETCSL 2.4.2.2) 40–6, 123; Šulgi C (ETCSL 2.4.2.3) §A 25.
[72] There are more figures in post-Ur III glyptic that probably go back to Ur III royal images; for reasons of space, however, they cannot all be discussed here.

In order to understand such seals, we must take the historical context into consideration. Upon the disintegration of the short-lived Ur III state followed a period of fragmentation, a retrogression to fluctuating city-states, and with it a diminution of royal power. Isin-Larsa rulers mimicked Ur III kings in an attempt to legitimize their fragile status and create an aura of power and stability. Delineating the formation and canonization of royal images since the Early Dynastic period, Barrelet (1987: 62)[73] suggested that the perpetuation of a repertory of royal archetypes in post-Ur III imagery formed part of this attempt. In other words, anonymous royal figures of the early second millennium BCE reflect royal images of the past that had become legendary. It is well known that monuments of the Akkad and Ur III kings were on exhibit at this time, else Old Babylonian scribes could not have copied their inscriptions.

Barrelet's hypothesis resolves problems in the interpretation of Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian seal images. How are we to understand, for example, an image that combines several royal figures? They cannot all represent the living king. Such images led to the assumption that the brimmed cap hitherto reserved for royal figures was worn by commoners after the Ur III period.[74] As far as the evidence goes, this cap was introduced as royal headgear under the Second Dynasty of Lagaš, remained royal headgear throughout the Ur III period, and was still worn by Hammurabi (Fig. 11). I find it hard to believe that on a public monument Hammurabi would wear a headdress that was not reserved for kings. There is little doubt that the brimmed cap represented a royal insignium, even if the word aga designated function rather than form (Waetzoldt 1980–3: 203). Since many literary texts mentioning aga date to the Old Babylonian period, and no other royal headgear was introduced, the brimmed cap must still have been a royal insignium at that time. Rather than assuming that a regalium degenerated to a common headgear, I follow Barrelet in identifying a figure with a brimmed cap on an Isin-Larsa or Old Babylonian image that cannot represent an actual king as a royal archetype.

Figure 22: 'Figure with mace' (after Collon 1982: 36)

The 'figure with mace' (Fig. 22), one of the most popular figures on Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian seals, has variously been interpreted as god, king, or both in one (Wiggermann 1987: 5

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[73] In this short, inspiring article, Barrelet 1987: 53 announced a forthcoming study on the 'figure with mace' based on 448 seal images. It is unfortunate that death prevented her from completing it.

[74] Boehmer 1980–3: 205; Braun-Holzinger 1996: 240 with n. 11, though less determined, and now 2007: 147–8, 161–2, 164, where she seems to have revised her opinion. The life of the brimmed cap after the Ur III period has never been systematically studied.

with nn. 3–6), and its identification is still considered controversial (Blocher 1992b: 126–8). Aside from his mace, a weapon of deities by this time, the male is characterized by the brimmed cap,[75] by a garment identical to the one worn in battle by Naram-Suen (Fig. 13),[76] and by a beard unusually splayed over his chest. He is thus neither real god nor ordinary king. Since he is frequently paired with a Lama, Wiggermann (1987: 23–9) identified him with the protective spirit Udug, who forms a pair with Lama in texts.[77] That the 'figure with mace' started out having the same function as a Lama is supported by early Isin-Larsa seal images depicting him either in a Lama's stead or behind her (Braun-Holzinger 1996: 251). In contrast to Wiggermann, I would derive the figure not necessarily or exclusively from statues of kings of Akkad, but rather from Ur III royal monuments that revived Akkad types. Deified kings of both Akkad and Ur III were considered protective spirits of their realm. If Ur III victory monuments depicted the king in a similar way as the god-like Šulgi on Geme-Ninlila's seal (Fig. 20), it is not far-fetched to suppose that such royal figures were adopted and assumed the function of protective spirits at a time when the Ur III kings started to become legendary.

A direct link of the 'figure with mace' with the kilted Ur III king is furnished by the wall painting in room 132 of the Mari palace, which Astrid Nunn (1988: 88–9) classified as an archaizing image of the early Old Babylonian period. The lower register of this mural depicts a king libating before the moon-god (Fig. 23). Behind the king stands a Lama followed by a bearded male dressed in short kilt and brimmed cap, who holds a small vessel in his outstretched right hand and shoulders a mace in his left. While the kilt, brimmed cap, beard, and vessel of this last figure correspond to the standing king on Ur III seals (Fig. 19), his mace and his position within the scene correspond to the 'figure with mace' on Isin-Larsa seals. In the context of the Mari mural, the vessel was adapted to a different purpose, and the figure must represent a protective spirit, whose iconography was inspired by images of Ur III kings.

Figure 23: Wall painting in room 132 of the Mari Palace, detail (drawing by author)

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[75] Blocher 1992b: 126–8 identified a variant of the 'figure with mace' with a conical cap and a bun. This conical cap may go back to the headdress Naram-Suen wears on the Pir Hüssein relief (Börker-Klähn 1982 no. 25) and heroes in combat scenes on Akkad seals (Collon 1982 nos. 4, 112), which may have been modelled on a North-Syrian royal war-helmet, see Collon 1982: 32 n. 1. Wiggermann 1987: 23 n. 85 noted that the 'figure with mace' sometimes wears a horned crown. On low quality seals, conical cap and horned crown, both combined with the bun, are difficult to distinguish. In any case, these variants are much less frequent than the classical version of the 'figure with mace' with the brimmed cap.

[76] For this garment, see Strommenger 1971: 42–4 no. 5.

[77] It is not necessarily a problem that Lama and Udug occur as a pair in literature—for example, in the Gudea Cylinders—long before the appearance of the 'warrior hero' in imagery, since text and images follow different traditions (Suter 2000: 284–94).

Another hint in the same direction is found on a yet unpublished seal revealing that the splayed beard, hitherto thought to be unique to the 'figure with mace' (Braun-Holzinger 1996: 250), goes back to Ur III kings: it is worn by a standing, kilted Ibbi-Suen, who extends a vessel to his servant Takil-ilissu.[78]

Braun-Holzinger (1996: 250) observed that the 'figure with mace' occasionally holds a weapon in his dropped left hand, as warrior gods do. This feature connects the 'figure with mace' with images of triumphant kings. Both Anu-banini and Iddi-Sin hold a double-axe in their left (Figs. 14–15). The same applies to two other peripheral rulers: Šu-iliya, who served under Ibbi-Suen and subsequently became independent ruler of Ešnunna, and Zardamu, king of Qarahar, against whom Šulgi led three campaigns (year names 24, 31, 33). On the seal Šu-iliya dedicated to Tišpak, he stands in a short kilt with the double-axe before his god, who treads on defeated enemies, shoulders the same weapon, and hands him 'rod and ring' (Fig. 24).[79] More boldly, Zardamu is portrayed on his lapis lazuli seal with the double-axe, a multiple mace, and treading on an enemy before Ištar, who offers him the same regalia (Fig. 25).[80] He adopted not only the brimmed cap and long beard from Ur III kings, but also the epithet 'mighty king' and the title 'king of the four parts (of the world)'. There can hardly be any doubt that these images, too, were modelled on Ur III royal images, in the latter case one that depicted a heroized king with divine weapons.

Figure 24: Seal of Šu-iliya of Ešnunna (after Frankfort et al. 1940: fig. 100B)

Figure 25: Seal of Zardamu of Karahar (drawing by author)

Several elements in these four images of triumphant kings, all of which date to the end of the Ur III period or shortly thereafter, recur with a figure in Isin-Larsa glyptic that Blocher (1992b: 125–6) identified as 'Triumphator'.[81] This warrior hero always treads on defeated enemies, usually brandishes a sword over his head, and frequently holds a multiple mace. On half of Blocher's examples he wears the brimmed cap, and on one of these the splayed beard is clearly visible.[82] Brimmed cap, splayed beard, and divine weapon link this figure with the 'figure with mace',

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[78] I am grateful to Rudi Mayr for sharing this image with me.

[79] Orthmann 1975: fig. 44k; RIME 3/2.3.1.1. Braun-Holzinger 2007: 127–8 independently came to the conclusion that this image was modelled on a specific royal image.

[80] Collon 1982: no. 472; RIME 3/2.5.2. On the location of Qarahar and the date of the seal, see also Collon 1990: 133.

[81] See also Braun-Holzinger 1996: 252. Collon catalogued this figure as earliest evidence for the 'The Smiting God, the Weather God and related Gods' (1986 nos. 418–25), and observed a connection of the 'The Smiting God' with the victorious king (1986: 165–6).

[82] Blocher 1992b: fig. 58: nos. 7, 36, 153. The same figure with splayed beard occurs also on Collon 1986: nos. 418, 422, 424. Instead of the brimmed cap, the triumphant figure may wear the conical cap that occurs as a variant also with the 'figure with mace' (see footnote 75 above): Collon 1986 nos. 418–21, 424; Blocher 1992b: fig. 58: no. 216.

whereas stepped-on enemies, divine weapons and brimmed cap also link him with victorious kings. Clearly all these figures are interrelated, and it is not far-fetched to propose that the triumphant figure was modelled on an Ur III royal image as well. The variations in detail between the four images of peripheral rulers, the 'figure with mace', and the 'triumphant hero', suggest that they were modelled on several different monuments, while some details may have been mixed in the process of adoption.

RECAPITULATION OF THE VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF UR III KINGS

The few identified public monuments that have survived of the Ur III kings show them as servants and favourites of the gods. The Ur-Namma Stela commemorates the king's construction and inauguration of Nanna's temple in selected episodes in the lower registers and culminating scenes in the top registers, in which Ur-Namma stands before the enthroned Nanna and Ningal, who bless him with prosperity in return for his temple construction. The Susa Stela (Fig. 10) and two cylinder seals (Figs. 16–17) represent the king as active participant in the cult, pouring a libation before an enthroned deity, like the scene in the second register of side A on the Ur-Namma Stela (Fig. 9b). The deity's bestowal of regalia on the king in three of the four libation scenes highlights the divinely sanctioned rule of the king. While the statue of Šulgi-kiursagkalama presents an abbreviation of a libation scene, the statue depicting Šulgi with a kid (Fig. 3) can be understood as an icon for his providing the gods with food. The foundation figurines in the shape of a basket carrier (Fig. 1) are icons of the king as temple builder.

The king's relation with the human world, his role as chief of state and patron of his subjects, is visualized on seal images. This is no coincidence, since the seals belonged to state officials and functioned as tokens of legitimacy and authority; high-rank officials received their seals as a gift from the king. The king enthroned in a deity's place illustrates his role as representative of the gods on earth and also evokes his divine status (Fig. 18). As when deities invest the king in his office, the king installs his subjects in theirs. Seals with such presentation scenes may have been made on the occasion of the seal owner's instalment in office. The vessel that the king bestows on his subordinates underlines his patronage and sovereignty. By analogy with these glyptic images, statues of enthroned kings, as they are attested in administrative texts and of which anonymous exemplars have survived (Figs. 6–7), can be understood as icons of the ruler as chief of state. Exceptionally, the king received subordinates in his aspect as warrior (Figs. 19–20), perhaps because the respective seal owners were in some way associated with a military campaign.

No identified victory monument of an Ur III king has survived. Yet Old Babylonian copies of Ur III royal inscriptions inform us that scenes depicting the victorious king were carved on pedestals of royal statues. They showed the king treading on a fettered enemy leader, an image known from royal hymns,[83] and rows of additional captives, probably brought in fetters before the king. The rock-reliefs of Anu-banini and Iddi-Sin (Figs. 14–15) and the seals of Šuiliya and Zardamu (Figs. 24–5), even if they were poor imitations, give us an idea of how such scenes looked. All include a deity bestowing regalia on the victorious king, affirming the king's divinely sanctioned rule and the legitimacy of his victory. The image labelled 'dInana kaskal dŠu-dSuen' seems to corroborate that Ur III victory monuments could include this motif. The Darband-i-Gawr rock-relief (Fig. 12), however, shows that, at least in this medium, the king could also claim a victory in the absence of an anthropomorphic deity, as Naram-Suen did on his stela (Fig. 13). Whether Ur III victory monuments also existed in the form of stelae, as for the kings of Akkad and the later Old Babylonian period, we cannot say.

The seals of Geme-Ninlila (Fig. 20) and Zardamu (Fig. 25) suggest that the Ur III king could be depicted as god-like warrior with divine weapons. This is corroborated by figures in Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian glyptic, such as the 'figure with mace' and the 'triumphant hero', which can be traced back to Ur III royal images. The transformation of the god-like warrior into a protective

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[83] Ur-Namma B (ETCSL 2.4.1.2) 52–7; Šulgi X (ETCSL 2.4.2.24) 83–9.

spirit in post-Ur III times bespeaks the impact that images of Ur III kings left on the people of ancient Mesopotamia: not only did they become legendary, but they were adopted and perpetuated by posterity in a new function. This transformation was certainly encouraged by the Ur III kings' casting themselves in the role of protective spirits of their realm, but it was possible only because Mesopotamia returned to the coexistence of city-states and abandoned divine kingship.

COMPARISON WITH POETRY

How do the visual images compare with the poetic texts I started out with? The official representation of the king, whether visual or verbal, was issued by the crown and must reflect the same ideology. Both media were generally aimed at contemporaries as well as posterity and—if only rhetorically—at deities.[84] Yet poetry was more difficult to access than images. The restricted use of writing in ancient Mesopotamia, our uncertainty over whether Sumerian was the vernacular language at that time, and the heightened form of language that poetry presents suggest that this medium was predominantly targeting the educated upper classes, and the king's entourage in particular, even if oral performances in front of a wider audience cannot be excluded. The audiences targeted by the different visual media introduced in the preceding sections vary in focus: foundation figurines were predominantly aimed at future kings; statues and stelae at the subjects within the king's realm; rock-reliefs at inhabitants of conquered regions at the fringes of the realm; and seals at state officials.

Texts have a much larger repertory of topoi for expressing the various aspects of ideal kingship than the visual media. The large variety of stock sentences for the king's election and investiture by the gods (Flückiger-Hawker 1999: 47–51), for example, is encapsulated in one motif in images: a deity extending regalia to the king (Figs. 9–11, 14–15, 17, 24–5). Simlarly, texts describe the king as provider of the gods (and of his people) in great detail, delineating all branches of the economy and infrastructure,[85] while images capture this aspect in a few icons: the basket-carrier (Fig. 1), the libator (Figs. 9a, 10?, 16–17), the kid-carrier (Fig. 3). Only temple construction is depicted in more detail. A comparison of the Ur-Namma Stela with Ur-Namma Hymn B, which relates the king's construction of Enlil's Ekur in Nippur, reveals that the poetic text dwells more on the king's praise than on the events of the story and stylizes the king as protagonist of all action, while the stela depicts mainly anonymous human agents in action and was thus doubtlessly closer to real life. Text is inevitably linear in construction and perception, while visual media can merge several topoi in one image. Thus the libation scene on the Ur-Namma Stela (Fig. 9b) combines the king's feeding the gods with the gods' investing the king and may also have evoked Nanna's entrusting Ur-Namma with the temple construction and the king's successful verification of the divine communication. Although libation and presentation scenes involve deities, they were probably not far removed from how the king was seen in cultic festivals when he performed rituals before divine statues.

The Ur-Namma Stela stands in the tradition of sacred kingship and was certainly much more conventional than monuments of the deified Šulgi and his successors. Although the novel divine-like qualities of the king are manifest in images they are more detailed in poetry, not least because poetry targeted the king's entourage to a higher degree than visual media. Wisdom and skill in all subjects taught at scribal academy were simply unsuited for visual representation in ancient Mesopotamia. Nor can the imaginative qualities of poetry expressed in metaphors and in the rapid change of topics possibly be rendered in images. No visual representation of the king as athlete,

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[84] For a discussion of audiences in general, see Suter 2000: 279–80, and also 151–9, 272–6. For literary texts pertaining to Ur III kings, see Michalowski 2004: 222–4, who reminds us of the interpretative problems presented by the precarious ways in which these texts have come to us.

[85] E.g., construction and maintenance of temples (Ur-Namma A and B; Šulgi G [ETCSL 2.4.1.1, 2.4.1.2, 2.4.2.7]); fashioning and dedication of a cult object (Šulgi R, V, Y? [ETCSL 2.4.2.18, 2.4.2.22, 2.4.2.25]); dedicating war booty to the deities (Šulgi B [ETCSL 2.4.2.2]); king as canal-digger and chief farmer (Ur-Namma C and G [ETCSL 2.4.1.3, 2.4.1.7]); maintenance of roads (Šulgi A [ETCSL 2.4.2.1]).

wrestler or big-game hunter is extant, because in visual imagery such figures belonged to the heroic realm since Early Dynastic times, and if they did not remain there, the kings could not have likened themselves to heroes.

Royal hymns blur the boundaries between king and gods. Esther Flückiger-Hawker (1999: 73–7) observed strong similarities in structure and in the use of topoi and formulae between hymns praising the king in first or second person and hymns praising a deity. Royal and divine hymns were, of course, issued by the same source and not differentiated in ancient Mesopotamia. Šulgi mentions šir₃-gid₂-da among the songs composed for him (Šulgi E 26, 54). As the hymns with this subscript glorify a youthful god, who serves his divine father, provides for his people, and protects it by means of his heroism as warrior, Marie-Christine Ludwig (1990: 38–40) concluded that Šulgi put himself on a par with this youthful warrior god. Going a step further, I wonder whether the šir₃-gid₂-da songs were composed with the intention of creating a divine prototype for the deified king. Royal hymns use the same referents (lugal, en, šul, etc.), metaphors (lion, bull, dragon, storm, etc.), and topoi (warrior, king of justice, provider of prosperity, etc.) for both gods and kings and then also mingle them by leaving the subject of description unnamed.

In Šulgi X, for example, Nanna decrees the king's fate (ll. 132–40). The next section (ll. 141–50) describes the king providing justice as an apparent corollary of the blessing; the phraseology used for the king of justice is traditional for terrestrial rulers. In spite of this change of agent, Šulgi is not named. The next three lines (ll. 151–3) refer back to his description as warrior (ll. 134–6), and the following (l. 154) mentions the prosperity of Ur just credited to the king (l. 149). The reference to Enlil's son (l. 156) and the praise of Nanna at the end of this section (l. 159) then create confusion as to whether lines 151–9 refer to Nanna or to Šulgi (Klein 1981: 128–9). While the regalia in lines 157–8 can belong to either king or god, the agent's relation to Enlil and An speaks for Nanna. Yet line 158 alludes again to the prosperity brought about by Šulgi (ll. 138, 148–9). I suggest that the ambiguity regarding the agent's identity was intended to fuse Šulgi with Nanna and thus assimilate him into the divine world.

Although visual images could hardly fuse king and god, they blurred boundaries between them in other ways. On seal images, the king appropriated the place of gods (Fig. 18), could share with them the flounced garment and appropriate their throne. Since more seals of that time depicted the seal owner before a deity, the appropriation must have been striking. On images that depicted the king as victorious warrior, he could be depicted god-like in demeanour (Figs. 20–21), appropriate divine weapons (Figs. 20, 25), and stand on a par with a goddess (Figs. 14–15). Libation scenes on seals also depict him before a standing deity as if on a par (Figs. 16–17).

If my conjecture about the composite statues is correct, these images, too, showed the king as god-like because they looked like divine statues. There is more to it than that. When eulogizing the king's beauty and sexual allure, the hymns mention in particular his lapis lazuli beard, chest, and limbs.[86] On images carved in stone, Ur III kings usually exhibit long, elaborately knotted beards (Figs. 5–8?, 9, 10?, 12?, 16–20). Administrative texts recording deliveries of lapis lazuli for royal statues and Šulgi's statue of gold and lapis lazuli may indicate that composite statues had beards inlaid in this material. As the lapis lazuli beard was traditionally associated with Utu,[87] such royal images would have emphasized the god-likeness of the king. The king's chest and limbs are exposed on a few royal gift seals that depict him with the lower end of his kilt lifted as if intentionally exposing his legs (Fig. 19). Such a display of the royal body recalls the image of Naram-Suen (Fig. 13), which was modelled on images of heroes (Winter 1996: 16). Since the

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[86] E.g., Ur-Namma E (ETCSL 2.4.1.5) 24; Ur-Namma F (ETCSL 2.4.1.6) 5, 45; Šulgi D (ETCSL 2.4.2.4) 7; Šulgi O (ETCSL 2.4.2.15) 5; Šu-Suen J (ETCSL 2.4.4.10) 17.

[87] *Enki and the world order* (ETCSL 1.1.3) 377; *Song of the hoe* (ETCSL 5.5.4) 53; *A hymn to Utu* (ETCSL 4.32.2) 3; *Temple hymns* (ETCSL 4.80.1) 173; *A song for Šulgi* (ETCSL 2.4.2a) 25–8. His son Enmerkar is of the lineage of the lapis lazuli beard (*Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta* = ETCSL 1.8.2.3 209, 527). Via the king, the lapis lazuli beard is then also associated with Dumuzi in Inana-Dumuzi I (ETCSL 4.8.9) 43–5.

'figure with mace' (Fig. 22) wears a comparable kilt, at least some of the lost victory monuments may have exposed the Ur III king's well-formed and strong body in a similar way.

After looking beyond the surviving identified monuments, it has become evident that the visual representation of Ur III kings was as much in line with their ideological reformations as other forms of royal self-representation. Some discrepancies between poetic image and actual depiction have vanished. Although Ur III kings never mention their predecessors in divine kingship verbally, their visual self-representation revived several features that Naram-Suen had introduced. The monuments of Ur III kings must have been much more glorious than previously assumed, or else their effigies would not have lived on as protective spirits. This study is only the beginning of a reappraisal. It will be fruitful for future research to explore in a more systematic manner than was possible here royal images of peripheral rulers and royal archetypes on terracottas and in post-Ur III glyptic. Ur III glyptic still conceals a mine of information and deserves continued attention. Finally, it will be interesting to start drawing distinctions between the different kings.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TWO CRITICAL PASSAGES
IN *GILGAMEŠ AND HUWAWA*

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Recent years have seen a renewed interest in literary compositions featuring the legendary hero Gilgameš.[1] Among the Sumerian compositions is one known as *Gilgameš and Huwawa*, preserved to us in two versions, A and B (ETCSL 1.8.1.5 and 1.8.1.5.1). In this story, Gilgameš is prompted to leave Uruk on a quest to the remote and dangerous Cedar Forest. There he encounters, and eventually overcomes, its ferocious guardian Huwawa. In the following notes, some suggestions for the improvement of our understanding of key episodes in that story are offered.

A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH

The first passage to be discussed is that where Gilgameš explains what spurred him to contemplate his own mortality, leading to his decision to leave Uruk on the quest to the Cedar Forest. The text reads as follows (in A):

23	uru^{ki}-ĝa$_2$ lu$_2$ ba-uš$_2$ ša$_3$ ba-sig$_3$
24	lu$_2$ u$_2$-gu ba-an-de$_2$ ša$_3$-ĝu$_{10}$ ba-an-gig
25	bad$_3$-da gu$_2$-ĝa$_2$ im-ma-an-la$_2$
26[2]	ad$_6$ (a(-a)) (id$_2$) ib$_2$-dirig-ge igi im-ma-an-si$_3$
27	u$_3$ ĝa$_2$-e ur$_5$-gin$_7$ nam-ba-ak-e ur$_5$-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-me-a

which I would translate:

In my city, a man dies and there is sorrow.
A man is (just) lost—that pains my heart.
I craned my neck over the city wall:
a corpse was floating along in the (river) water—that is what I saw.
But that must not happen to me! Must it be that way?!

This pivotal passage is deceptively difficult. In lines 23–4 most translators have been split over whether to translate lu$_2$ using the general 'man' or the plural 'men'. In line 26 translators and commentators typically translate ad$_6$ in the plural (e.g., Edzard 1991; Alster 1992b; Pettinato 1992; Tournay and Shaffer 1994; ETCSL;[3] Frayne 2001; Vanstiphout 2001; Wilcke 2002; Civil 2003b);[4] some (Edzard 1991; ETCSL; Vanstiphout 2001) interpret the line as saying that there are so many

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[2] See below for discussion of the variants.

[3] This composition was edited there in 2000.

[4] George 1999 correctly translates using singulars, although line 27 should probably be translated somewhat differently; Lambert 1987: 41 also interpreted as a singular.

corpses in the water that the river (almost) overflows. Thus what Gilgameš sees when he looks out over the wall is a river overflowing with corpses or at least many corpses drifting downstream. Then in line 27 translations inform us that Gilgameš recognises that exactly the same thing will happen to him. And with death all around him, Gilgameš becomes preoccupied with his own mortality.

However, this assumed apocalyptic vision is unnecessary and obfuscates one of the fundamental points of the composition. What troubles Gilgameš is the prospect of anonymity, not that of death itself. Furthermore, the significance of the river has been overlooked. Traditional translations imply scenarios that are difficult to explain in context and fit the composition somewhat awkwardly; grammatical problems also remain unsatisfactorily resolved.

Taking the contextual difficulties first, no-one has been able to offer a convincing explanation for why so many people are dying or why their bodies are in the river. For the dead would not normally be disposed of in a river. Under normal circumstances one would expect to receive a proper burial; without it the spirit was doomed to wander restless until being exorcised. After burial one could expect regular offerings of food and water to ease the stay in the netherworld.

Civil (2003b: 78) expresses what appears to be the common assumption, that the corpses in the water could be 'as a result of epidemic, a flood, or a battle'. However, nowhere in this composition or any of the other Gilgameš stories in circulation at that time is there mention of war, disease or any other disaster, natural or man-made, which could explain this; the sole exception is the defence of the city against Akka (in *Gilgameš and Aga* [ETCSL 1.8.1.1]) but it seems rather unlikely that the passage in question refers to the aftermath of that episode. Note also that elsewhere in the literature when cities are afflicted, people are normally described as being heaped up (zar-re-eš ... du$_8$/sal). A more elaborate description is found in *The lament for Urim* [ETCSL 2.2.2]:[5]

210   uĝ$_3$-bi šika ku$_5$-da nu-me-a bar-ba ba-e-si
211   bad$_3$-bi gu$_2$-ĝiri$_3$ im-ma-an-ĝar-ĝar uĝ$_3$-e še am$_3$-ša$_4$
212   abul maḫ ĝiri$_3$ ĝal$_2$-la-ba ad$_6$ im-ma-an-ĝar-ĝar
213   sila daĝal ezem-ma du$_3$-a-ba saĝ numun-e-eš ba-ab-ĝar
214   e-sir$_2$-e-sir$_2$ ĝiri$_3$ ĝal$_2$-la-ba ad$_6$ im-ma-an-ĝar-ĝar
215   ešemen kalam-ma ĝal$_2$-la-ba uĝ$_3$ zar-re-eš ba-an-du$_8$

Its people, though they were not broken potsherds, filled its outskirts.
Breaches had been made in its walls—the people groan.
On its lofty city-gates where (once) it was possible to walk, corpses were piled.
On its boulevards where festivals had been held, bodies were strewn like seed.
In all its streets where walks had been taken, corpses were piled.
In its places where the dances of the Land had taken place, people were stacked in heaps.

Here bodies are scattered throughout the cityscape, although not in the river.[6] This contrasts strongly with what Gilgameš experiences. He walks through the streets and onto the walls apparently without seeing corpses; it is only when he peers over the top of the wall into the river below that he sees something which shocks him. It would be a very strange disaster indeed which would lead to a situation where there were many dead in the river yet not in the rest of the city. Furthermore, there are no incidental details to suggest any kind of disaster. On the contrary, note that Gilgameš doesn't flee Uruk in panic. The city seems to be functioning normally, and peacefully. He gathers men to accompany him and visits the forge to have weapons made before setting out.

The assumption of multiple deaths seems to go back to Kramer (1944a); at that time it was thought that Gilgameš's quest was for immortality, spurred on by the sight of death. However, as

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[5] See now also Römer 2004)
[6] The 'corpses in the Euphrates' of *The lament for Sumer and Urim* (ETCSL 2.2.3) l. 94 (^{id2}buranun-na ad$_6$ i$_3$-me-a) forms part of a passage describing the abnormal functioning of city life following the devastation.

Kramer (1947: 4 n. 2, 35 n. 214) himself subsequently realised, the immortality Gilgameš seeks in Gilgameš and Huwawa is eternal fame; his quest for eternal life is a feature of the later Gilgameš Epic. He was well aware of the limitations of life, even for kings. This is clear from the lines immediately following those quoted above. Here Gilgameš declares his sober attitude to life and repeats (from lines 6–7) his reasons for going on the adventure, and what he hopes to achieve:

28   lu$_2$ sukud-ra$_2$ an-še$_3$ nu-mu-un-da-la$_2$
29   lu$_2$ daĝal-la kur-ra la-ba-an-šu$_2$-šu$_2$
30   murgu ĝuruš-e ti-la saĝ-til-le-bi-še$_3$ la-ba-ra-an-e$_3$-a
31   kur-ra ga-an-ku$_4$ mu-ĝu$_{10}$ ga-am$_3$-ĝar
32   ki mu gub-bu-ba-am$_3$ mu-ĝu$_{10}$ ga-bi$_2$-ib-gub
33   ki mu nu-gub-bu-ba-am$_3$ mu diĝir-re-e-ne ga-bi$_2$-ib-gub

No-one is so tall that he can reach up to the heavens.
No-one is so wide that he can cover the earth.
Since no-one can pass beyond the final end of life,
I intend to enter the mountains to establish my reputation.
Where a name can be made, I will make my name.
Where a name cannot be made, I will establish the reputation of the gods.

Compare also the OB Akkadian version of the story (Yale 140–3, 148–50; George 2003: 201):

140   *ma-an-nu ib-ri e-lu-ú ša-m[a-i]*
141   *i-lu-ma it-ti* ^{d}*šamšim da-ri-iš u[š-bu]*
142   *a-wi-lum-ma ma-nu-ú u$_4$-mu-ša*
143   *mi-im-ma ša i-te-né-pu-šu ša-ru-ma*

Who is there, my friend, that can climb to the sky?
Only the gods have d[welled] forever in sunlight.
As for man, his days are numbered,
whatever he may do, it is but wind.

and his explicit recognition of his own mortality:

148   *šum-ma am-ta-qú-ut šu-mi lu uš-zi-iz*
149   ^{d}GIŠ-*mi it-ti* ^{d}*ḫu-wa-wa da-pi-nim*
150   ⌈*ta*⌉-*qum-tam iš-tu*

If I fall, I shall have established my reputation:
'Gilgameš joined battle with ferocious Huwawa!'

Note also that Gilgameš gathers only 'disposable' men to his side: in version A those with no house or mother, in version B those with no wife or children. This was clearly a dangerous mission.

A further problem to consider is why Gilgameš seems so certain that he will share the same fate as the supposed river-full of unfortunates (l. 27). His claim appears to be ludicrously histrionic, since no king of Uruk, however undistinguished his reign, would be thrown in a river. Traditional translations of l. 27 also go back to Kramer. He originally translated (1944a: 24) 'Let me not be treated thus; so be it', but was troubled by the relative position of this line and the following proverb (ll. 28–33, quoted above). When he realised that Gilgameš sought fame rather than eternal life, he changed his translation to (1947: 27) 'As for me, I, too, will be served thus; verily 'tis so'. Subsequent translations have followed suit:

'Auch mir wird es so ergehen—daran führt kein Weg vorbei' (Edzard 1991: 177)

'ed io, pure io sarì così? Certo, pure io!' (Pettinato 1992: 313)

'Pour moi, il en sera de même, il en sera ainsi' (Tournay and Shaffer 1994: 294)

'That will happen to me too—that is the way things go' (ETCSL)

'I too shall become like that, just so shall it be!' (George 1999: 151)

'So too it will come to pass for me, so it will happen to me' (Frayne 2001: 105)

'Dat zal ook met mij gebeuren—zo zal het zijn' (Vanstiphout 2001: 167)

However, Kramer's first translation made better sense. The proverb tells us that no one lives forever. Lines 23–6 deal not with death but with not being remembered after death. So while line 27 cannot be a plea that he not die, it makes good sense as a plea that he not be forgotten. The order of this line and the passage including the proverb is thus meaningful. The average man dies and is soon forgotten. Gilgameš recognises that he is as mortal as the next man but does not wish to be forgotten. He now explains what he plans to do to ensure that *his* memory will live on after his death.

There are grammatical objections to the traditional translations. The verb nam-ba-ak-e is *marû* in form. The standard grammars (Thomsen 1984: 194–9, Edzard 2003a: 118–9) tell us that the na-prefix on a *marû* verb form has prohibitive sense;[7] with the 3rd person subject (marked with -e) it should be a strict interdiction (Edzard 2003a: 118). The affirmative sense used in the traditional translations would usually require the verb to be in the *ḫamṭu* form. The second half of the line, ur$_5$-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-me-a, is susceptible to various interpretations. This leaves the question of exactly what it was that Gilgameš did not want to have happen to him. For this we need to return to line 26.

Despite more than half a century of progress, Kramer's (1947: 34) remark 'The first half of line 26 is very difficult' remains true. His first attempt at translation reads: 'Saw the ... dead bodies *floating on the river*' (Kramer 1944a). As noted above, the background to this translation is that Kramer had then thought that seeing so many dead people had instilled in Gilgameš a fear of his own death. His subsequent translation (1947: 9) reads little differently, however: 'Saw the dead bodies ... *floating on the river*'. Two versions of the composition are now distinguished, and the translations of this line often differ between them.

Version A offers the following significant variants for the first part of the line[8]:

[ad$_6$]	˹a˺	id$_2$	dirig-ga (NiW)
ad$_6$		id$_2$	ib$_2$-d[irig-...] (UrE; also NiQ)
˹ad$_6$˺(-)a		id$_2$	ib$_2$-dirig-ge (NiT; also NiN, N 1013)
ad$_6$	a-a		ib$_2$-dirig-ge (NiD; also NiA, NiU,[9] prob. also NiX)
ad$_6$	a-a	id$_2$	i-ib$_2$-dirig-ge ('NiK')[10]

The composite has been translated as follows:

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[7] Thomsen 1984: 195 notes a number of possible exceptions but prefers to 'leave these examples out of account and at least state that *generally marû* = prohibitive, *ḫamṭu* = affirmative'.

[8] See the appendix for individual transliterations of the whole line.

[9] šaga here instead of ad$_6$ seems most easily explained as a graphic confusion (LU$_2$×KAR$_2$ for LU$_2$×BAD). It does make sense, however, in that a prisoner of war would have no family nearby to see to his proper burial.

[10] According to Civil 2003b: 77 n. 3, NiK (YBC 9857) is not from Nippur.

'Die Leichen im Wasser bringen den Fluss schier zum Überlaufen; das sah ich' (Edzard 1991: 176)

'... corpses in the water make the river almost overflow. That is what I see.' (ETCSL)

'Dan zie ik hoe de lijken in het water de rivier bijna doen overstromen' (Vanstiphout 2001: 167)

'e ho visto i cadaveri trasportati dalle acque del fiume' (Pettinato 1992: 313)

'j'ai vu des cadavres qui flottaient sur les eaux du fleuve' (Tournay and Shaffer 1994: 294)

'my gaze fell on a corpse drifting down the river, afloat on the water' (George 1999: 151)

'I have seen the corpses floating in the river's water' (Frayne 2001: 105)

'I contemplate the corpses drift(ing) in the water, the river' (Civil 2003: 78)

The parallel text of Version B (see Edzard 1993: 17, l. 8) writes lu$_2$ 'person' instead of ad$_6$(LU$_2$×BAD) 'corpse' and lacks id$_2$ 'river':

lu$_2$ ⌈a-a⌉   dirig-ga (C)
lu$_2$ a-a   ib$_2$-dirig-ge$_4$ (A)

Edzard (1993: 17) translates the composite 'Leute treiben auf dem Wasser; das sah ich'. Other translations broadly agree:

'Bodies float in the water, the eye is downcast' (Alster 1992b: 66)

'I saw a corpse afloat on the water' (George 1999: 162)

'Lijken drijven op het water—dat is wat ik zie!' (Vanstiphout 2001: 178)

'I have seen the corpses floating in the river's water' (Frayne 2001: 115)

ETCSL's '... bodies in the water make the river almost overflow. That is what I see: ...' and the 'river' in Frayne's translation are borrowed from the text of version A. However one interprets the line, the occurrence of id$_2$ and the persistent lack of any case ending on it cause a problem. Perhaps the place to start is the -/e/ on the verb. It could be taken as a directive marking the indirect object of the following compound verb (igi ... si$_3$), assuming an unwritten subordinating -/a/ on the verb dirig. Alternatively, if the first clause is independent, the -/e/ could be explained as a morphological element of the verb (dirig). In this case it ought to mark a 3rd person singular transitive *marû* subject (this subject could be a singular animate or singular/plural inanimate); or could it be the 'future particle' /e(d)/? dirig can be used in a way which we would translate as intransitive ('to be in excess') or transitive ('to exceed x'). Sumerian treats both usages as intransitive, marking a thing exceeded with the locative (animates with the dative), or less commonly the directive. The presence of a transitive suffix here would be an indication that a causative construction is being used.[11]

Moving back through the verb, the /b/ must be either 3rd person inanimate absolutive object (with no ergative marked in the sentence, either ad$_6$ or id$_2$ could be the absolutive object) or an allomorph of directive /bi/. Were this a causative construction, the absolutive would mark the

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[11]Compare here perhaps *The building of Ninĝirsu's temple* (Gudea, cylinders A and B, ETCSL 2.1.7) 585: dugud-gin$_7$ an-šag$_4$-ge im-mi-ni-ib$_2$-dirig-dirig-ne 'they made it (the house) float in the midst of heaven like a cloud' and *A praise poem of Išme-Dagan* (Išme-Dagan A + V, ETCSL 2.5.4.01) Segment A 84: nam-lugal-la bala-ĝu$_{10}$ ḫe$_2$-bi$_2$-in-dirig 'He (Ninurta) has caused my reign to exceed kingship'.

second subject (since the verb is intransitive), while the first subject (either ad$_6$ or id$_2$) should be in the ergative, if explicitly present. No source ever marks either ad$_6$ or id$_2$ in the ergative, however.

The most common wording—the text of NiD, NiA, NiU and NiX and source A of version B—could (with Edzard 1993) be translated 'a corpse[12]/person was floating in the water'(?).[13] Source C of version B supports this interpretation: 'a person floating on the water'. The non-finite form in NiW could be explained as 'the river exceeding a corpse', taking the a not as 'water' but as a locative. Doing the same in NiT, NiN and N 1013 would lead to (lit.) 'the river was exceeding a corpse'. 'Exceeding' here could be either a physical or metaphorical description. There are five sources in which the a must be interpreted as 'water', however (a-a has to be 'in/on the water'). The text of UrE and NiQ is unclear but either ad$_6$ or id$_2$ lacks a case ending.

The most difficult source to analyse is (non-Nippur) 'NiK'; it is this source which lies behind most translations. Again, either ad$_6$ or id$_2$ seems to lack a case ending. Assuming a missing ergative on ad$_6$, one might translate 'a corpse causes the river to exceed the water' (although that makes little sense) or if on id$_2$ 'the river was floating a corpse on the water'.[14] Against a rendering 'a corpse causes the river to be in excess on account of water' is *Lugalbanda in the mountain cave* [ETCSL 1.8.2.1] Segment A 116: igi-ni pa$_5$ mu a-ta dirig-dirig-ga-e 'His eyes—irrigation ditches, because they are flooding with water—...', which expresses the instrumentality with the ablative case, as expected. Assuming a missing locative on id$_2$ yields the translation 'a corpse exceeds the water, the river' or (hendiadys) 'a corpse exceeds the river water'. Here, however, we would not expect the locative on the first noun, a, but would expect it on the second noun, id$_2$. Alternatively, one might assume *casus pendens* (which would also explain the word order). This explanation might allow the translation 'a corpse in the water' ('Corpses in the water—they were causing the river to be in excess'), which we would expect rather to have been expressed using a subordinated verbal form. It is only this interpretation of this single, non-Nippur manuscript of version A—which may simply be defective—that requires one to assume many bodies. That solution transfers to the other variants of the line only with difficulty, however, and appears to be in direct contradiction to the only straightforward variant, that of source C of version B. The present writer is loathe to privilege it above the other sources; the more so given the serious contextual difficulties arising from it.

The image portrayed in this episode is simple but very effective and moving. The river appears not as a piece of incidental detail but holds a particular significance. Gilgameš fears anonymity rather than death. What is important is not that someone has died but that they have not been accorded the proper funerary arrangements; to be left uncared-for, floating in a river, would be a truly appalling prospect. The shocking sight that confronts Gilgameš is a single corpse of a forgotten man drifting downstream. This spurs his quest, fearing that even he, king of Uruk, could soon be a forgotten man. An allusion to this episode may be found in Proverbs: collection 2+6 [ETCSL 6.1.02] 2.4: a-a igi i-ni-in-bar nam-tar-ĝu$_{10}$ ba-dib-ba 'He looked into the water: "My fate is passing by"'.

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[12] As far as the grammar is concerned, in all cases 'a corpse' could equally well be translated 'corpses', since plural inanimates are treated as singulars. In the following paragraph I translate using singulars wherever possible, for the sake of simplicity.

[13] The uncertainty is caused by the -/e/, as discussed above. Civil 2003b suggests that ib$_2$-dirig-ge$_4$ may have derived by assimilation from id$_2$ dirig-ge.

[14] For a river as ergative agent see *Enki's journey to Nibru* (ETCSL 1.1.4) 91: id$_2$-de$_3$ lugal-bi-ir ad im-mi-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ 'the river gurgles(?) to its lord', and apparently also BM 86535 ll. 107–12 (Kramer 1985a: 120): id$_2$-de$_3$ id$_2$-de$_3$ ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$ im-dirig-ge, etc. (cf. *A šir-namšub to Inana* (Inana G [ETCSL 4.07.7] ll. 36–8). In our line the unexpected word order could be explained as topicalisation; cf. *The building of Ninĝirsu's temple* (Gudea, cylinders A and B, ETCSL 2.1.7) 408: ^{ĝiš}erin-bi tun$_3$-gal-e im-mi-ku$_5$ 'he (Gudea) caused great axes to cut its cedars'. This would tie in well with the shocking nature of seeing a corpse in a river.

A BATTLE OF WITS

The second passage to be discussed is the well-known episode where Gilgameš tricks Huwawa into surrendering his auras (A ll. 136–50; B ll. 96–129). Much has been written about Gilgameš's first gift in version A—his older sister, Enmebaragesi. It is widely agreed that Gilgameš is being deceitful during the episode (perhaps also provoking a humorous response from the audience in this instance), although the nature and extent of his deceit is much debated. The name Enmebaragesi is, of course, known from Gilgameš's opponent, the ruler of Kiš, in the composition Gilgameš and Aga. Some have suggested identity of the two characters and seen this as evidence for a female historical figure Enmebaragesi.[15] Others have disagreed. Michalowski (2003: 201) has even argued that no such ruler existed, male or female, and suggested that the name, to be read Enišibbaragesi, represents a 'blatant piece of fiction'.

Whatever was intended by mention of EnMEbaragesi, Gilgameš's deceit in this episode may go much further and be more sophisticated than has been assumed to date. Several versions of the episode exist. The Nippur sources all seem to have a version where Gilgameš offers his two sisters in return for the first aura, after which the other auras are surrendered with no further mention of gifts; the text jumps straight on to the handing over of the seventh aura. The non-Nippur sources are all more explicit, although in most cases not explicit enough to specify what the further gifts are. Two sources (UnC, UnD) do mention other gifts, however, as does the parallel passage in version B. Unfortunately, the text of version B is badly broken at this point; in the text that remains we read of two gifts, small and large sandals (to which we shall return shortly). UnD is a small fragment of an excerpt; it describes Gilgameš giving flour to Huwawa. UnC, another short excerpt, is much better preserved and tells of four sets of gifts, numbered there 3–6. The first two and the seventh gifts are not preserved; we might expect the first two to be the two sisters but the identity of the seventh is unknown. The four preserved gifts are: 3) flour and water; 4) large sandals; 5) small sandals; 6) three precious stones. George (2003: 10) recently summarised the gifts as 'other pleasures of life that are evidently unknown in his [Huwawa's] remote mountain lair'.

Alster (1992a: 1) offered an interpretation of the whole episode as 'Gilgameš playing the role of a visitor received in audience at a foreign court'. He suggested that the version of this episode where only the two sisters were offered made most coherent sense; the expansion of the list of gifts offered in other versions was seen as a distortion of the inner logic of the episode. Nevertheless an attempt was made to assign each additional gift an interpretation. The gifts may not be as straightforward as has been suggested, however; they seem all to be part of some trickery. Gilgameš appears to be thinking on his feet as he engages in a battle of wits to disarm Huwawa.

Alster's (1992a) collations suggest that the flour offered in UnD is the first gift there. On page 5 he interprets the flour as 'a visitor's gift presented as a courteous initial step in court ceremonial'. But this would not explain UnC, where flour and a waterskin with cool water are offered as the third gift, and thus very probably after the two sisters. Furthermore, this interpretation depends on the assumption that Huwawa speaks the paean in lines 130–135, ending with the instruction for Gilgameš to put his hand on the ground and speak. Unfortunately, the text does not explicitly name the speaker. Edzard (1991: 188 n. 58) assumed that Huwawa was the speaker on the grounds that: 'Der 'Päan' als Rede Enkidus stünde hier im Widerspruch zum Vorhergehenden; auch würde das 'Fürchte dich nicht' im Z. 135 ganz und gar nicht zu Enkidus abratender Haltung passen'. However, in the present writer's opinion,[16] this passage is better attributed to Enkidu. His behaviour can satisfactorily be explained within terms of human behaviour and of literary style; and there is also a piece of textual evidence for him as the speaker here.

If Huwawa speaks these words, then he contradicts his entire reason for being. It is difficult to see why the fierce Forest guardian would want to allay the intruder's fears or praise his upbringing and great capabilities at this point. And throughout this composition, and in other Gilgameš stories,

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[15]See Shaffer 1983: 311–12 for a discussion.
[16] With Pettinato 1992: 318 and Frayne 2001: 110.

Gilgameš faces opposition from all quarters yet manages to get his own way by talking people round or simply overruling them. This is what happens to Enkidu shortly before the passage under discussion. Of the three other occasions on which this paean occurs, twice it is spoken by Enkidu.[17] Both times it is Enkidu encouraging Gilgameš to have the courage of his convictions and finish what he has started. This would also make sense here. In addition, note also that the text of the source Alster (1992a) discusses (UnD) has here zi-ga dug$_4$-ga-na-ab 'Arise and say it to him'. As Edzard (1991: 217) admits, this can't be Huwawa who is speaking to Gilgameš. There is no compelling reason to believe it is anyone other than Enkidu.

Returning to the gift of (eša-)flour, it is described in both UnC and UnD (and known from context attestations) as the food of the gods, so the flour and water look like an honorific meal. But is there a trick? The OB Akkadian version (Yale 268ff.; George 2003: 207) tells us that Gilgameš carried water with him to elicit the dreams which reassured him that he would defeat Huwawa; in the Epic version Gilgameš uses water and *maḫḫatu*-flour (a type used for offerings) to elicit the dreams. It seems plausible that the significance of the flour and water in the Sumerian version lies partly in Gilgameš already having the items to hand for a different purpose, and partly in the symmetry between the role they play in both forecasting and actually achieving Huwawa's defeat. Huwawa may not be aware of the cultural significance of these items. Note here an OB letter-prayer to Sin-iddinam (Hallo 1982: 100, l. 27) where Elamites and Subarians are derided for being ignorant of certain facets of civilised life, including: '... do not know how to make offerings of eša-flour'. It is not clear that Huwawa was entitled to eša-offerings;[18] this may be mockery by Gilgameš.

The next (4th and 5th) gifts in UnC are 'large sandals' for Huwawa's 'big feet' and 'small sandals' for his 'little feet' (148r, 148bb). This is mirrored in version B (106–7), where first small sandals then large sandals are offered. Two questions are raised: (i) why sandals?, and (ii) why two sets of different size?

Common opinion seems to hold that the majority of people in the ancient Near East went about their daily lives barefoot. However, in themselves sandals were not high prestige items.[19] While the sources (here as elsewhere) inform us of their use by deities and royalty, they do not suggest that sandals were restricted to them, nor even to them and their servants (messengers and soldiers). References to ordinary people possessing sandals are not uncommon. Note, for instance, that there are several references to sandals in the proverbs (see Alster 1997).[20] For example, in the often quoted 3.149 (and parallels) [ETCSL 6.1.03], where a series of common occurrences and the lack of the normal course of action is described, we read that 'It rained but the sandals were not untied'. Note also Proverbs: collection 19 (ETCSL 6.1.19) Seg. C 12:

^{kuš}ummu$_3$ zi lu$_2$-kam
^{kuš}e-sir$_2$ ⌜igi⌝ lu$_2$-kam ...

A waterskin is a man's life,
sandals are a man's eye ....

The proverb continues to list a spouse, son, daughter and daughter-in-law. These are all the kind of thing the average citizen could be expected to have.

The sandals in our passage are not described as being special (e.g., lapis) sandals but just plain 'sandals'. There is then nothing particularly special about sandals in general or in this instance, and

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[17] *Gilgameš and Huwawa* version A (ETCSL 1.8.1.5) ll. 164–74, *Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven* (ETCSL 1.8.1.2) Seg. B ll. 91–103. On the other occasion it forms the introduction to version B and may belong either to Enkidu or to 'the narrator'.
[18] There is inconsistency among the sources as to whether or not Huwawa receives the divine determinative.
[19] For references to, and discussion of, sandals see Salonen 1969, Stol 1980–3: 538–40, CAD Š 289–92.
[20] Several attestations involve the 'fox' character, although the implications of this are not clear.

these items cannot satisfactorily be explained as an audience gift fit for a king, since he would already have such items, and his would be of a much higher quality. No symbolic meaning has yet been demonstrated for sandals either.[21] A less straightforward explanation appears to be required. Part of the answer may lie in Gilgameš having several spare pairs with him. We can reasonably expect a long distance royal expedition across mountain country to have been equipped with footwear. Note, for instance, a letter from early OB Ešnunna (1931-T294: 33),[22] in which someone asks for ten pairs of sandals for a journey.

Turning to the question as to why two pairs are offered, even bearing in mind poetic licence it is not easy to see why anyone would need both large and small sandals, let alone how one could have both big and little feet to wear them. In art Huwawa is depicted as bipedal,[23] thus requiring only two sandals. There is clearly something out of the ordinary happening. Alster (1992a: 5 n. 15) suggested that the little ones might be intended for Huwawa's family (for whose existence evidence is lacking).[24] Alternatively, Gilgameš could be seen as offering a selection of different sizes in the hope that one pair would fit. This seems an improbable detail, however, and they are offered as separate gifts. Furthermore, there are clear signs of trickery on the part of Gilgameš; in version B the hero even calls repeatedly on Enki as his personal god.

So what is the significance of these gifts? It seems unlikely that Huwawa was such a hillbilly that he had never seen sandals before and is so intrigued by them that he forgets his purpose. And it also seems unlikely that the trick is simply that Gilgameš promises to give Huwawa this lacklustre gift, but doesn't; this hardly requires the cunning of Enki. Perhaps Gilgameš is suggesting to (anthropomorphic) Huwawa, who is too dim-witted to notice the significance of the offer, that he needs two pairs of sandals at the same time—one for his feet (the large pair) and one for his hands (the small pair). In other words, Gilgameš implies that although Huwawa bears the appearance of humanity, by nature he is an animal. This would be in keeping with the Sumerian style of insults, and would set up a typical semantically-loaded opposition, in which Gilgameš is superior to Huwawa and thus destined to be victorious.

The 6th gift—du$_8$-ši-a 'agate' (?), nir$_4$ (a decorative stone) and za-gin$_3$ 'lapis lazuli'—also bears closer examination. Alster (1992a: 4) describes them simply as 'precious stones' and offers no further interpretation. Certainly the selection is not random; these stones are commonly grouped together. All three were imported to Mesopotamia from lands to the east. The lapis originated in Afghanistan; nir was imported from Meluḫḫa; and du$_8$-ši-a comes from Marḫaši.[25] Were Huwawa a king, offering these stones to him would be akin to offering gold to the king of Egypt. There are other aspects to the stones which may help explain their presence here. There is abundant evidence for za-gin$_3$ in relation to sandals; 'lapis sandals' (whatever is meant by that) is a common motif in contemporary Sumerian literature. du$_8$-ši-a is well attested with reference to leather for (luxury) sandals (many attestations are known from the Ur III period onwards but see most conveniently CAD D 201–2). nir$_4$ (= ḫulālu) is a decorative stone; while there is no clear evidence relating it to sandals, it is worth noting that in Amarna texts it is attested as decoration for leather items. It seems a reasonable possibility that mention of these stones could have been stimulated by mention of sandals.

A number of possibilities offer themselves to explain the significance of these gifts. The intention could be that Gilgameš offers materials that sound like jewels but aren't (which would

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[21] Ellis 1987: 263 tentatively suggested a conquest symbolism for sandals but this would not apply here. Symbolism does seem to have been attached to sandals in other parts of the ancient Near East but no evidence has yet been adduced to suggest similar practices in Mesopotamia.

[22] See Whiting 1987: 70–1, no. 20.

[23] See Lambert 1987.

[24] Gilgameš claims that he wants to join Huwawa's family but that doesn't necessarily mean that there were any other existing members. Also, were the sandals so intended, one wonders why the offer is expressed in such a roundabout way.

[25] See Heimpel 1987: 50–1; Steinkeller 1982: 249–50.

assume a lack of familiarity with Mesopotamian culture on Huwawa's part) or that he offers not just an insulting gift—the sandals—but also the means to decorate them luxuriously, thus deepening the humiliation. It is perhaps also relevant that these stones appear together among those praised by Ninurta in *The Exploits of Ninurta* (ETCSL 1.6.2, ll. 531–42) for their support against that other mighty and monstrous mountain-foe, Asag.

It seems plausible that there is also a level of political metaphor at play in this episode.[26] Clever, heroic Gilgameš stands for the local ruler, while Huwawa represents the rulers of Elam.[27] The Elamites may be a powerful foe but this is just brute force; they can be overcome by cunning. They may have some of the trappings of civilisation but they will never be proper kings. For they are Elamites; and every good Mesopotamian knows that you can take the man out of Elam but you can't take Elam out of the man.

APPENDIX

Below are individual transliterations of line 26 in the sources of *Gilgameš and Huwawa* A (1.8.1.5); an asterisk marks those sources which could be collated:

UrE	$LU_2 \times BAD$		id_2	ib_2-S[I.A-ge	igi]	im-m[a$^?$ …]
*NiQ	$LU_2(\times BAD?)$		⌈id_2⌉	[…]		
*NiW	[x]	⌈a⌉	id_2	diri-ga		i[gi …]
NiT	⌈$LU_2 \times BAD$⌉	a	id_2	ib_2-diri-ge	igi	im-ma-an-si$_3$
NiN	LU_2	a	id_2	[…]		
*N1013	$LU_2 \times BAD$	⌈a⌉	⌈id_2⌉	i[b_2 …]		
NiD	$LU_2 \times BAD$	a-a		ib_2-diri-ge	igi	im-<ma->an-[…]
*NiA	$LU_2 \times BAD$	a-a		ib_2-[…]		
*NiU	$LU_2 \times KAR_2$	a-a		ib_2-S[I …]		
*NiX	$LU_2 \times BAD$	a		A [x(x)]-diri [. . .] (coll. from cast)		
NiK	$LU_2 \times BAD$	a-a	id_2	i-ib_2-diri-ge	igi	im-ma-an-si$_3$
KiA	[…]		[i]d_2	ib_2-⌈diri⌉-ge	i[gi …]	

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[26] Alster 1992b already suggested the possibility but did not elaborate. Michalowski 2003a has now also suggested such wider relevance; his proposal is more detailed and wider ranging than mine.

[27] While the Cedar Forest could have been envisaged as lying to the west—as in the Akkadian texts— there are indications of an eastern location for the Sumerian story. For instance, in version B 47 we learn that the seven warriors gifted by Utu to help Gilgameš find the Cedar Forest know the way to Aratta. See further Edzard 1993: 9–10 with notes and Heimpel 1986: 144. In any case, what applies to Elam here transfers satisfactorily to other foreign peoples.

NOTES ON THE SHAPE OF THE ARATTA EPICS

Herman Vanstiphout—Groningen

Most Sumerologists, and many people from other fields, will agree that Jeremy Black's *Reading Sumerian Poetry* is one of the most important books in our field of the past decades. His choice of material—the poetic narratives dealing with the struggle between the heroic legendary kings of Unug[1] and the ruler of the legendary and fabulously rich city of Aratta[2]—was a splendid one. These poems are not only well preserved;[3] they also form a closely-knit group as to narrative theme and subject (and basic ideology), while being pleasantly diverse as to working out the basic argument. They are really fine stories; and they show an excellent command of narrative structure and poetic texture. The present contribution is a first attempt to investigate the poems from this latter perspective in the hope that Jeremy—though possibly disagreeing on every single point—would have liked it.

The overall shape of the Aratta poems results from the artful annealing of three different ways in which the raw material is formalised. First, there is the *linear*, or *narrative structure* of the tales. The three variations on this structure obviously depend on the common argument which consists of an exemplary demonstration of Sumer's superiority and of the ways in which this is incontrovertibly made manifest by 'history'. In the second place there are the different *poetic building blocks* used to materialise the more or less abstract narrative scheme, but more importantly, they also tend to contain the gist or even the justification of the basic argument. These blocks may be different in nature as well as in function. As to the former, they may consist of speeches, freestanding or arranged into dialogues, of descriptions, of straight narrative, of addresses to 'audiences' external to the development of the poem, etc. As to their function, they may be said to embody different stages in the development of the theme; therefore they are dynamic in that they realise, or reify, the narrative structure. Also 'functional', albeit in a different sense, is the rhythmical arrangement of these discrete building blocks as well as the relations between them, be they substantial or syntagmatic or both. These two levels of formalisation may be said to constitute a kind of 'double articulation', in that the elements of the lower layer—the building blocks—can be arranged paradigmatically, but that they are put together by means of the upper layer, that of the linear structure. The third way of formalising the matter is somewhat different. It consists of the influence of and adherence to *poetic tradition* and environment. This means that on all these formal levels the Aratta poems resound with echoes of other texts, either because of implicit or explicit 'rules' governing whole classes of poetry, if not of poetry as such, or because of intentional formal references to specific kinds of literature—or both at the same time. Finally, it will come as no surprise that the combination of the use and nature of the building blocks with the several distinct forms of the poetical tradition has an important bearing on the *texture* of the pieces.

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[1] Better known as Uruk, or Biblical Erech, or modern Warka.

[2] *Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana*, or *EE*; *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, or *ELA*; *Lugalbanda in the wilderness*, or *LB* I; and *The return of Lugalbanda*, or *LB* II. All poems are now easily available in Vanstiphout 2003—a book to which Jeremy contributed so much. There are only a few other groups of texts that could, and should, be treated in the same way: the 'historical lamentations', the poetical debates, the eduba dialogues, the so-called 'myths' about divine marriage and procreation…

[3] With one major and one minor exception: the last third of *LB* I is still somewhat poorly preserved and, worse, even more poorly understood; the final lines of *ELA*—about ten—are still missing.

STRUCTURE

The linear or strictly narrative structure depends on, or rather derives from, a number of factors. In descending order of generality these may be characterised as topic, argument, and arrangement.

Topic

Even the most cursory reading of our texts reveals that they all share the same *topic*: the rivalry between Unug and Aratta over the matter of precedence and its implications. The precedence is to be expressed and legitimised in terms of the favours bestowed on the respective rulers by the goddess Inana. See the following lines (*EE* 27–8):

[e-ne] ^{d}inana-da e$_2$-gar$_8$-a-ka hu-mu-da-an-til$_3$
[ĝa$_2$]-⸢e⸣ ^{d}inana-da e$_2$-za-gin$_3$ aratta^{ki}-ka hu-mu-da-an-til$_3$-e-en

Though he (= Enmerkar) may live with Inana in the Egara,
I (= the Lord of Aratta) surely live with Inana in the Ezagin of Aratta!

In his response, Enmerkar counters this argument by a description of their (Enmerkar's and Inana's) conjugal couch and their lovemaking. Furthermore, he insists that Unug is Inana's favourite dwelling place as well as her birthplace (*EE* 100–4):

iri^{ki} tu-da-ni-ta NE im-ta-[…]
iri^{ki} du$_3$-gin$_7$ iri^{ki} na-ma ba-ra-dim$_2$
^{d}inana unug^{ki}-ga he$_2$-en-til$_3$ aratta^{ki}-aš a-na-me-a-bi
sig$_4$ kul-ab$_4$^{ki}-ka he$_2$-en-til$_3$ kur me sikil-še$_3$ a-na-am$_3$ ab-ak-e

She will not depart from the city of her birth!
Never was there a city so well built as Unug![4]
Inana lives in Unug; what does this mean for Aratta?
She dwells in brick-built Kulab;[5] what can the mountain of Lustrous Powers[6] do about it?

The point of view being strictly that of Unug, the implication is also that Unug requires, and in the end acquires the treasures of Aratta in order to fit out Inana's temple in Unug. This is clearly expressed, and indeed extensively argued in *ELA* (28–32):

^{d}inana-ra en aratta^{ki}-ke$_4$
saĝ men kug-sig$_{17}$-ga mu-na-ni-in-ĝal$_2$
en kul-ab$_4$^{ki}-a-gin$_7$ nu-mu-na-sag$_9$
aratta^{ki} eš$_3$ e$_2$-an-na ĝi$_6$-par$_4$ ki kug-gin$_7$
kug ^{d}inana-ra sig$_4$ kul-ab$_4$^{ki}-gin$_7$ nu-mu-un-na-du$_3$

For Inana did the Lord of Aratta
Don his golden crown and diadem,
But he did not please her as well as did the Lord of Kulab,
For nothing even resembling the shrine Eana,[6] or the Gipar,[8] the holy place,
Did Aratta ever build for holy Inana, unlike[9] brick-built Kulab!

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[4] This line alludes to the implication that Unug has a right to Aratta's riches in order to adorn Inana's dwelling.

[5] Another name for Unug. Possibly it was originally the sacred or temple precinct of Unug.

[6] An epithet of Aratta.

[6] Inana's temple in Unug.

[8] Part of the Eana; specifically the shrine where the sacred marriage was consummated.

[9] The text has 'like' for 'unlike'. This is perfectly all right in Sumerian syntax, the meaning being 'like Kulab did'.

More specifically, Enmerkar requests Inana's help for his construction work (*ELA* 37–42):

nin$_9$-mu aratta^{ki} unug^{ki}-še$_3$
kug-sig$_{17}$ kug-babbar ha-ma-an-galam-e
^{na4}za-gin$_3$ duru$_5$ lagab-ta […]
sud-ra-aĝ$_2$ ^{na4}za-gin$_3$ ⌜duru$_5$⌝ […]
unug^{ki}-ga kur kug […] x x du$_3$

My sister, let Aratta for Unug
Artfully work gold and silver for me;
[Let them cut for me] polished lapis lazuli from its block;
[Let them work for me] the translucent smooth lapis lazuli;
[Let them] build [for me] the Holy Mountain in Unug!

In the Lugalbanda stories the topic of rivalry is not worked out in any detail. The story blandly states that (*LB* I 20–4):

ud-ba lugal-e iri^{ki}-še$_3$ ^{ĝiš}mi-tum na-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$
en-me-er-kar$_2$ dumu ^{d}utu-ra
aratta^{ki} kur me sikil-la-še$_3$ har-ra-an zu na-an-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$
ki-bal gul-gul-de$_2$ na-an-ĝin

On that day the King set his mace towards[10] the city;
Enmerkar, the son of the Sun,
Conceived a campaign against Aratta, the mound of Lustrous Powers;
He would go and destroy the Rebel Land.

It is only at the very end of the second instalment that the motif of using Aratta's riches for the adornment of Unug appears in the form of Inana predicting Enmerkar's victory (*LB* II 409–12):

iri kug dim$_2$-bi kug-dim$_2$ u$_3$-bi$_2$-in-dab$_5$
za dim$_2$-ma-bi za-dim$_2$ u$_3$-bi$_2$-in-dab$_5$
iri-da u$_3$-gibil-la$_2$ um-ma-an-di-ni-ib-ĝar-ĝar
aratta^{ki} agarin$_4$-agarin$_4$-ba šu hu-mu-na-niĝin

If he then carries off from the city its worked metal and its smiths,
If he carries off its worked stones and jewellers,
If he renovates the city,
All the moulds of Aratta shall be his forever!

Argument
The precise form this rivalry takes, or rather the actual (sequence of) event(s) that brings the rivalry to a concrete point and crystallises it into a contest ending in favour of one of the contending parties, may be called the *argument*. Also, the argument consists of three moments, *viz.* a challenge laid down by one of the parties; the development of the contest for supremacy; and the solution of the conflict. On these points, abstract though they are, the three tales already diverge significantly.

Challenge
The challenge can be considered from two points of view. First, there is the way in which the challenge comes about. In *EE*, the challenge is explicitly thrown down by the Lord of Aratta, and taken up by Enmerkar (*EE* 25):

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[10] 'Setting the mace towards' is an expression for a military threat.

e-ne ĝa₂-a-ra gu₂ ha-ma-an-ĝa₂-ĝa₂ ᵍⁱˢsudun₄ ha-ma-ab-il₂-e
He must submit to me, he must bear my yoke!

In *ELA* the challenge originates with Enmerkar—but only after Inana has advised him to do so. In fact, the challenge is part of the messenger's first speech to the Lord of Aratta, in which Enmerkar threatens Aratta with destruction if it does not deliver its precious metals and stones. The challenge is spread out over some twenty lines, and its impact is much reinforced by straight repetition (*ELA* 115–33 // 187–205).[11]

iri-bi ir₇-saĝᵐᵘˢᵉⁿ-gin₇ ĝiš-bi-ta na-an-na-ra-ab-dal-en
mušen-gin₇ gud₃ us₂-sa-bi-a nam-bi₂-ib-dal-en
ganba ĝal₂-la-gin₇ na-an-si-ig-en
iri gul-gul-lu-gin₇ sahar nam-bi₂-ib-ha-za-en
arattaᵏⁱ a₂-dam ᵈen-ki-ke₄ nam ba-an-kud
ki bi₂-in-gul-la-gin₇ ki nam-ga-bi₂-ib-gul-en
eĝer-bi ᵈinana ba-ši-in-zig₃
gu₃ im-mi-in-ra šeg₁₁ im-mi-in-gi₄
kuš₇ bi₂-in-su-a-gin₇ kuš₇ nam-ga-bi₂-ib-su-su
kug-sig₁₇ u₃-tud-da-ba ᵏᵘˢLU.UB₂+LU.UB₂-šir a-ba-ni-in-ak
kug me-a sahar-ba zag u₃-ba-ni-in-us₂
kug saĝ-PA-še₃ u₃-mu-un-dim₂-dim₂
anše kur-kur-ra-ke₄ barag um-mi-in-la₂-la₂
ĝa₂-e-še₃-am₃ ᵈen-lil₂ ban₃-da ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄
en ᵈnu-dim₂-mud šag₄ kug-ge pad₃-da
kur me sikil-la-ke₄ ha-ma-du₃-e
ᵍⁱˢtaskarin-gin₇ hi-li ha-ma-ab-ak-e
ᵈutu e₂-nun-ta ed₂-a-gin₇ si-muš₂ ha-ma-ab-gun₃-gun₃
zag-du₈-zag-du₈-bi uri₃ ha-ma-mul-e

Beware, lest I make them flee from their city like a dove from its tree,
Lest I make them fly away like a bird from its built-up nest,
Lest I put a price on them as on mere merchandise,[12]
Lest I make Aratta gather dust like a city in ruins,
Lest like any settlement cursed by Enki
And utterly destroyed, I destroy Aratta,
Lest like a sweeping devastation in whose wake Inana rises
Shrieking and howling aloud,
I cause a sweeping devastation there!
Therefore[13] Aratta must pack gold nuggets in leather sacks,
Pack them tight with gold dust,
Wrap the precious metal in bales,
Load mountain asses with the crates,
And build for me, the young Enlil of Sumer,
Chosen by Nudimmud[14] in his sacred heart,
A mountain of Lustrous Powers![15]
They must make it sumptuous with boxwood;
They must make its horns shine like the Sun coming forth from its chamber,
They must make its doorposts sparkle brightly!

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[11] First Enmerkar tells the messenger what to say; after his journey, the messenger gives this message verbatim to the Lord of Aratta. Repetition as a strategic technique will be treated later.
[12] I.e., sell them into slavery.
[13] I.e., in order to avoid this.
[14] A name or epithet of Enki.
[15] This is usually an epithet of Aratta.

In the *LB* series there is no explicit challenge as such: Enmerkar simply decides to go to war against Aratta (see above, *LB* I 20–4).

Second, there is the substance of the challenge. In *EE* this is initially heavily sexual, in that the Lord of Aratta claims that Inana considers him as her preferred mate. Of course, this is not surprising: the whole intention of the text has to do with the life force.[16] In *ELA* the challenge is outspoken and motivated: Aratta simply has to deliver its riches to Unug in order to adorn the Eana. In *LB*, finally, Enmerkar's challenge takes the form of a unilateral military attack on Aratta, the motivation of which is to be found only at the very end of the tale—insisted upon by repetition, but hidden within a beautifully harmonised composite layer of meanings summing up large parts of the meaning of the whole story (see above, *LB* II 409–12).

Contest

The contest also differs as to format and execution. In *EE* the contest starts as a purely verbal debate between the protagonists.[17] This debate is of the unsophisticated yea-or-nay type, but at the same time it very cleverly states the substance of the challenge and response. In the rest of the poem proxies fight the contest: a sorcerer on the Aratta side, and a good fairy[18] on the Unug side. In fact, there are three exchanges-of-arms: the original verbal debate; the bewitching of Sumer, and the magical contest. *ELA* basically consists of a long drawn-out series of three challenges and counter-challenges, the essential format of which is well known from folklore all over the world: impossible riddle-like tasks and clever solutions thereof.[19] Thus the players here are the protagonists themselves, but they perform as it were before a mixed audience, and the operations require the use of a nimble and word-wise messenger. The *LB* sequence of poems presents a significant change. The contest takes the form of a military campaign in which Unug tries to take Aratta by force. In the end, however, the solution again requires the service of a highly qualified messenger, and the substance of the tale consists in fact of the tribulations of this messenger, who is Lugalbanda. His development into the mediator, in more senses than one, whose qualities and actions are necessary for solving the otherwise unsolvable problem, thus becomes the narrative backbone. Lugalbanda turns into the real protagonist.

Solution

The solution, finally, occurs in three very different modes. In *EE* the Lord of Aratta submits in terms that take us back to the sexual motivation of the verbal debate that opened the contest (*EE* 274–80):

en-suh-gir$_{11}$-an-na-ke$_4$ inim-bi ĝiš ba-an-tuku-a-ta
en-me-er-kar$_2$-ra lu$_2$ mu-un-ši-in-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
za-e-me-en en ki aĝ$_2$ ^{d}inana-me-en dili-zu-ne mah-me-en

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[16] Which is expressed in two ways: sexuality in the opening bout—incidentally the only part of the poem, which justifies the use of the term adaman duga 'debate'—and the provision or withholding of food in the two following episodes. Note that food also has an important role in *ELA* and in *LB* I as well!

[17] See footnote 18.

[18] Please disregard my proposal to identify saĝburu with Inana (Vanstiphout 2003: 9). Foster 2004 quite correctly points out that 'the whole character of Inana is against (this identification)'. He goes on to quote Anthony Trollope, who stated that in the *Arabian Nights* women 'were either very young and very beautiful, or else very old and very cunning'.

[19] This phenomenon has caused some confusion. There are those who would interpret it in such a way that for instance the Gilgamesh story/stories belong to the genre of fairy-tales. It seems more reasonable to say that such features are shared by several different genres in most cultures. If one regards phenomena like the apparently insoluble riddle as the marker of a specific genre, the majority of Classical or Mediaeval literature would become mere fairy-tales. And there is no way in which genre theory can ever accept that 'fairy-tale', in this respect not unlike the critically mythological term 'myth', is a meaningful or substantial generic term. Genre is a pigeon, not a pigeonhole.

^{d}inana-ke$_4$ ur$_2$ kug-ga-ni-še$_3$ zid-de$_3$-eš mu-un-pad$_3$-de$_3$-en ki ⸢aĝ$_2$-ĝa$_2$⸣-ni-me-en
sig-ta igi-nim-še$_3$ en gal-bi za-e-me-en ĝa$_2$-e us$_2$-sa-zu-me-en
a ri-a-ta gaba-ri-zu nu-me-en šeš-gal za-e-me-en
ĝa$_2$-e nu-mu-da-sa$_2$-e-en ud da-ri$_2$-še$_3$

When Ensuhgirana had heard this
He sent to Enmerkar:
'You are indeed the beloved of Inana; you alone are the greatest;
'Inana has truly chosen you for her holy loins; you are her lover;
'From west to east you are the overlord, and I humbly follow.
'From your conception I was never your equal; you are the big brother;
'I can never match you!'

The *ELA* poem, on the contrary, apparently[20] ends in a reconciliation on the basis of international trade regulated, indeed instituted, by Enlil (*ELA* 616–25):[21]

^{d}en-lil$_2$ [lugal] ⸢kur⸣-kur-ra-ke$_4$ hu-mu-un-kar$_2$-re ni$_2$-ba
eš$_2$-gar$_3$ ⸢im⸣-ma-an-du$_3$-a-gin$_7$
nam-lu$_2$-u$_{18}$-[lu] aratta^{ki}-a-ke$_4$
kug-sig$_{17}$ kug ^{na4}[za]-gin$_3$ bala ak-de$_3$ eš$_2$-gar$_3$ x x x
lu$_2$ gurun kug-sig$_{17}$ gurun ĝiš gub-bu-de$_3$
^{gi}peš$_3$ ĝeštin-ba niĝ$_2$-ta ub$_4$-ba-gin$_7$ gur$_7$ gal-še$_3$ [u$_3$]-mu-un-dub
^{na4}za-gin$_3$ duru$_5$ ur$_2$-ba mu-un-bur$_2$-re-ne
^{gi}ušub pa-ba mu-un-ta-bal-e-ne
^{d}inana nin e$_2$-an-na-ra
kisal e$_2$-an-na^{ki}-ka gur$_7$-še$_3$ mu-un-dub-bu-ne

Enlil, king of all the countries,
Has now established the execution of the tasks.
The people of Aratta
Have as their task the trading of gold and lapis lazuli,
And the fashioning of golden fruits and fruity bushes
Laden with figs and grapes …; they shall heap these up in great piles;
They shall dig out flawless lapis lazuli in lumps;
They shall remove the crowns of the sweet reeds,
And for Inana, Lady of the Eana,
They shall heap them up in piles in the courtyard of Eana.

The Lugalbanda story, finally, ends with Inana promising or predicting Enmerkar's final military victory. The end of *LB* II reads (407–8):

erin$_2$-na-ni šu-bi he$_2$-en-di-ni-ib-sud-sud
zi aratta-ka eĝur-ra he$_2$-ni-in-til

(When Enmerkar has done all this) Then his army shall succeed;
Then he will be able to end the life force Aratta draws from the subterranean waters!

(Lines 409–12, quoted above, follow.)

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[20] Apparently, since the last verses are still fragmentary or missing.
[21] But, in view of the very specific statements in *Enki and the world order*, one supposes that he did so with a little help from Enki: see Vanstiphout 1997 and, for a provisional reconstruction of the text, Vanstiphout 1999.

NARRATIVE COMPOSITION
The term 'narrative composition' is used here in the restricted sense of 'outline of the articulations of the text as a narration'. The few schemes presented are merely illustrations of a 'guide to reading' that should ideally be exercised throughout the complete poems.[22] They are assumed to confront the reader at a glance with the compositions as intentionally—and assiduously—well articulated constructs, each with their individual but nonetheless kindred architecture. They also mean to show the material construction of the text, in that they note the lengths, reckoned in numbers of verses, and the rhythm of the different types of discourse making up the narrative text.

Examples of narrative schemes
The narrative schemes presented here are taken from Vanstiphout (2003), slightly adapted. The examples presented here are arbitrarily chosen, and do not extend over the whole compositions. They serve merely as illustrations of the manner in which these texts are constructed, and will not be discussed or analysed as such. The following conventions are used:

Bold: **essentially narrative passages**
Cursive : *technically narrative passages*[23]
Underlined: <u>'extraneous' matter</u>[24]

Example [A]: from *Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana*

1. Introduction
    (1)   <u>Hymn glorifying Unug's splendour</u>   ll. 1–13
    (2)   God-like Enmerkar then ruled over Unug   ll. 14–21
2. The Rulers' Verbal Contest
    Aratta's challenge
    (1)   **Inana is mine, and my feast is sumptuous**   ll. 22–39
    (2)   The messenger's voyage to Unug   ll. 40–51
    (3)   **The message is delivered**   ll. 52–69 (56–69 = 25–38)
    Enmerkar's answer
    (1)   <u>Ode to Enmerkar</u>   ll. 70–6
    (2)   **Inana shares my bed!**   ll. 77–90 (78–81 // 27–30)
    (3)   **Inana truly favours me!**   ll. 91–113 (108–13 // 33–8)
    The Lord of Aratta admits defeat, but will not submit
    (1)   <u>What can I still do?</u>   ll. 114–27
    (2)   <u>Reproaches by the assembly</u>   ll. 128–32
    (3)   **Even so, I will not submit.**   ll. 133–4

Example [B]: *from Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta*

The First Round
    Enmerkar's first challenge
    (1)   *Marching orders to the messenger*   ll. 105–13 (106–12 = 71–8)
    (2)   **Enmerkar's threat**   ll. 114–33
    (3)   *The Spell of Nudimmud*   ll. 134–55
    First voyage: Unug to Aratta
    (1)   *Go now, messenger!*   ll. 156–9
    (2)   *The voyage*   ll. 160–74 (164–9 = 73–8)

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[22] Thus they serve as the announcement of a complete analysis of and commentary on the whole group—an undertaking that with the help of Enki and Nisaba will occupy me during the next years.
[23] Such as indications of setting, movement, etc.
[24] This may consist of passages that are close to odes or hymns, explanatory matter, reflective pauses, etc.

Delivering the first challenge

(1)	Opening formulae	ll. 175–8
(2)	**My king is supreme!**	ll. 179–86
(3)	**Enmerkar's threat**	ll. 187–207 (= 115–35)
(4)	I shall carry back your (submissive) answer!	ll. 208–17

Aratta's reply; first counter-challenge

(1)	**Aratta shall not submit!**	ll. 218–26
(2)	**Messenger: Inana has taken Unug's part!**	ll. 227–35
(3)	*Aratta and Unug shall have a contest!*	ll. 236–61
(4)	Beware of Aratta's forces!	ll. 262–77
(5)	**Counter-challenge: deliver grain in nets!**	ll. 278–93

Example [C]: from *Lugalbanda in the wilderness*

Lugalbanda's Illness and Recovery

Illness

(1)	**Lugalbanda falls ill**	ll. 75–84
(2)	The provisions left for him	ll. 85–115
(3)	At the doors of death	ll. 116–20
(4)	**The companions abandon him**	ll. 121–40
(5)	He suffers	ll. 141–7

Recovery (First night-and-day)

(1)	Prayer to the setting Sun	ll. 148–72
(2)	Prayer to the Evening Star	ll. 173–200
(3)	Prayer to the Moon	ll. 201–27
(4)	Prayer to the rising Sun	ll. 228–63
(5)	**The Water-of-Life/fire/cooking**	ll. 264–99
(6)	**Trapping**	ll. 300–25

Dream and Banquet (Second night-and-day)

(1)	Sleep and ominous dream	ll. 326–60
(2)	**Fulfilment of the dream**	ll. 361–70
(3)	**Banquet for the gods**	ll. 371–94

Observations

Attempts to exercise an approach along these lines through all four compositions will show that in each individual poem a certain rhythm of modes of expression is present. But it would also show that these 'rhythmical' structures are not identical in the individual poems. What does this phenomenon—which I think is beyond cavil[25]—mean, exactly? To my mind, the patterning of different modes denotes three things.

First, the *rhythm and method of arrangement* of these different 'modes' is apparent in all pieces, but also different, and put to different uses. In the *LB* series, for instance, there are a number of almost purely explanatory text portions. The best known are those that explain what sleep is, and what a dream is.[26] But they have no essential relevance for the story as a story—though they are, of course, very relevant for the text as a piece of poetry and for the basic intention of the piece, which is to show the gradual but grand evolution of Lugalbanda's insight, power and destiny. On the other hand there are two very important passages in *ELA*, both of which have already caused much discussion, and which we may well use as exemplary for what is actually at hand. These are: the

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[25] Compare the obvious differences in (a) sentence structures (e.g., 'active' as against 'descriptive'), (b) narrative relevance (e.g., 'dynamic', i.e., developing the story in an immediate way, as against 'interpretative', i.e., telling us what the real meaning of episode is or will turn out to be); and (c) development of the basic topic (strictly linear as against freely moving to and fro between origin, actual moment in the narration, and projected solution).

[26] See Vanstiphout 1998. The passages are: (sleep) ll. 327–35 and (dream) ll. 341–6.

'spell of Nudimmud' (*ELA* 134–55)[27] and Enmerkar's invention of writing (*ELA* 500–6, 524–5 and 536–41).[28] The significant point here is that together these two passages constitute a frame or even a bracket, expressing an important—maybe the most important—aspect of the intended *meaning* of the poem as a whole. In my opinion they are intended to tell us the almost technical means by which trade between Aratta, and other places, and Sumer can be instituted and regularised. These means are: the use of Sumerian as a commercial lingua franca, and the use of writing. The passages occur at the very beginning, and near the end of the series of seven journeys (over seven mountain ranges) by the messenger. What is more, on another, higher (or deeper) level of 'meaning', it is hard not to see the coupling of 'Sumerian' and 'Writing'[29] in this way as an expression of the epitome of what the whole poem is about: Sumer's cultural superiority. While the seven journeys of the messenger make it clear that the message (or messenger) is the medium, the two passages illustrate that even then the medium was the message. Now it is very interesting to note that these two passages, summarising as it were the whole topic of the poem, and placed so elegantly at the beginning and the end of the journeys, are presented in totally different formats and styles.[30] The spell is obviously a closely-knit unit. In itself the passage has no obvious narrative function. But used as a *spell*,[31] it really starts the eminently narrative series of challenges, solutions and counterchallenges. The invention of writing consists of three paragraphs, as it were; it is broken up by intervening 'narrative' matter, and thereby also qualifies as really narrative, in that it constitutes the beginning of the end of the story as a story. Yet the two passages do share some formal aspect: in both cases we may see: (a) a position/situation in time;[32] (b) the application of an action; (c) the effect of that action. My point in the immediate context is that the ideological 'structure' of the poem does not necessarily coincide with its formal structure, for here we have two episodes that, taken together, as I think they must be, are formally different, yet at the same time encapsulate and even symbolise the main point of the narrative as a whole: Sumer's superiority. So here we seem to have narrative in disguise, or ideology in disguise—or, perhaps, both.

Second, the system each poem uses for mixing, or rather arranging, the different modes into a coherent text points to the existence of generally speaking two or perhaps even three *levels of narration*. First, of course there is the simple matter of what happens, or rather who does what. It is not without significance that even on this rather mundane point the three stories have chosen different formats. *ELA* is presented as a straightforward series of challenges and counterchallenges with their solutions, wherein the chronological order is respected. *EE* takes a somewhat different line: it consists basically of an initial unresolved rivalry between two rulers; one of them (Ensuhgirana) attacks the other in an unacceptable manner (black magic);[33] Enmerkar retaliates

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[27] See Vanstiphout 1994 and Klein 2000. Both contributions give ample earlier literature.

[28] See Vanstiphout 1989. For another recent interpretation (but which, unless my memory is cheating me, goes back to Raymond-Riec Jestin, with whom I first read the text in the glorious days of May 1968), see Glassner 2003: 16-24. Both publications note the most important earlier literature.

[29] Which happens to be also historically correct.

[30] Note Klein's (2000: 572–3) recent interpretation of the 'spell of Nudimmud' as an etiological explanation of the fact that there are, in Enmerkar's time, many different languages. This would put the episode on a par, more or less, with the 'dream' and 'sleep' explanations in *LB* I. But it remains unclear how this would help the story. It is interesting to note furthermore that Klein also sees a link between the 'spell' and the invention of writing; he even gives a detailed formal comparison between the two episodes. Finally, the comparison with the Biblical Tower of Babel motif—which is already of venerable age—might perhaps remind us that in eschatology the remotest past coincides with the farthest future, whatever verbal tense is used.

[31] Of course, a spell only makes sense if it refers to the future. Perhaps that is the reason why some scholars refuse to accept the passage as a spell.

[32] Past, present or future!

[33] Black magic, because it consists of the withholding of food, standing also for life-force. Its opposite, white magic, takes the form of animals feeding—on other animals to be true—and proves stronger. It is significant that the text expressly states that by his sin (withholding food) the black magician has forfeited his own life-force.

with white magic, which proves to be stronger. The *LB* series consists of the long journey Lugalbanda has to undertake in order to find his compatriots again—who in the meantime are besieging Aratta without success. But at the same time it describes the astounding fortitude and wisdom of Lugalbanda in his travels through the wild regions, really outside the human world, and even in the skies. And it describes the gradual evolution of the weakling Lugalbanda into the blessed saviour of his people. In a way, in this third case the 'matter of Aratta' seems somewhat subsidiary to the *Werdegang* of the hero. But in a subtle—and sometimes not so subtle—way, much of the 'extraneous' matter in all three stories expounds both the meaning and the justification of what is happening. Finally, in all three cases one can see that at least part of the substance or object of the quest or quarrel is in symbolic unison with the story line, with the reason for the conflict and with the way in which the conflict ends. Thus the objects of the 'impossible' challenges in *ELA* are grain, new technology, and textiles. In *EE* it is a matter of food and sexual love. In *LB* the ultimate gift Lugalbanda requests is miraculous speed—by which means he and only he can turn the ineffective siege of Aratta into victory for Unug.

Third, it may strike the reader that the *amalgamation* of all these bits and pieces of what is ultimately an opposition between two ways of life, or between two different cultures into a thrilling tale[34] is handled with much dexterity and consummate literary skill. From this point of view there are but very few superfluous lines. Although we can, and do, notice the different 'special' functions of the 'building blocks', about which more anon, they all contribute to the inexorable development of the poems as tales. But at the same time these tales expound a basic idea: the ethical, cultural *and hence* righteous political supremacy of Sumer, including its responsibility for the benighted foreign regions.[35] This 'blackheads' burden' finds its personification in the legendary kings of Unug and in their deeds. This is what the tales are about. To my knowledge there are not many legendary traditions from the Ancient Near East—or from other and later periods—that have handled this fusion with comparable skill and elegance. Yet, having said this, there are *structural differences* between the three tales. In my personal view *EE* would seem comparatively the weakest of the three, in that at least in the central portion the play of repetitions as against progression in the telling of the story seems somewhat mechanical, which implies that there is only very little extraneous explanatory matter and that focus or emphasis are expressed merely by repeating things a number of times.[36] Also, the main point of the original challenge, *viz.* Inana's sexual preferences, is not really taken up either in the development of the story or in the conclusion—except for two lines (*EE* 276–7):[37]

za-e-me-en en ki-aĝ₂ ᵈinana-me-en dili-zu-ne mah-me-en
ᵈinana-ke₄ ur₂ kug-ga-ni-še₃ zid-de₃-eš mu-un-pad₃-de₃-en ki aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni-me-en

You are indeed the lover of Inana; you alone are the greatest;
Inana has truly chosen you for her holy loins; you are her lover.

Compared to the opening challenge, these lines are rather bland. Still, since the text allows or perhaps even requests us to assimilate sexuality and food in this text, we should not complain. The *LB* series is strongly organised along the linear axis of Lugalbanda's development into the saviour-hero. Thus the only really meaningful repetitions are—significantly—the superhuman speed motif (lines 168–83 = 185–200), being, as it turns out, the necessary means to bring about the solution, and the highly important message he will thus have to bring to Inana in Unug, as specified, before

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[34] What will happen to poor Lugalbanda, deserted by his companions? How will Enmerkar solve the manifestly impossible riddles? How can Unug survive, when there is no food available?

[35] I feel I must warn the reader against seeing parallels with contemporary situations.

[36] But as we shall see in the next section the seemingly mechanical repetition of the initial challenge shows some surprising details.

[37] For the immediate context, see *EE* 274–80, quoted above.

dinner time (lines 294–321 = 360–87). For the rest all the different episodes, including the relatively high number of explanatory passages, contribute to the description of the hero's exaltation.[38] *ELA* remains the piece with the simplest, strongest and most transparent structure. It consists of an opening statement, revolving around Enmerkar's plea to Inana for Aratta's riches and Inana's positive reply implying that the matter be dealt with by means of a messenger.[39] The story then develops into a system of three challenges, three counter-challenges taking the form of impossible riddles, and the solutions thereto. This implies seven voyages by the messenger, over seven mountain ranges. At the end, during a final confrontation of two proxies,[40] the gods step in and bring about the end of the conflict in a way that benefits both parties. What is more, the series of voyages is bracketed by two seemingly extraneous passages: the introduction (by Enki) of Sumerian as a lingua franca at the start of the journeys, and the invention (by Enmerkar) of cuneiform writing at the occasion of the last voyage. But, as argued above, they are in a way essential to the thrust of the story.

BUILDING BLOCKS AND THEIR USE

Notwithstanding the strongly present line of narrative progression, and the basic unity of the text, all three poems are characterised by a construction technique consisting of distinct 'blocks' of lines, from about 10 to sometimes more than 30. Where necessary or useful, these different blocks are linked by much shorter passages—usually only 2 or 3 lines—which lead from one block to the next.

These blocks differ as to content, intent and style. They may be rhetorical,[41] expository,[42] invocative,[43] or descriptive[44] and, strange as it is, not generally purely narrative.[45] The interesting thing about them is that they find their counterparts in other kinds of poetry, where, generally, they are the only mode that is being used. Thus the rhetorical and perhaps also the expository 'style', both of which are or can be persuasive in intention, occurs, as a matter of course, in the debates and dialogues. The expository mode *an sich*, with a slight but still real base in the lexical work, constitutes a kind of mini-genre in the canon of poetry: there are so far at least three examples of 'literary' texts that mean to give expository instruction.[46] The invocative mode does not differ essentially from the mode of the hymns, odes and related kinds of writing.[47] The descriptive mode,

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[38] Though we have to wait for a better text and, more importantly, a better understanding of the latter part of *LB* I to be completely sure about this.

[39] Who, in a way, may well be Lugalbanda in disguise! See his main function in *LB* II.

[40] Still uncertain whether they are men or dogs!

[41] Such as Enmerkar's/Inana's threat to the Lord of Aratta (*ELA* 115–35 = 187–207).

[42] Such as the 'Sleep' and 'Dream' passages in *LB* I 327–36, 340–50, or the Ninkasi episode in *LB* II 15–27.

[43] Mostly the introductions praising either Unug (*ELA* 1–27; *EE* 1–13) or the king (*EE* 17–21), but also the four prayers of Lugalbanda (*LB* I 148–72, 173–200, 201–27, 228–63), and, albeit in a different way, the Spell of Nudimmud (*ELA* 134–55).

[44] One might point to the Lord of Aratta's challenges (*ELA* 278–93, 337–46, 454–61) but also the detailed description of Lugalbanda's illness, consisting itself of distinct strophes (*LB* I 75–84, 85–115, 116–20, 121–40, 141–7).

[45] Most good examples seem to come from the *LB* series: the march of the army of Unug (*LB* I 42–58, 59–74); Lugalbanda's re-invention of fire, cooking and trapping (*LB* I 264–99, 300–25) and probably most of the 'Cosmic Battle' episode. In *LB* II the Anzud episode is partly narrative, and so is the hero's return to his brothers.

[46] These are: *The home of the fish* (see still Civil 1961), *Dumuzi's sheep* (Civil 1987a), and *Nanše and the Birds* (Veldhuis 2004). Chapters 3 and 4 contain a very complete and much needed study of this somewhat abstruse genre.

[47] As noted above, the beautiful prayers of Lugalbanda (in *LB* I) to the great luminaries belong—stylistically—to the invocation genre. It is noteworthy that there are very few—if any—real 'prayers' in the accepted sense of this term to be found in the bulk of canonical Sumerian literature.

finally, is generally and stylistically somewhat akin to 'descriptions' found in the *Temple Hymns*,[48] for instance, in that they do not give a really useful or even recognisable full picture, but are either list-like and drearily 'factual' or replete with symbolism, often using the technique of the transferred metaphor,[49] and thus not able to give the reader a clear picture of what is supposed to be described. Splendid examples of the latter mode of 'description' are the two 'descriptions' of, or better allusions to, the bridal bed of Enmerkar and Inana in *EE*, mentioned in the next paragraph.

The textual block technique naturally lends itself to block repetition. In an earlier study a number of features of the ratio and use of repetition were analysed (Vanstiphout 1992). Here I merely want to point out (a) the 'strategic' use of repetition, and (b) an instance of a highly relevant specific 'poetic' use. As to the strategic use, it is obvious that most instances of straight wholesale repetition tend to occur where the basic subject matter is concerned. See for instance *ELA*, where the plea of Enmerkar, turned into Inana's promise, Enmerkar's threat to Aratta, and the marching orders to the messenger are repeated in full (*ELA* 49–64 = 80–95; 115-35 = 187–207; 71–8 = 106–12 = 164–9). Further, the repetition of actions tends to be repeated in the text: see *EE* 172–84 (the bewitching of the cows) and 185–62 (the bewitching of the goats). The proposal of the sorcerer to Ensuhgirana is also completely repeated *(EE* 228–48), albeit that the animals mentioned change from quatrain to quatrain, which makes a nice change from wholesale repetition. The *LB* series is remarkably free of wholesale repetition. But in *LB* II there are two significant passages that are repeated. The first treats the very important motif of Lugalbanda's superhuman speed (*LB* II 168–83 = 185–200; 294–321 = 360–87), and the effect of this speed: his ability to bring Enmerkar's message to Inana in one day.

In *EE* we find a fine example of what is poetically possible by partial repetition, or direct response to a speech by the adversary.[50] The initial challenge by Ensuhgirana runs like this (*EE* 27–38):

[e-ne] ^{d}inana-da e$_2$-ĝar$_8$-a-ka hu-mu-da-an-til$_3$
[ĝa$_2$]-e ^{d}inana-da e$_2$-za-gin$_3$ aratta^{ki}-ka hu-mu-da-an-til$_3$-e-en
^{ĝiš}nu$_2$ girin-a-ka hu-mu-un-de$_3$-nu$_2$
še-er-kan$_2$ dug$_4$ u$_3$ dug$_3$ ku-ku-de$_3$ hu-mu-de$_3$-nu$_2$-en
e-ne ^{d}inana-da ĝi$_6$-a ma-mu$_2$-da igi hu-mu-ni-in-du$_8$
ĝa$_2$-e ^{d}inana-da ĝir$_3$ babbar-ra inim mu-da-bal-e
e-ne kur-gi$_4$^{mušen} še he$_2$-bi-ib$_2$-gu$_7$-e
ĝa$_2$-e kur-gi$_4$^{mušen} še ba-ra-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-gu$_7$-e
di$_4$-di$_4$-bi utul$_2$-mu-še$_3$ gal-gal šen mah-[mu-še$_3$]
kur-gi$_4$^{mušen} ki-a ba-ra-ab-tak$_4$-[a-bi]
ensi$_2$ kur-ra-ke$_4$ gu$_2$ mu-un-ĝar-[re-eš-a] mu-da-an-gu$_7$-gu$_7$-[u$_3$-ne]

'He may live with Inana in the Egara,
'But I shall live with Inana in the Ezagina of Aratta.
'He may lie with her on a flowery bed,
'But I shall lie in sweet slumber with her on a bejewelled couch.
'He may meet with Inana in his dreams at night,
'But I shall converse with Inana between her gleaming legs!
'He may fatten the geese with barley;
'I shall certainly fatten no geese with barley.
'No. I shall collect their eggs and goslings in a basket—

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[48] See e.g., Sjöberg and Bergman 1969.

[49] This technique, akin to what can be described as the pathetic fallacy, is rampant in Sumerian poetry. It deserves a special study. For its essence, see the Italian 'Hymn to Rome', where it is said of the rising sun "*tu non vedrai nessuna cosa in mondo maggior di Roma!*" Thus the sun, ostensibly the object of the hymn, becomes the vehicle of the real object: Rome.

[50] This constitutes a relationship of at least this poem to the Disputation genre. And the 'colophon' of *EE* classifies the text as a disputation (en-me-er-kar$_2$ en-suh-gir$_{11}$-an-na a-da-min$_3$ dug$_4$-ga; *EE* 281)!

'The small ones for my pot, the large ones for my kettle—
'Whatever is left of the geese,
'The rulers of the highland that have submitted to me shall partake of that!'

This is fully repeated in the messenger's speech to Enmerkar (lines 58–69). Enmerkar's reply to this insistent challenge—there are only 24 lines between the original challenge, spoken by Ensuhgirana, and the messenger's speech to Enmerkar—is remarkable (*EE* 78–88, 108–13).

[e-ne] ^{d}inana-da e_2 za-gin$_3$ aratta-ka hu-mu-da-an-til$_3$
ĝa$_2$-e [x] an-ta ki-a gub-ba-ni hu-mu-da-an-til$_3$-en
še-er-kan$_2$-na dug$_4$ u$_3$ dug$_3$ ku-ku-da hu-mu-un-de$_3$-nu$_2$-en
ĝa$_2$-e ^{ĝiš}nu$_2$ girin ^{d}inana-ka u$_2$ za-gin$_3$ barag-ga-a-ba
eĝer-bi-še$_3$ ug-am$_3$ saĝ-bi-še$_3$ piriĝ-am$_3$
ug-e piriĝ im-sar-re
piriĝ-e ug [im]-sar-ra
ug-e piriĝ im-[sar]-re-da-bi
piriĝ-e ug im-[sar]-re-da-bi
ud nu-um-zal ĝi$_6$-[u$_3$-na] nu-ru-gu$_2$
ĝa$_2$-e dinana-da kaškal danna [x]-am$_3$ šu hu-mu-un-da-[niĝin]
…
e-ne nu-tuku-da-am$_3$ kur-gi$_4$^{mušen} še ba-ra-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-gu$_7$-e
ĝa$_2$-e kur-gi$_4$^{mušen} nunuz-bi ĝir$_3$-lam-ma amar-bi ĜAR la$_2$-e
di$_4$-di$_4$-bi utul$_2$-mu-še$_3$ gal-gal šen mah-mu-še$_3$
kur-gi$_4$^{mušen} ki-a ba-ra-ab-tak$_4$-a-bi
ensi$_2$ ki-en-gi-ra gu$_2$ mu-un-ĝar-re-eš-a mu-da-gu$_7$-e-ne

'He may live with Inana in the Ezagina of Aratta,
'But I live with her when she descends from heaven to earth!
'He may lie with her in sweet slumber on a bejewelled couch,
'But I lie in Inana's flowery bed strewn with glistening verdure.
'At its back there is an ug-lion, at its front, there is a piriĝ-lion;
'The ug-lion chases the piriĝ-lion;
'The piriĝ-lion chases the ug-lion.
'The ug-lion is forever chasing the piriĝ-lion,
'And the piriĝ-lion is forever chasing the ug-lion;
'And so day does not dawn, night does not pass.
…
'He who has nothing cannot fatten geese with barley,
'But I can surely fatten geese with barley!
'And I can also collect the eggs and gosling of the geese in a basket—
'The small ones for my pot, the large ones for my kettle—
'And of whatever is left of the geese,
'The rulers of Sumer who have submitted to me shall partake with me!'

This is truly worthy of the best examples of the disputation genre. Enmerkar picks apart Ensuhgirana's arrogant challenge,[51] and concentrates on two points: the bed and the feeding of geese. As to the bed, Enmerkar repeats Ensuhgirana's description as 'a flowery bed',[52] but even expands the term by adding 'strewn with glistening verdure'—which may well be understood as a hardly impenetrable allusion to Inana's sexual parts. Then he seems to describe the bed as an object, adorned with a frieze depicting two lions—or perhaps a lion and a lioness—continually chasing each other. This continual chase is clarified by the intervening lines 89–107, which state that the night of love-making never ends, from which notion we may also conclude that, in a way,

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[51] The people of Aratta accuse their ruler of using 'big words' (niĝ$_2$ gal-gal) in l. 130.
[52] ^{ĝiš}nu$_2$ girin in l. 29 = 60.

the ug and the piriĝ lion are none other than Enmerkar and Inana. The second part of Ensuhgirana's speech that Enmerkar answers at any length is the affair of the geese. It now seems obvious that the point is that Enmerkar, or Sumer, is so rich in grain that it can afford to force-feed geese.[53] This is important in a double sense: it is the first clear indication of the link presented by the story itself between the safeguarding of food and Inana's sexual favours,[54] which is, after all, what the whole poem is about. But secondly, grain is also the first important item in the series of challenges in *ELA*, and the text notes that at that time there was a famine in Aratta.

TEXTURE

The last, finishing layer of the whole structure may be said to consist of its *texture*. I will confine myself to a single (well, a double) example: the opening lines of *EE*.

*Invocation (*EE *1–13)*
sig$_4$ muš$_3$ za-gin$_3$-ᵊtaᵊ ed$_2$-a
kul-aba$_4$^{ki} iri^{ki} an ki-da mu$_2$-a
unug^{ki}-ga mu-bi ^{d}tir-an-na-gin$_7$
an-ne$_2$ us$_2$-sa-bi si-muš$_3$ gun$_3$-a
an-na gub-ba-bi ud-sakar gibil na-nam
me gal-[gal] nam-nun-na du$_3$-a
kur sikil-la ud dug$_3$-ga ki ĝar-ra
iti$_6$-gin$_7$ kalam-ma ed$_2$-a
ud zalag-gin$_7$ kalam-ma si sa$_2$
ab$_2$-ur$_3$ ab$_2$-šar$_x$(NE)-gin$_7$ he-nun-ta ed$_2$-a
unug^{ki}-ga ka-tar-ra-bi kur-ra ba-teĝ$_3$
me-lam$_2$-bi kug-me-a zid-da-am$_3$
aratta^{ki}-a tug$_2$-gin$_7$ ba-e-dul gada-gin$_7$ ba-e-bur

The brickwork rising up from the shimmering plain,
Kulab, the city reaching from heaven to earth,
Unug, whose fame is like that of the rainbow—
It reaches unto the sky with a dazzling sheen;
It verily stands against the sky like the new moon.
Built in a princely fashion, gifted with all the Great Powers,
Founded on the Pristine Mountain on a blissful day,
Rising over the Land as the light of the moon,
Radiating over the Land as bright sunshine,
Appearing in opulence as a cow with calf, a *pregnant* cow,
Unug's glory reaches unto the highlands,
And (with) its awesome sheen, which truly is (like that of) refined silver
You cover Aratta like a cloth, spread over it like linen.

*Evocation (*EE *14–21)*
ud-ba ud en-na-am$_3$ ĝi$_6$ barag-ga-am$_3$ ^{d}utu lugal-am$_3$
sukkal en aratta^{ki}-ka sukkal an-sig$_7$-ga-ri-a mu-ni he$_2$-en-na-nam
sukkal en-me-er-kar$_2$ en kul-aba$_4$^{ki}-ke$_4$ nam-en-na-tum$_2$-ma mu-ni
en ri$_2$ e-ne nun ri$_2$ e-ne
en ĝi$_6$-ri$_2$ e-ne nun ĝi$_6$-ri$_2$ e-ne
en ĝi$_6$-ĝi$_6$-ri$_2$ e-ne nun ĝi$_6$-ĝi$_6$-ri$_2$ e-ne

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[53] In Vanstiphout 2003 this important point had escaped me. I owe the suggestion—with which I totally agree—to B.R. Foster.

[54] Note that the sorcerer's action—an *envoûtement*—is totally sterile, and brings life to standstill. The subsequent sorcery match, on the other hand, uses agargara—fish spawn, but the term literally means 'disseminated semen'—as magic material. And ultimately the sorcerer has to lose, or spend, all his vital force.

lu₂ diĝir-še₃ tu-ud e-ne
lu₂ diĝir-še₃ pa ed₂ e-ne

In those times, when Day was Lord, Night was prince, and the Sun was king,
The chancellor of the Lord of Aratta was chancellor Ansigaria by name,
And Namenatuma was the name of the chancellor of Enmerkar, Lord of Kulab.
Now that was a Lord! That was a prince!
He was a Lord, in those nights; he was a prince, in those nights;
He was a Lord in those times; he was a prince in those times!
He was a man born to be God,
And he turned out as a God!

Thus opens the poem of *Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana*. These 21 lines, obviously divided in two groups on the basis of form and style, might therefore be expected to have an introductory function of sorts to the story as such. But this is only true in a most tangential way. I prefer to regard the passages as an invocation[55] (lines 1–13) and an evocation (lines 14–21).

The *invocation* part contains no time markers,[56] and the substance of the subsequent story is only touched upon very lightly and blandly. The invocation is to Unug; Aratta is only mentioned in the very last line. One might interpret these lines as a setting for the following story, but the text is clearly a hymn to Unug. As is usual—and rightly so—in 'true' hymns as against royal odes,[57] the topics treated are the atemporal or even eternal properties of the venerated object.[58] In the first instance, comprising lines 1–5, the 'natural' features of Unug are presented: it rises up from the plain, and stands dazzlingly out against the skies. Lines 6-10 deal with more immaterial or implied virtues: Unug's possession of the Great Powers and its character as a Pristine Mountain, culminating in its ability and destiny to bring opulence to the Land. Finally, Unug's glory reaches everywhere, and 'covers' even Aratta (ll. 11–13). Formally, the passage is basically a sequence of lines corresponding with complete 'sentences'. This is most graphically shown by the participial verb forms all ending in /–a/ (8 out of 13 lines). This series is interrupted twice by a comparative construction (lines 3 and 5),[59] of which line 5 can be regarded as a phonic variation on the end-rhyme in /–a/. The final three lines offer the first finite verbs (ba-teĝ₃ in line 11; the traditional couple ba-e-dul / ba-e-bur in line 13). The intervening line 12 is a reinforced image: 'it is truly (like that) of refined silver', used as an embedded phrase, and using a construction (-am₃) akin to the na-nam of line 5. Finally, lines 12–13 are the only instance where a sentence, containing an embedded sentence, transgresses the line boundary, resulting in a kind of *schwerer Schluss*.

The whole section is dominated by a single though complex image: that of brilliance in its original sense. It starts with the rainbow in line 3, and is kept up in lines 4, 5, 8, 9, and 12. The simile of the pregnant cow in line 10 may be thought to break this uniform metaphorical colouring of the text; but even here two kinds of congruity with the rest of the passage can be detected. First, the trigger of the comparison may well have been a reference to the sleek and gleaming sides of a

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[55] The term 'invocation' may suggest a second-person mode. This is often the case, as in the famous *Hymn to Nippur* (Tinney 1996: 71–4; Ludwig 1990: 93–160). The anaphora (-bi) in ll. 3, 4, 5, 11 and 12, and the finite verbs in ll. 11 and 13 make certain that such is not the case here. The third-person mode for invocations is not unknown.

[56] Thus this passage can hardly serve as the preparation of a *story*.

[57] There is indeed a real and important difference between hymns and royal odes. A hymn describes and venerates the immovable and timeless properties of a divinity, a temple or a city; a royal ode is a checklist of a ruler's track record set off against (some of) the eternal values expressed in hymns, and his more mundane obligations.

[58] Line 13, mentioning Unug's preponderance over Aratta, although blandly presented in a very commonplace way, is a kind sleight-of-hand in this context: Unug's overlordship is not only legitimate; it is for all time. It follows that the present story is only an illustration of this eternal truth.

[59] Line 3: construction with the -gin₇ suffix; line 5: construction with na-nam 'is it not?'.

healthy cow standing for opulence. Second, a more general reference is quite probable: that to the 'herd of Nanna', consisting, as we know, of the stars: moonlight has already been referred to in lines 5 and 8. Also, and perhaps more importantly, the commonplace[60] simile of cattle for welfare is used in a pregnant sense here: the reference to the bewitching of Sumer can hardly be fortuitous.

The *evocation* passage introduces the reader to a certain period in time, and to the protagonist, Enmerkar. These notions are presented in a highly ornate style, and in a substantially incremental fashion. The passage consists of two very different units: a pair of two longish sentences, the first of which contains an embedded sentence, followed by a string of five—or eight!—short sentences.

The first unit (lines 14–16) indicates the location of the story in time, as marked by ud-ba 'in those days'. But the time indication is very vague, and does not enlighten the reader. At most it may be said to point to a mythical or perhaps heroic period: 'When Day was Lord' etc. Contrary to most of the mock cosmogonic introductions used with various kinds of composition,[61] there is no reference here to a period involved in creation of some kind or other.[62] Perhaps the embedded sentence in line 14 means nothing more than 'In the grand old days', but some of the terms used reoccur in lines 17–19 (en; $\hat{g}i_6$). On the other hand, lines 15–16 give very precise, even virtually chronographic indications: the chancellor of Aratta at the time was Ansigaria, and his counterpart in Unug was named Namenatuma. Of course, these are spurious identifications, or mock precisions. In theory one would be able to look up the time of these happenings in a tablet containing the list of rulers and their chancellors. But to our knowledge—and without much doubt, also to the knowledge of the poet and his public—no such tablets exist. What is more, the chancellor of Aratta crops up again later in the story, albeit in a very artificial and somewhat unnecessary role, but the chancellor of Unug is not mentioned again. A much more important identification game is craftily hidden in these seemingly simple lines. Ansigaria is mentioned merely as the chancellor of the Lord of Aratta, whose name is only given later, in line 23; Namenatuma is explicitly said to be the chancellor of Enmerkar—and thus the main character is finally introduced.

It is this deferred introduction of Enmerkar that triggers the second part (lines 17–21): a highly ornate *laudatio* of the hero as Lord and Prince of yore, of those ancient nights, of those long gone times. The climax comes in lines 20–1: he was born to be a god, and he turned out to be a god. Formally the lavish use[63] of the term en 'Lord' highlights the substance of the contest. Both rulers have names beginning with en; the question is: which one is the true en? This is what the story is about. The format of lines 17–21 is highly traditional, as far as we can tell: the overdose of internal rhymes (ri$_2$ e-ne), incremental construction (en ri$_2$; en $\hat{g}i_6$ ri$_2$; en $\hat{g}i_6$-$\hat{g}i_6$ ri$_2$)[64] and almost complete parallelism is already found in some of the oldest compositions we know. Furthermore, the style and structure of these lines (17–19) have a nice parallel in one of the other members of the group of poems: The 'spell' of Nudimmud in *ELA* shows a passage constructed just like these lines. What is more, this passage of *ELA* is about the 'institution' of debates (adaman) between rulers. In our text line 22, which finally sets the story going—and contains the term en twice—presents the story as

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[60] I am convinced that, specifically when dealing with the 'High Literature' as preserved in the Academies, we should bear in mind Zumthor's dictum that a commonplace—*un lieu commun*—is 'un lieu pas comme un lieu quelconque'.

[61] Specifically most of the Debate Poems, and also such various pieces as *Enki and the world order*, *The marriage of Martu* (Klein 1996; 1997), *Enki and Ninhursaĝ* (Attinger 1984).

[62] Nor could there be: after all, the story deals with humans.

[63] Adding /en/ used simply as a syllable, and also e-ne with its phonic resemblance to en, the numbers are: l. 14: once; l. 15: twice; l. 16: 3 times; l. 17: 3 times; l. 18: 3 times; l. 19: 3 times; l. 20: once; l. 21: once. Note that the two first lines of the following Section B.1 also contain 4 instances of en, this time as the title and/or part of the name.

[64] For other instances of this technique see e.g., the 'spell of Nudimmud' (*ELA* 134–55) and the introductions to such diverse compositions as *The marriage of Martu* (Klein 1996; 1997) and *Enki and Ninhursaĝ* (Attinger 1984).

just such an adaman. The final distich, stylistically very close to lines 17–19, may allude to the remainder of the cycle. If ever a man[65] became god-like in his career—or, in other words, whose adventures consisted in becoming god-like[66]—the second hero of the cycle, Lugalbanda, Enmerkar's son, certainly did. The *EE* text seems to extend Lugalbanda's superhuman qualities to his predecessor Enmerkar.[67]

CONCLUSION

My aim with this exploration of some important features of a small group of Sumerian literary texts —which were, by the way, important in school curricula as shown by their place in 'reading lists' and by the relatively large number of manuscripts of all kinds, but mostly of more than acceptable quality—was twofold. First, I wanted to explore how far close reading and structural analysis of these very ancient texts as texts, with the same critical attitude as we use for much later literature, can shed light on the meaning, and perhaps even social-cultural functions they have or had. Second, I have endeavoured to analyse them in such a way that not only our understanding, but also our appreciation of this poetry, the oldest that we possess, might grow. This was also Jeremy's aim, and I can only hope that this contribution would not have disappointed him.

Finally, I do not expect, and certainly do not hope, that my readers, or I, will actually be able to decide whether T.S. Eliot was right when he predicted that our civilisation will go out with a whimper.[68] But I may have added some arguments for the opinion that, at least where literary civilisation is concerned, it started with a bang.

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[65] Insisted upon: the lines have lu$_2$ twice.

[66] In fact, the parallel is even closer: close reading of *LB* I and *LB* II reveals that the central development line of the plot of the twin stories consists precisely in Lugalbanda's manifestation as a supernatural, and thus god-like, figure, first and most important to himself, then to the extraterrestrial powers, and finally to his human companions. His is a story about pa ed$_2$ 'to become (splendidly) manifest'.

[67] At this juncture, *viz.* l. 21, there is room for uncertainty about the best division into sections or paragraphs. A good case can be made for including l. 22 with Section A. The arguments are: (a) l. 22 may well serve as a long and sarcastic closure line to Section A; (b) the name Ensuhgirana occurs twice in two lines. My choice for the other division is arbitrary. Anyway these observations and the way in which we carve up the ancient texts are not very important. Their authors and public in all probability regarded the texts as a whole, and so should we. On the other hand a detailed study of the different methods for linking episodes would probably be very rewarding and illuminating for our grasp of ancient literary competences and techniques.

[68] T.S. Eliot, 'The Hollow Men' (1925).

GUARDIANS OF TRADITION: EARLY DYNASTIC LEXICAL TEXTS IN OLD BABYLONIAN COPIES

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This article explores some of the implications of a relatively small but significant group of texts, the Old Babylonian copies of Early Dynastic (ED) lexical texts.[1] Many of the texts discussed below may now be found on the pages of the Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts (DCCLT),[2] a web project in many ways inspired by Jeremy Black's Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL). This is a modest tribute to the memory of a scholar and friend who changed the face of cuneiform research by his pioneering efforts on the web.

Much of the Early Dynastic lexical corpus originated in the late Uruk period around the time when writing was invented (approximately 3200 BCE). These lexical compositions were faithfully copied for about one and a half millennia—the latest exemplars may be dated around 1700. In the early Old Babylonian period, during the reign of the Isin dynasty (around 1900), a sweeping reform of scribal education created a lexical corpus that differed fundamentally from its earlier counterparts. In one sense, therefore, the ED lexical texts were an anomaly in the Old Babylonian context, because the lexical tradition had reached a watershed. In another sense, however, these relics of another era exemplify, more than any true Old Babylonian lexical composition could do, the nature of the cuneiform lexical corpus at the time as the guardian of ancient tradition.

A WATERSHED IN LEXICAL HISTORY

The history of the lexical tradition in Mesopotamia is divided into two halves by the early Old Babylonian period. The third-millennium lexical corpus is conservative, one-dimensional, and unstructured. The Old Babylonian corpus, by contrast, is flexible, two-dimensional, and has a curricular structure. The Old Babylonian word and sign lists eventually developed into the first-millennium lexical series that were transmitted all the way down to end of cuneiform civilization.

Conservative

The list of professions Lu A, the most frequently attested ED list in the Old Babylonian record, offers some of the strongest examples of the extreme conservatism of the early lexical tradition. One may compare the fragments N 5566 + (Old Babylonian Nippur), published here, with the text as preserved on the Fara tablet SF 33:

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[2] DCCLT (http://cdl.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt) cooperates closely with the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI: http://cdli.ucla.edu/) and the electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (ePSD http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/). Texts that are available in photograph and/or transliteration will be referred to by their six-digit P-number, assigned by the CDLI project. Such texts may be found by entering the P number in the DCCLT search box and clicking on the 'Select Texts' button.

N 5566 (+)[3]   *ED LuA*[4]   *Fara SF 33*[5]

N 7444 col. i
1′.   [gal-bad-la]gar   12   gal-BAD×DIŠ
2′.   [en]-ib   13   en-ib
3′.   [gal]-šita   14   gal-šita

N 5566+ col. i
1′.   [gal]-ga   20   gal-ga
2′.   […]-gara$_2$ 21   tug$_2$-gara$_2$
3′.   [šan]dana([GAL].NI)   22   šandana
4′.   [gal]-kisal   23   gal-kisal
5′.   [gal]-sila$_4$ 24   gal-sila$_4$
6′.   [ga]l-šab   25   gal-šab
7′.   [b]u-šab   26   bu-šab
8′.   gal-nisaĝ   27   gal-nisaĝ
9′.   [gal-šil]am(TU[R$_3$×SAL])[6]   28   gal-šilam$_x$(TUR$_3$)

N 7444 col. ii[7]
1′.   […]
2′.   gal-GA$_2$×SAL-me   42   saĝĝa-GA$_2$×SAL-me
3′.   saĝĝa-GA$_2$×˹UD˺-me   43   saĝĝa-GA$_2$×UD-me

N 5655 col. i′
3′.   […-sa]har   44   gal-sahar
4′.   […-t]ag   45   gal-tag
5′.   x

N 5566+ col. ii
1′.   x-saĝ   49   ub-saĝ
2′.   dub$_2$ 50   dub$_2$
3′.   bar-lagab-m[e]   51   bar-lagab-me
4′.   nun-m[e]-KA×GA[NA$_2$]   52   nun-me-KA×GANA$_2$*tenû*
5′.   GANA$_2$-[me]   53   kar$_2$(ŠE$_3$rotated)-me
6′.   GA$_2$×GAR$^?$-[…]   54   GA$_2$×GAR-me-nun-me
7′.   GAR.[IB]   55[8]   arkab-ib
8′.   LAG[AR.GAR]   56   arkab-ĝar

N 5655 col. ii′
1′.   ˹mar˺-[apin]   68   mar-apin
2′.   bu-[nun]   69   bu-nun
3′.   saĝĝa-[bu-nun]   70   bu-nun-saĝĝa
4′.   saĝĝa-[nun]   71   nun-saĝ[ĝa]
5′.   gal-[tuku]   72   gal-tuku
6′.   gal-[ezen]   73   gal-ezen
7′.   traces

[3] N 5566 + N 5583 + N 5651 + N 7441 + N 7454 (+) N 5655 (+) N 7444 [P218304].

[4] In the majority of cases the reading of entries in ED Lu A remains uncertain so that almost everything should be presented in upper case. I have avoided excessive use of upper case for aesthetic reasons but want to emphasize that I do not claim my readings to be correct. The most recent edition is by Arcari (1982).

[5] The tablet was collated from a photograph [P010613].

[6] The inscribed SAL is broken away in N 5566+, but is present in other Old Babylonian copies (BM 30041, unpublished, courtesy Jon Taylor; and CBS 6142+ [P218303], see Veldhuis 2002: 73 with n. 43).

[7] The end of the ME in 2′–3′ is preserved in N 5655 col. i′.

[8] For lines 55–6 see Krebernik 1998: 279, with further literature.
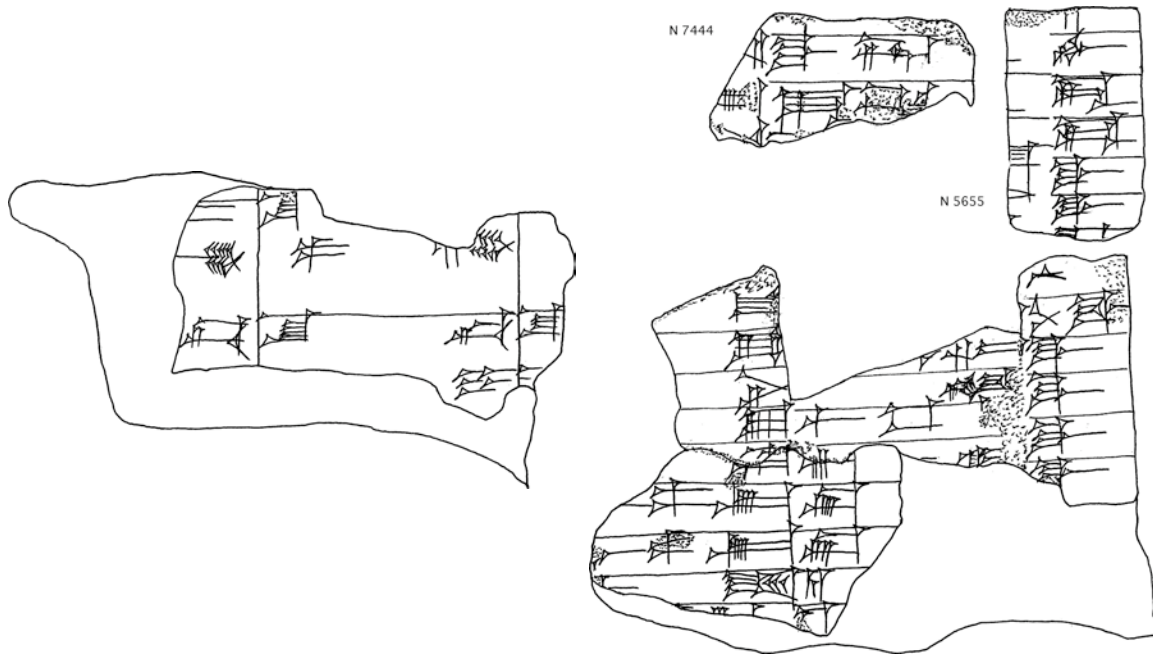
Figures 1 and 2: N 5566+ obverse and reverse

N 5566+ col. iii
1´.	traces		
2´.	PAP.SIG$_7$.[NUN.ME]	76	SIG$_7$.PAP.NUN.ME
3´.	gal-[nar]	77	gal-nar
4´.	gal-[balaĝ]	78	gal-balaĝ
5´.	gal-[…]	79	gal-KA×ŠU*tenû*
6´.	gal-[zag]	80	gal-zag

Given the fragmentary state of N 5566+ (Figs. 1 and 2), the very fact that almost all traces may be restored and read testifies to the conservative nature of the text. Several interesting observations may be made about the orthography of the Old Babylonian copies of Lu A. Line 80, the last entry preserved in N 5566+, is known from a glossed version of the same text. That Old Babylonian exemplar represents lines 80–3, as follows:

Entry[9]	*Gloss*
[GAL.ZAG]	en-ku$_3$ gal
[NISAG.ZAG]	en-ku$_3$ nisaĝ-ĝa$_2$
[PA.DAG.ZAG]	en-ku$_3$ da kalam-ma

The grapheme ZAG represents the word enkud 'tax collector', otherwise spelled ZAG.KU$_6$. The glosses indicate that GAL.ZAG represents enkud gal 'chief tax collector', with the adjective following the main word, as is the rule in Sumerian. Not only do all exemplars of the list preserve the writing ZAG rather than ZAG.KU$_6$, they also preserve the archaic inverted sign order.[10]

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[9] The actual entries are broken, but may be reconstructed from parallels. The text is CBS 13493 = SLT 24, edited by Green 1984a. She treats the text as an Ur III exemplar, but the sign forms are consistent with an Old Babylonian dating.

[10] Among the Old Babylonian sources line 80 is fully preserved in CBS 7845 = SLT 113; traces in BM 58680 confirm the reading as well as the gloss (see Taylor 2008: 208).

Table 1: The changing orthography of the grapheme KAR$_2$

kar$_2$	Archaic, Fara, AbS	ED IIIb	Sargonic	Gudea	Ur III/OB
ŠE$_3$	x	royal inscriptions			
ŠE$_3$tenû	x	x	~	~	~
GANA$_2$			x		in kar$_2$-har^{ki}
GANA$_2$tenû	~	~	ligatures/compounds	x	x

~   = sign does not exist in this period

blank   = sign exists, but is not used for the value kar$_2$ in this period

There are, to be sure, variations between the Old Babylonian and earlier sources of ED Lu A, inevitably so because as the writing system developed, signs merged, split, or were altogether discarded, and scribes used different strategies to handle such situations. The sign combination GAL.BAD×DIŠ (line 12) appears in N 5566+ as [GAL.BAD].LAGAR.[11] In this particular case the significance of the variant is unclear, because the meaning and reading of BAD×DIŠ (a sign otherwise unattested) is unknown. Better understood are the variants in line 53:

Fara, Ebla, Abu Salabikh	ŠE$_3$tenû-me
Ur III[12]	kar$_2$(GANA$_2$tenû)-me
Old Babylonian	GANA$_2$-me

Each of these sources represents kar$_2$-me. In the early third millennium there was no separate sign KAR$_2$; the value was represented by the sign ŠE$_3$, as in the well-known expression aga$_3$-kar$_2$(ŠE$_3$)—sig$_{10}$ (to defeat), attested several times in Pre-Sargonic royal inscriptions from Lagaš.[13] In some cases ŠE$_3$ was turned 90º (ŠE$_3$tenû) to distinguish it from other values of the same sign, such as še$_3$, huĝ, and zid$_2$.[14] This rotated ŠE$_3$ sign was re-interpreted as a GANA$_2$ in the Sargonic period, so that the standard writing for ^{ĝiš}šu-kar$_2$ 'tool' (written ^{ĝiš}šu-ŠE$_3$tenû in pre-Sargonic Lagaš) became ^{ĝiš}šu-kar$_2$(GANA$_2$).[15] In the Gudea period and in Ur III the value kar$_2$ was distinguished from GANA$_2$, again by rotation (GANA$_2$tenû = kar$_2$);[16] this became the standard grapheme for KAR$_2$, only to coincide again with GANA$_2$ in Assyrian orthography (Table 1). In writing GANA$_2$-me for kar$_2$-me the Old Babylonian copy thus preserves a long-obsolete use of the sign GANA$_2$.[17]

Other variants in ED Lu A are found in the order of the signs, such as line 115 gal-gana$_2$-saĝĝa (Abu Salabikh, Fara, Ebla) versus gal-saĝĝa-gana$_2$ (Tell Brak; Ur III and Old Babylonian sources).[18] More surprising than such minor variants, however, is the incredibly obstinate conservatism that kept many aspects of ancient orthography intact, even where this did not correspond to contemporary practice.

In terms of conservatism, ED Lu A is an extreme case. Other members of the ED lexical corpus are a little more flexible and adapt more easily to the (orthographic) standards of the time. One

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[11] Other OB sources: GAL.LAGAR.BAD in Ni 1600 (Veldhuis and Hilprecht 2003–4: 46); GAL.BAD.⌜LAGAR⌝ in CBS 6142 (SLT 112) + [P218303].

[12] YOS 1 12.

[13] See Klein 1991: 310; and the collection of references and writings from various periods in PSD A/3 49–50.

[14] In Fara the value zid$_2$ was usually represented by a slightly slanted form of ŠE$_3$, but this slanting was not obligatory (Krebernik 1998: 278 with further literature). ŠE$_3$-slanted should not be confused with ŠE$_3$tenû.

[15] See, for instance, VAS 14 162 rev. ii 1 (pre-Sargonic Lagaš) and MAD 4 41 (Sargonic).

[16] The GANA$_2$tenû version of KAR$_2$ was used earlier only in ligatures and compound signs, for instance in IGI+KAR$_2$ (RTC 278 and 286, Sargonic) GIR$_{16}$ (KIŠ×GANA$_2$tenû; see Mittermayer 2005: 35–40), and PU$_3$ (KA×GANA$_2$tenû).

[17] The use of GANA$_2$ for kar$_2$ survived into the Ur III period exclusively in the place name kara$_2$-har^{ki} (for the writing and reading of this place name see Gelb 1944: 57 with Hilgert 1998: 71–2, text 17). This peculiar writing of the place name continued into the Isin period (BIN 9 424 6 and BIN 10 149 8).

[18] Michalowski 2003b.

reason may be that ED Lu A lists words for professions and titles that had their context in late fourth-millennium Uruk society. Early in the third millennium many of these titles were no longer in use and therefore did not evolve.

An example of a more flexible list is Geography X,[19] which is attested in a few duplicates from Abu Salabikh, one from Fara and one from Old Babylonian Nippur (Figs. 3 and 4).[20] Several archaic fragments are related to this list but do not actually duplicate it.[21] Much is very unclear about this composition, in particular with respect to the many variants in the Old Babylonian duplicate. The following is only a taste of what is in store for a more exhaustive treatment of this very interesting composition.

N 5174 rev. i		*AbS/Fara*
1	traces	
2	a-na-[	NIM.DU$^?$
3	MES-bi-[	E$_2$-DUN
4	sa(over erasure)-za-[…]	si-za-la$_2$
5	a-na-mu-na	naĝ-mun[22]
6	ušuš(U$_2$.GA$_2$×NUN)	šuš$_x$(ŠE+NAM$_2$)[23]
7	ušuš(U$_2$.GA$_2$×NUN)-NUN	šuš$_x$(ŠE+NAM$_2$)-NUN[24]
8	ga-raš	garaš$_x$(KASKAL)
9	ki-ga-raš	ki-garaš$_x$(KASKAL)
10	ki-LAGAR	ki-[…]
11	ki-ŠITA$_3$?	ki-⌈x⌉
12	am-[…]	a$_2$-NE[25]

The text as a whole seems to deal primarily with geographical names and terms, listing types of fields in the section under discussion. The word ušuš (*miṭru*) is known only from lexical lists[26] and denotes a type of field with a characteristic kind of irrigation canal. The word ga-raš 'leek' (or field where leeks are grown?) is followed by the 'place of leek' (see Izi C ii 31´), which may well be a storage place. The entry ki-LAGAR is presumably for ki-su$_7$(LAGAR×ŠE) 'threshing floor'. The orthography in the Old Babylonian text and in the ED copies differs often rather drastically, yet the Old Babylonian text can be demonstrated to follow its predecessor line by line.

In conclusion, while not all ED lexical texts adhere to the same rigid mode of standardization as ED Lu A, the examples above illustrate the basic rule that such compositions were transmitted *verbatim*. One may argue that the whole point of transmitting these lists was to preserve an ancient tradition, so that updating them by omitting the useless entries or adding new words would effectively defeat their very purpose.

Regular Old Babylonian lists, by contrast, were in a constant state of flux. Standard texts existed locally, so that there are standard lexical texts from Nippur, Sippar and other places. These local versions differed considerably from each other. Whether local traditions developed and changed over time is a question that for the moment cannot be answered. The great mass of lexical texts from Nippur cannot be differentiated chronologically; for other sites we do not have sufficient

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[19] This label was introduced by Englund and Nissen in ATU 3 150. While the later exemplars do not duplicate the archaic sources, there is enough overlap to warrant using the same name in order to emphasize the continuity of the tradition.

[20] The sources are OIP 99 39–43, 405, 416 (Abu Salabikh); OSP 1 9 (Fara); N 5174 (OB Nippur).

[21] The archaic sources are published in ATU 3 pls. 78–9, with editions on pp. 160–2.

[22] Variants EME-mun and KA-mun.

[23] For the reading šuš$_x$ see Krebernik 1998: 276 with further literature. The present parallel supplies yet another confirmation of this reading.

[24] This entry is also attested in the archaic source MSVO 1 243 obv. ii 3 (ATU 3 162) [P000714].

[25] The Fara text has ⌈GI x⌉-NE; see Alster (1991–2: 23) for the reading a$_x$ = GI.

[26] MSL 14 114 22 (Old Babylonian version of Ea); Ea IV 247 (MSL 14 365); Diri 4 15 (MSL 15 150).

evidence to even start thinking about the question. Since the matter is so well known, a brief example demonstrating local differences may suffice here: the section ^{dug}bur-zi 'cult vessel' in versions of Old Babylonian Ur$_5$-ra from Nippur, Isin, and, perhaps, Sippar. The Nippur and Isin texts are approximately contemporary (second half of the eighteenth century), the Sippar text may be a little later.
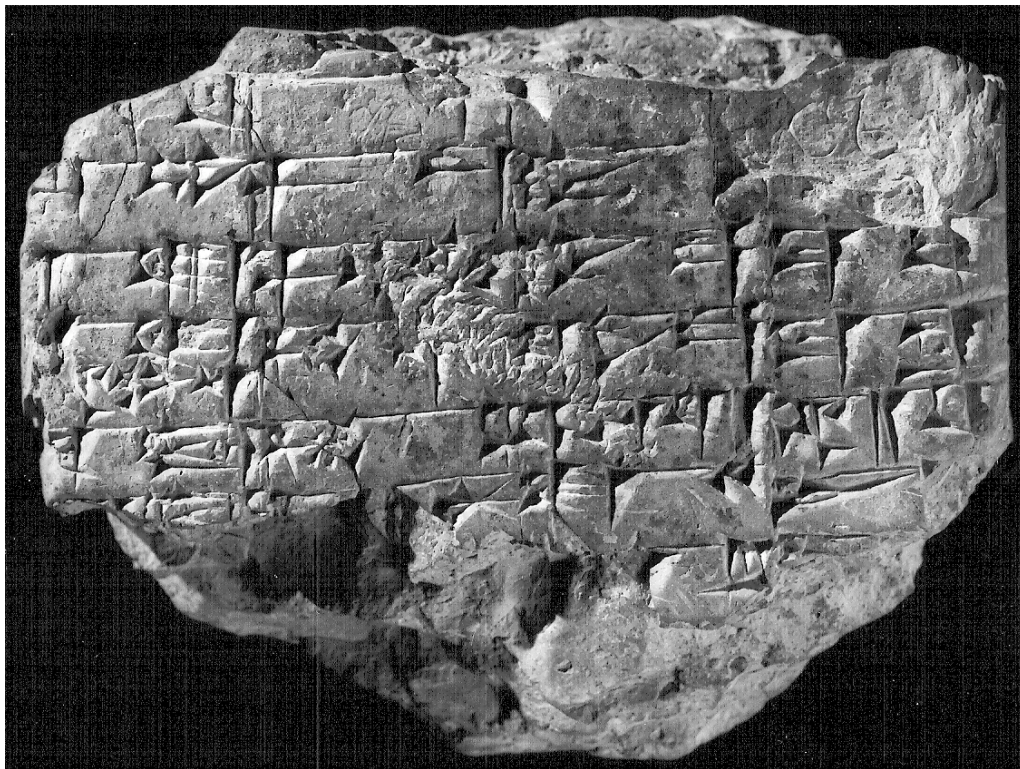

Figure 3: N 5174 obverse

Nippur 293–9 [27]
[^{dug}]bur-zi
[^{dug}]bur-zi gal
[^{dug}]bur-zi tur
^{dug}bur-zi sila$_3$ ban$_3$-da
^{dug}bur-zi mud
^{dug}bur-zi utu$_2$
^{dug}bur-zi niĝ$_2$-na
^{dug}bur-zi ninda i$_3$ de$_2$-a

Isin iii 9–15′ [28]
[^{dug}bur-zi]
[^{dug}bur-zi gal]
^{dug}bur-zi tur
^{dug}bur-zi sakar
^{dug}bur-zi ninda i$_3$ de$_2$-a$^!$(GAR)
^{dug}bur-zi niĝ$_2$-na
^{dug}bur-zi ninda utu$_2$

Sippar? rii 5–16′ [29]
^{dug}bur-zi
^{dug}bur-zi gal
^{dug}bur-zi tur
^{dug}bur-zi sila$_3$ ban$_3$$^!$(IG)-da$^?$
^{dug}bur-zi sila$_3$ gaz-zu
^{dug}bur-zi niĝ$_2$-na
^{dug}bur-zi [m]ud
^{dug}bur-zi [...]-ᶜaᶜ
^{dug}bur-zi ᶜlu$_2$-ur$_3$ᶜ-ra
^{dug}bur-zi gun$_3$-a
^{dug}bur-zi ᶜninda-i$_3$-de$_2$ᶜ-[a]
^{dug}bur-zi s[al-l]a

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[27] See the edition of OB Nippur Ura 2 in DCCLT.

[28] IB 1622a + 1546 [P332826], courtesy Claus Wilcke; see Sallaberger 1996: 44–5.

[29] CBS 1864 [P247858]. The text belongs to the Khabaza collection (University of Pennsylvania Museum), which was acquired on the antiquities market. Most of these tablets come from Sippar (see BE 6/1: pp. 3–5 and Van Lerberghe 1986). A further unprovenanced parallel is RT 56 [P247855] obv. iv 20–8.
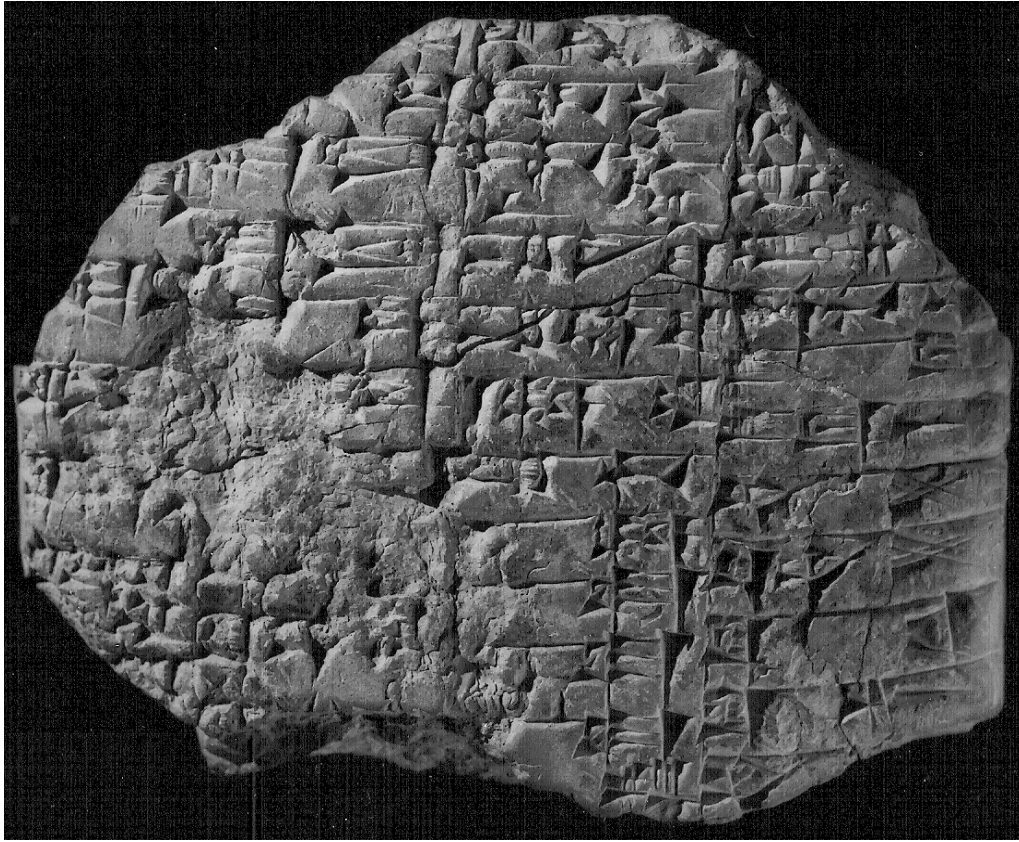
Figure 4: N 5174 reverse

The passage clearly demonstrates the type of variance that may be expected between Old Babylonian versions of the same lexical composition. Some lines broken in the Isin source may be reconstructed because we expect the text to parallel the two other versions here and because antonyms (gal – tur) are widely employed throughout Ur$_5$-ra. The traditions from Isin and Nippur are close, but not identical. The 'Sippar' source has a longer list of bur-zi vessels; still it may be understood as an elaboration of the Nippur/Isin text, not as an entirely independent treatment. The Nippur text as presented here is based on more than one exemplar; interestingly, the duplicates have variants among themselves with the line ^{dug}bur-zi utu$_2$ appearing in only one source.[30] Robson (2001) has demonstrated that within the city of Nippur there were small but appreciable differences between schools or teachers.

The Old Babylonian lists were school texts designed to teach the Sumerian language and writing system and did not carry the weight of a centuries-long tradition. They were adapted and updated as needed in order to represent the Sumerian vocabulary and writing system as completely as possible.

Syllable Alphabet A (or SA A)[31] is the exception that proves the rule. SA A is a very elementary exercise designed to teach the proper execution of a number of frequent signs. It is the only such Old Babylonian exercise that was thoroughly standardized all over Babylonia and it is also the only exercise that is ever attested in an Ur III source. This Ur III exemplar was published as MVN 6 4 (ITT IV 7004); unfortunately, the tablet is known in transliteration only:

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[30] UM 29-16-537 + UM 29-16-538 [P228763].
[31] See Tanret 2002: 31–50 with earlier literature.

Obverse		*Syllable Alphabet A*	
1′	traces		
2′	[…] sukkal	72	nin-sukkal
3′	[…] x an-ka	73	nin-sukkal-an-ka
4′	x […]-ta	74	pu_2-ta
5′	[…]-x-ta	75	sila-ta
6′	⌜kisal⌝-ta	76	e_2-ta

Reverse			
1	[kis]al?-gud	77	e_2-gud
2	an-dul_3	78	an-dul_3
3	an-an-dul_3	79	an-dul_3-dul_3
4	an-ĝa_2	80	an-ĝa_2
5	^{d}lama	81	^{d}lama
6	tam-ma	82	tam-ma
7	tam-tam-ma	83	tam-tam-ma

The variants in obverse 6′ and reverse 1 (kisal instead of e_2) may well be more apparent than real—in both lines KISAL is damaged and upon collation may turn out to be E_2. The only variant remaining, then, is in reverse line 3 (an-an-dul_3 vs. an-dul_3-dul_3), a variant that is attested in other sources of SA A as well.

There would not be much reason to go into the details of an intrinsically rather uninteresting exercise if this were not such a rare occurrence. The exceptional rigidity of SA A (exceptional, that is, in the Old Babylonian context) may well be caused by its history and by its origin at a time when lexical lists were supposed to be standardized.

One dimensional vs. two-dimensional
The Early Dynastic lexical tradition preserves lists of words in Sumerian with no further explanation. In origin, in the archaic period, lists were created in order to standardize and transmit the inventory of symbols that were necessary—or might ever be necessary—for recording administrative transactions. The semantic range of the words and terms in this earliest lexical corpus approximately coincides with the kinds of things recorded in the contemporary accounts: commodities (wood, metals, fish, birds, vessels and their contents, clothing, food), professional titles, numbers, etc. The archaic lexical lists are inventories of symbols and symbol combinations and are one-dimensional in nature (see Veldhuis 2006).

Throughout the third millennium one-dimensional lists remained the norm. The main set of exceptions to this rule is found in Ebla. The Ebla corpus includes a long bilingual lexical compilation (Ebla Vocabulary),[32] a sign list with glosses (Ebla Sign List)[33] and a number of traditional ED lists in syllabic orthography.[34] While these syllabic lists are strictly speaking one-dimensional, we may surmise that they were used alongside their orthographic counterparts (which are attested at Ebla as well) and thus attest to a tradition of explanation.

Since it is located on the outskirts of cuneiform civilization, the position of Ebla is both interesting and inconsequential. On the one hand, Ebla did not feel the heavy hand of a tradition that precluded significant changes to the lexical compositions. On the other hand, the innovations of the Ebla scribes found no following in the Mesopotamian heartland and their efforts left no trace in subsequent lexical history. In third-millennium Babylonia the lexical tradition continued on its well-trodden path of one-dimensional word lists.

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[32] Published by Pettinato in MEE 4.
[33] Archi 1987c. An exceptional case, not from Ebla, is the sign list with explanatory glosses from Pre-Sargonic Lagaš, BiMes 3 29 (Civil 1983a).
[34] Krecher 1983; Krispijn 1981–2; Civil 1982; 1984.

By contrast, most Old Babylonian lists are designed in two dimensions, providing an explanatory column for the words and signs listed. The clearest examples that come to mind are the sign lists Proto-Ea (simple signs) and Proto-Diri (complex signs).

UM 29-16-31 (Figs. 5 and 6) is a well-preserved school tablet from Old Babylonian Nippur with on the obverse an extract from Proto-Ea in a teacher's hand as a model text to be copied by a pupil:[35]

1.	¶	ir	NIMGIR
2.	¶	ti-in	NIMGIR
3.	¶	[mi]-ir	NIMGIR
4.	¶	ib$_2$	IB
5.	¶	da-la	IB
6.	¶	u$_4$-ra-aš	IB
7.	¶	un	UN
8.	¶	[k]a-[lam]	UN
9.	¶	ru-u$_3$	RU
10.	¶	šu-u[b]	RU
11.	¶	i-la-[a]r	RU
12.	¶	ĝeš-pa	RU
13.	¶	wi-i	PI
14.	¶	we-e	PI
15.	¶	wa-a	PI
16.	¶	ta-al	PI
17.	¶	ĝeš-tu-nu	PI
18.	¶	gu-um	KUM
19.	¶	na-ĝa$_2$	KUM
20.	¶	ga-az	GAZ
21.	¶	in-da	NINDA$_2$
22.	¶	aĝ$_2$	AĜ$_2$

Lines 4–6 explain the three main uses of the sign IB: as the syllable -ib- (primarily used in verbal morphology), in the word ^{tug2}dara$_2$(IB) 'belt',[36] and in the name of the goddess of the earth, ^{d}uraš(IB). The list does not explain the meaning and proper uses of each of these values; such knowledge may have belonged to the oral commentary by the teacher or may have been known already, at least in part, by the pupil who, by this stage, had worked through long lists of Sumerian names and Sumerian vocabulary.

Numerous exemplars of Proto-Ea do not even include the glosses. The exercises of the Old Babylonian scribal school were primarily writing exercises, designed to drill the correct writing of Sumerian signs and words. The glosses, therefore, might as well be memorized rather than copied —copying them did not add to the student's skill in writing proper Sumerian.

A similar explanation may be advanced for the fact that virtually all Old Babylonian copies of the thematic list Ur$_5$-ra are in Sumerian only. There is plenty of evidence that these lists were bilingual (Sumerian–Akkadian) in design—a few exemplars in fact preserve an Akkadian column or some Akkadian glosses.[37] The existence of such a non-written column of Akkadian translations may be argued, among other things, from the rather frequent appearance of duplicate entries, such as:[38]

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[35] The tablet is published as P228700. The extract corresponds to Proto-Ea 589–610 (MSL 14, 55). UM 29-16-31 is source Iq in MSL 14. The reverse has an extract from the list of domestic and wild animals.

[36] The common gloss is da-ra; this is the only exemplar that has the variant with /l/.

[37] Akkadian glosses are attested in the Nippur tablet CBS 2178+ [P227892], a large tablet which contains the full list of domestic animals, wild animals and meat cuts. The unprovenanced exemplar BM 85983 [P247857] is largely bilingual, with terms for leather objects, metals and metal objects.
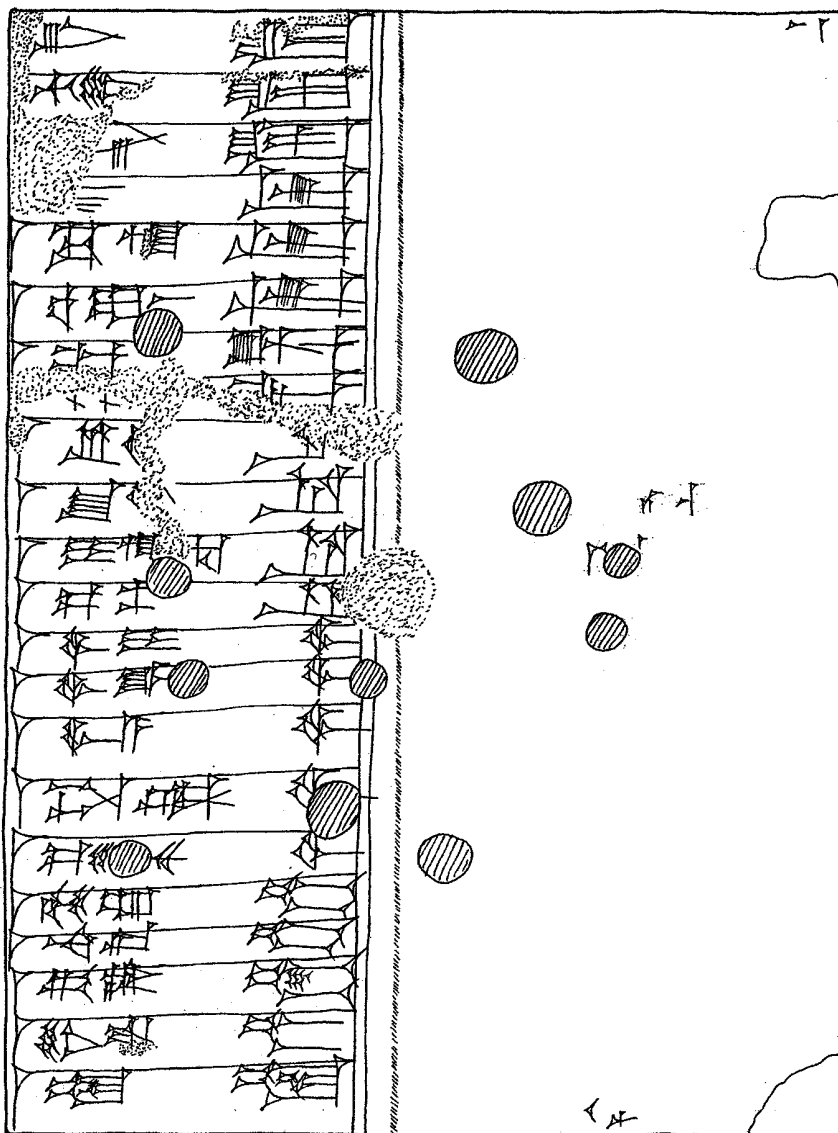
[38] See Veldhuis 2004: 88 for this passage.

Figure 5: UM 29-16-31 obverse

sur$_2$-du$_3^{mušen}$	falcon
sur$_2$-du$_3^{mušen}$	falcon

The Sumerian word has two known translations in Akkadian (*surdû* and *kassūsu*), which is why all available Old Babylonian and later sources of the bird list repeat the entry. While in modern editions lexical lists may look like reference works, in the Old Babylonian context they were exercises—writing exercises. The main reason for a schoolboy to copy Ur$_5$-ra was to learn how to write proper Sumerian. The Akkadian translations must have been memorized but there was little reason, within the context of this exercise, to write them down.

The only one-dimensional lists in the Old Babylonian curriculum are the very elementary exercises that teach the design and the most basic uses of an initial set of signs: Syllable Alphabet A and B, TU-TA-TI, and perhaps the name lists.
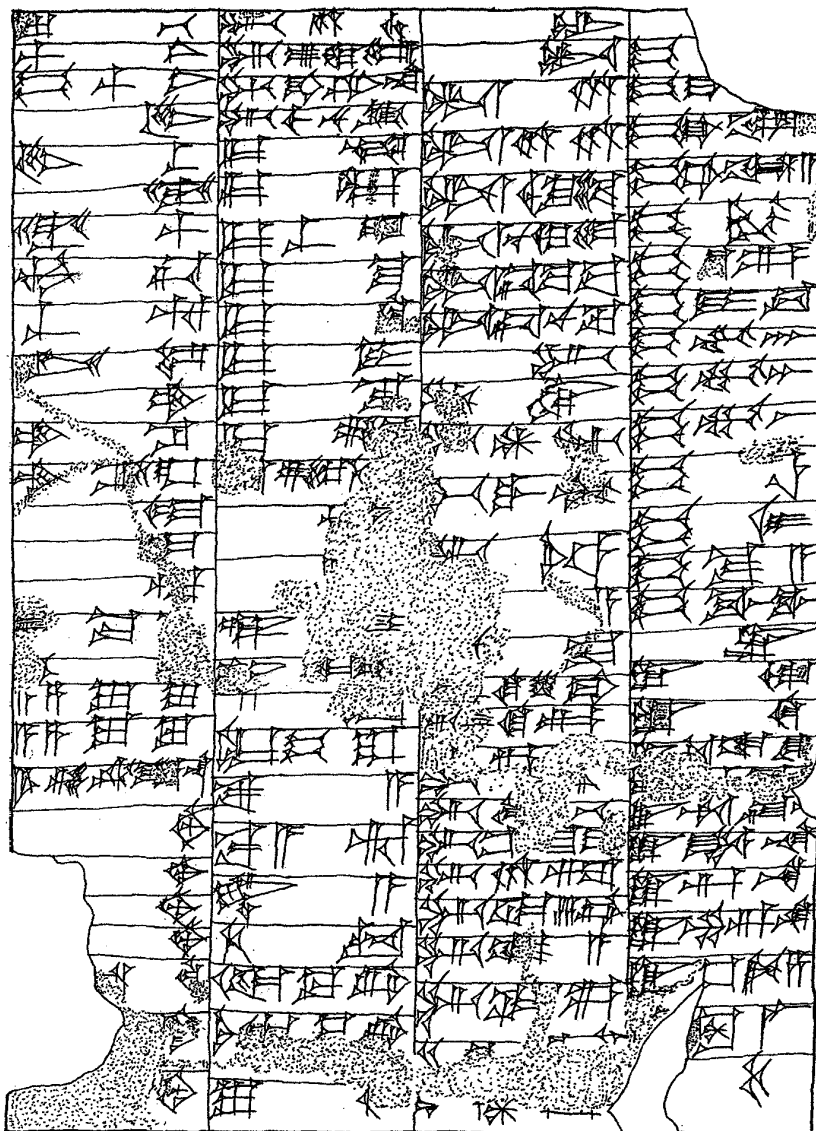
Figure 6: UM 29-16-31 reverse

There are no indications that in the Old Babylonian period the Early Dynastic lists were provided with translations. We do have, though, a number of such texts with glosses that explain aspects of the ancient writing system (see Taylor 2008). In this way the ED texts became two-dimensional, were provided with explanations, and were thus adapted to the Old Babylonian concept of a proper lexical list.

At this juncture of the argument one may recall the history of the tabular format in Mesopotamian accounting, recently described by Robson (2003; 2004a). Two-dimensional tables are exceedingly rare in administrative texts before the Old Babylonian period. While many types of Ur III records would be suitable for tabular formatting, the very few actual tables[39] from this period that have been identified so far mainly serve to emphasize that the concept was known but simply not used. The widespread introduction of tabular texts in the course of the Old Babylonian period more or less coincides with the introduction of two-dimensional lists in the lexical corpus. Robson has suggested that the paucity of tables in the Ur III record may be related to a relatively strong

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[39] AUCT 1 56; YOS 4 242; the dating of Ashmolean 1910.759 (AAICAB I/1 Plate 17) remains uncertain.

central bureaucracy that left little room for experiment to the individual scribe. The gradual appearance of tabular texts in the Old Babylonian record, rather erratic at first, points to individual initiative, rather than to a centralized reform (Robson 2004a). Weakening and fragmentation of the state may have left more wiggle room for the individual, opening opportunities for scribal innovation (see Robson 2003: 24). While the innovations in the lexical corpus and those in accounting may not be directly related, they may well share a common general historical background.

Curriculum
Probably the most important difference between the ED corpus and the Old Babylonian lists is the idea of a curriculum: a structured set of exercises which together aim at a particular educational purpose. The Early Dynastic lexical texts hardly scratch the surface of the complexities of contemporary writing. The Old Babylonian set, by contrast, is structured in such a way that the pupil is being introduced step by step into more and more complicated aspects of the writing system.

The traditional set of Early Dynastic lexical texts derives from the period of the invention of writing and at the time of its conception this set did, indeed, represent the essentials of what a scribe needed to know.[40] Over the centuries the writing system underwent important changes while the lexical corpus remained more or less the same and was thus rendered into a haphazard collection of abstruse lists.

The developments in the writing system were many, but by far the most fundamental was the move towards representing language early in the third millennium. Archaic administrative records primarily contain commodities, numbers, and names or titles. The placement of the entries on the tablet was used to indicate the (administrative) relations between them; in other words: syntax was primarily expressed by layout (Green 1981). This syntax was an administrative rather than a linguistic syntax capable of expressing relations between objects relevant to the bureaucracy of the time. While this system borrowed words, primarily nouns, from a contemporary language (presumably Sumerian; see Wilcke 2005) its relation to language did not go beyond that level; it had no use for verbal or nominal morphology and it had no means to express linguistic syntax—nor did it need to. The lexical corpus reflects the kinds of words that one may need in writing administrative records. Thus there are lists of foodstuffs, vessels, trees, metal products, animals, numbers, and professions, but the corpus does not cover wild animals or stars, because they are of no relevance to the administrative system of the time. Similarly, the archaic system had little or no use for verbs and so verbs are entirely absent from the lexical corpus.[41]

The move towards representing language in the first part of the third millennium meant that writing could now be used for entirely new purposes such as royal propaganda and letter writing. These changes implied that the system had to allow for a much wider vocabulary and had to accommodate for writing at least some rudimentary form of verbal and nominal morphology. Natural developments in the language itself contributed still another element of change. By this time the traditional lexical corpus was frozen and was no longer updated to reflect all these novelties. Therefore, the changes in the uses of writing, the writing system, and the language implied that early in the third millennium the lexical lists were already hopelessly outdated and inadequate from the point of view of scribal education.

Throughout the third millennium many new lists were developed that answered at least some of those needs. Among the texts from Fara and Abu Salabikh are two long lexical compilations that treat a broad variety of words (nouns) in a thematic organization; at least one of these is also present at Ebla.[42] These Practical Vocabularies are much broader in their scope than the standard ED lexical compositions, listing words for stones, metals, garments, wooden tools, weapons, wool,

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[40] See above, and in more detail Veldhuis 2006.
[41] For an overview of the archaic lexical and administrative corpus see Englund 1998.
[42] See Civil 1987b; 2003a: 51–2.

etc. and represent the current vocabulary of the time. They are poorly standardized and had a short lifespan. ED Lu E[43] was apparently created to replace ED Lu A with a modernized list of professions. The text is known from Abu Salabikh, Fara, Nuzi, Kiš, Urkeš, and Ebla and includes such commonly occurring words as dub-sar 'scribe', ensi₂ 'ruler', and muhaldim 'cook', not found in ED Lu A. The word enkud 'tax collector', written ZAG in ED Lu A, is found in its common third-millennium spelling ZAG.KU$_6$ in ED Lu E (see above). Other omissions from the lexical corpus were addressed by developing lists of gods,[44] geographical terms,[45] personal names,[46] wild animals,[47] and signs.[48]

Most of the new lists developed after the archaic period had a poor transmission history or no transmission at all; they never became part of the cultural canon. One of the more successful compositions, ED Lu E, had a longevity of about three centuries, from Abu Salabikh to the Sargonic period. While this modernized list of professions was apparently abandoned, the ancient version it was supposed to replace, ED Lu A, enjoyed another half-millennium of transmission. The very novelty of the lists developed in the Early Dynastic period weakened their chances of survival. While they were more relevant for contemporary writing than their archaic counterparts, they had less traditional weight and no value at all once their vocabulary started to fall out of use.

While this history of third-millennium lexical creations is necessarily incomplete and abbreviated, it intends to show that the Early Dynastic lexical corpus was accidental and unstructured and therefore not explicitly designed with the needs of students in mind. The most important and most authoritative group of texts was desperately outdated from an educational point of view; the majority of the third-millennium lexical tablets give the impression of being the products of well-trained scribes, not of pupils. The various new lexical texts that were developed usually had a short life span and little geographical spread. Ebla is perhaps the place where the lexical corpus most closely resembles a school curriculum, but even there the Ebla Sign List closely follows the order of graphemes in ED Lu A; in other words, it is geared towards the needs of understanding tradition, rather than catering to the practical needs of writing (see Archi 1987c with earlier literature).

Since writing is a craft, it may be learned in practice in a master–apprentice relationship, rather than in the context of formal education. Evidence for scribal education in the third millennium is scant, so that this reconstruction is necessarily speculative, but for the ordinary needs of administrative writing apprenticeship seems to be a plausible model. The lexical corpus, therefore, should not be judged against what it did not intend to be. It was not meant as an introduction to writing and it was not intended for schoolboys. In the third millennium the lexical corpus is primarily a corpus of ancient, venerable tradition and we may only admire the precision with which the scribes succeeded in preserving this knowledge.

In stark contrast to this, the Old Babylonian lexical corpus is a curriculum that took the pupil by the hand and led him (rarely her) step by step through all the intricacies of cuneiform and Sumerian. The individual lists each introduced a different aspect, gradually adding complexity and depth to the pupil's knowledge. The curriculum started with a sign list that included much repetition of the same signs and was often executed in very large writing. This list introduced the student to the correct design of a number of often-used cuneiform signs.[49] A second sign list, TU-TA-TI, treats a restricted number of signs solely from the perspective of syllabic values. The list is

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[43] See the edition of ED Lu E in DCCLT.

[44] See Mander 1986; Krebernik 1986.

[45] In particular the 'Atlante Geografico' known from Abu Salabikh and Ebla; see Pettinato, MEE 3 217–241 and Krebernik 1998: 362, IAS 91–11 with further literature.

[46] See, for instance, Lambert 1988; Cohen 1993b.

[47] Fara: TSŠ 46 [P010717], with OIP 99, p. 39; Sjöberg 2000.

[48] For instance ITT 1 1267 [P213705] (Sargonic or Ur III Girsu) and SF 32 (ED Fara).

[49] The list is Syllable Alphabet A, which was used in a standardized fashion all over Babylonia. In Nippur a related but much longer list with the modern title Syllable Alphabet B was used; see Tanret 2002: 31–50.

organized in triads with alternating vowels (TU-TA-TI; NU-NA-NI; etc.); in most exemplars the signs are first written out one by one, followed by the triad—so that, again, there is a proper amount of repetition:[50]

¶   TU
¶   TA
¶   TI
¶ TU-TA-TI
¶   NU
¶   NA
¶   NI
¶ NU-NA-NI
¶   BU
¶   BA
¶   BI
¶ BU-BA-BI

This was followed by name lists (the first meaningful items a student was to encounter), followed in turn by the long thematic list Ur$_5$-ra. Ur$_5$-ra dealt with Sumerian vocabulary, in particular realia, from the very common to the very obscure. Ur$_5$-ra was followed by a series of more advanced lists. One of these is Proto-Ea, a sign list that neatly organized sign values used in Sumerian (see the example above). By this stage the students had already copied numerous Sumerian exercises so that the sign values in Proto-Ea were not all new to them. Proto-Ea added a level of systematization and reflection to the learning process; sign values new and old were presented in an orderly fashion. Proto-Diri did the same, but concentrated on compound signs. Several other word lists emphasized other aspects and peculiarities of Sumerian and Sumerian writing, whereas metrological and mathematical lists (in particular multiplication tables) drilled the correct handling of numbers in various contexts.

All these lists were followed in the curriculum by proverbs and model contracts, which introduced the first full sentences in Sumerian and provided the pupil with the opportunity to practise all that he had learned about cuneiform writing. Now the student was ready to embark on the serious work: literary texts in Sumerian.

This curriculum was something entirely new. While the idea of a lexical list was hardly novel, the Old Babylonian curricular innovation was a revolutionary one. These lexical lists were not the venerated relics of a time past, nor the accidental collections of words and signs of the mid-third millennium lists—they form a well-structured, systematic course. The standard format of the lexical list became two-dimensional and this two-dimensional format allowed for a variety of contents to be transmitted in a classroom situation. The flexible nature of the new lexical lists permitted for enough updating that the compositions did not easily become obsolete—thus avoiding the fate of the archaic lexical creations. In fact, the history of Mesopotamian lexicography in the second and first millennium largely coincides with the developments of such texts as Ur$_5$-ra, Ea, and Diri—creations of the Old Babylonian reform.

GUARDIANS OF TRADITION

The availability of the new curricular set of lexical texts did not prevent the traditional Early Dynastic corpus from being copied. The Old Babylonian copies of Early Dynastic texts placed the owner or copyist of the text in an age-old tradition, going back all the way to the beginning of writing. While from a curricular point of view these texts had been replaced and rendered obsolete, they still had a function to fulfil as symbols of Babylonian history and unity, enshrined in Sumerian tradition.

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[50] See, for instance, CBS 7089 [P230168] reverse. For an edition of TU-TA-TI see Çığ et al. 1959.

The Early Old Babylonian educational reform

The creation of the new lexical corpus in the early Old Babylonian period may be understood, paradoxically, as an attempt to preserve and guard traditional knowledge of Sumerian. Sumerian, which was a dead language by this time, was of prime importance for political ideology; it was the language of royal inscriptions and royal praise songs. The Sumerian King List, backed by a variety of Sumerian legendary texts and songs, explains how, since antediluvian times, there had always been one king and one royal city reigning over all of Babylonia. This view implied that there were no separate local histories; all city-states were Babylonian, or, more properly of 'Sumer and Akkad', so that Enmerkar and Gilgameš of Uruk, Sargon of Akkad, and Šulgi of Ur could all be celebrated as great predecessors. The Old Babylonian literary corpus revolves around heroes who were kings of their respective cities, and gods who were city-gods of these same cities. In trying to understand Old Babylonian Sumerian literature as a corpus, as a consciously collected set of texts important enough to teach, we may recognize that almost without exception the kings and heroes mentioned are those commemorated in the Sumerian King List.[51] Whatever the 'historicity' of this literature, accurate, skewed, legendary, mythical, or otherwise, this literature is Babylonian history as perceived and created by Old Babylonian scribes, it is the Sumerian King List fleshed out. This literature is an example of what Hobsbawm has called 'invented tradition': it is the creation of a history of 'Sumer and Akkad' and of a Sumerian cultural heritage.[52] As Hobsbawm points out, invented traditions usually recycle as well as invent; the stories, festivals, and customs that are aligned to express a national identity projected far back into the past are based in part on pre-existing elements that are re-contextualized in order to serve their new purpose. In the case of Sumerian literature we often do not know in detail what is new, what has been reworked and what was faithfully reproduced from earlier examples – nor does it matter a whole lot. The invented tradition of Sumer and Akkad, of a Sumerian heritage, is what we encounter in a single Old Babylonian institutional context, irrespective of the original *Sitz im Leben* or date of composition of the individual literary pieces.

This Sumerian heritage not only consisted of the myths and narratives of Sumerian gods and heroes; it was also embodied in the Sumerian language and writing system itself. The knowledge of Sumerian required from the students of the Old Babylonian scribal school went well beyond what was practically needed, even beyond what was needed for understanding Sumerian literature. Many words and signs in lexical texts such as Ur_5-ra and Proto-Ea never appear outside of the lexical corpus. What the schools taught was all there was to know about Sumerian, the common and the current as well as the abstruse and archaic. The invented tradition of a unified Sumer and Akkad was embedded in the knowledge of Sumerian and Sumerian writing. Language, identity, and politics form a potent mix, as may well be illustrated by many modern examples. Knowledge of Sumerian was knowledge of a unifying symbol, an aspect of the past that, in this imagination, was shared by all the city-states of Southern Mesopotamia. In this sense the lexical corpus and the literary corpus form a unity, creating and transmitting a single message.

The new lexical tradition was most probably created not long after the destruction of the Ur III empire, an event that made a big impression. Three small groups of school texts may be dated with some confidence to the period before Hammurabi's conquest of Larsa (1763 BCE, according to the middle chronology). These lots, which derive from Uruk,[53] Kisurra,[54] and Larsa,[55] include several of the typical Old Babylonian exercises, including sign lists, thematic lists, other types of word lists, model contracts, extracts from Lipit-Eštar B (the first hymn of the Tetrad, see below), and even some fragments of ED lexical texts. The absence of proverbs may or may not be an accident of discovery; the sample is too small to conclude. Each of the three text groups includes some

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[51] This is particularly striking for the hymnic literature; see Hallo 1963.
[52] See Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983. I have developed these ideas in more detail (Veldhuis 2004: 31–80).
[53] The so-called 'Scherbenloch' lot; see Cavigneaux 1996, also Veldhuis 1997–8.
[54] Published by Kienast in FAOS 2/1 213–5, as well as some of the fragments. The ED Lu A piece is F20.
[55] Published by Arnaud in BBVOT 3. School texts are scattered throughout the volume.

examples of standard Sumerian literature. As it appears, the curriculum that we find several decades later in Nippur is already there in its basic outlines.

Other evidence points more specifically to the kings of the Isin dynasty as the ones who were responsible for this curricular innovation. Vanstiphout (1979) showed that the hymn Lipit-Eštar B is one of very few literary texts that is found with some regularity on tablet types otherwise reserved for lexical exercises, in particular lentils and so-called type II tablets (tablets that include a model text in the teacher's hand and one or more student copies on the same side).[56] Moreover, he demonstrated that the hymn gradually introduces a number of different syntactic constructions, so that it may well have been composed with scribal education in mind.

Tinney (1999) argued that Lipit-Eštar B is the first in a series of four hymns (christened by him the 'Tetrad') which have several features in common. They are all unusually short, they are found on lentils, and they are occasionally attested in sequence on a single tablet. Four prisms, each containing one of these hymns, are so strikingly similar in writing and execution that they must have formed a set. Tinney has shown convincingly that these four hymns form an intermediate stage in education between the lexical compositions and proverbs on the one hand and the fully-fledged literary texts on the other hand.[57]

Three of these hymns praise successive kings of the Isin dynasty: Iddin-Dagan, Išme-Dagan and Lipit-Eštar. The fourth hymn is in honor of the goddess of writing, Nisaba. Each of the three royal hymns has the Eduba, the scribal school, as one of its topics. The Eduba, the place where students learned the art of writing, is the place where the praise of the kings will be heard forever (Iddin-Dagan B 64–70):[58]

May your exceeding wisdom, given by the tablets of Nisaba,
never cease on the clay in the tablet house.
In this tablet house, like a shrine fashioning everything, may it never come to an end.
To the junior scribe who puts his hand to the clay and writes on it,
may Nisaba, the shining …… lady, give wisdom.
May she open his hand.
In the place of writing may she come forth like the sun for him.

The hymns demonstrate the Isin kings' involvement in scribal education. The theme of the tablets of Nisaba and the eduba praising the king is a traditional one that is equally found in hymns to Šulgi and therefore hardly proves an innovative effort on the part of the Isin dynasty. The composition of hymns, however, that are tailor-made for a particular curricular slot, betrays a mastermind not unlike the one that created the intricate set of lexical exercises.

It may be useful in this connection to point to the orthographic changes that took place in this same period (see Powell 1974). The Isin dynasty was involved in matters of writing and education, and with good reason. The survival of Sumerian was an ideological issue, one that was well worth addressing by creating a thorough scribal curriculum.

After a brief distancing from earlier ideological traditions during the time of Išbi-Erra, later Isin kings explicitly portrayed themselves as the legitimate inheritors of the Ur III legacy, emulating Ur III royal hymns, royal inscriptions and administrative practices (Michalowski 2005). As the Sumerian King List explains, kingship circulated among the cities, so that there was nothing irregular about this succession. From a historical perspective, the idea of a Sumerian unity was peculiarly at odds with the political reality of the time. While for most of its existence the Ur III

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[56] UM 29-16-31 and N 5566+, Figures 1–2 and 5–6 above, are good examples of type II tablets.

[57] It is unlikely that each of these hymns was always part of the educational experience of every schoolboy. There are numerous sources of Lipit-Eštar B, many of them on lentil-shaped tablets. The other three hymns, however, are more rare and are only occasionally found on tablet types typical for the early phases of education. It is likely that the four hymns occupied this curricular slot in theory, but that most teachers decided to use only the first one (Lipit-Eštar B).

[58] Translation adapted from ETCSL 2.5.3.2.

kingdom could rightly claim dominance over Sumer and Akkad, the early Old Babylonian period was characterized by political fragmentation and intercity wars. This very discrepancy may have provided an added urgency to preserving and transmitting the Sumerian language and tradition.

The watershed in the cuneiform lexical tradition may thus find its most plausible context during the reign of the Isin kings. Their innovative efforts were intended to preserve the ancient tradition as they perceived it.

The Old Babylonian copies of Early Dynastic texts
It is likely that all traditional ED lexical texts (those that go back to the archaic period) were known in small elite scribal circles in the Old Babylonian period. While they were occasionally used in class, they were not textbooks in the way the curricular lexical texts were. They were the most specialized of texts, suitable for an expert, representing knowledge of early orthography and connecting its owner to the dawn of writing. In the literary tradition the invention of writing was traced back to king Enmerkar and his lengthy exchanges with the Lord of Aratta (Vanstiphout 1989). Whether they were aware of the more mundane origins of cuneiform in every-day accounting is immaterial. Writing was a source of pride (quite reasonably so from our perspective) and its origin in Sumer was part of the invented tradition of the time. Copying a text of hoary antiquity was not an exercise in futility but a statement of identity.

Table 2: Old Babylonian exemplars of Early Dynastic lexical texts[59]

List	Glosses		Provenance
	no	yes	
Lu A	8	5	Nippur, Ur, Kisurra, Sippar[?], unknown
Birds	3		Nippur, unknown
Fish	2	1	Nippur, Sippar[?], unknown
Pots and Garments		1	Nippur
'Tribute' (Word List C)	3		Nippur
Officials	1		Nippur
Plants		1	Nippur
Cities/Gods	1		Ur
Geography X (see note 19)	1		Nippur
Wood[60]	2		Kisurra, unknown
Food (Word List D)	3		Susa, unknown
Metals	~		
Animals	~		

At the present moment I know of 32 Old Babylonian examples of Early Dynastic lexical lists. This number breaks down as in Table 2. To this overview, a few important observations may be added. First, in recent years a remarkable number of new exemplars has been identified and published. In some cases this may be due to the unfortunate recent events in Iraq; in other cases, however, the objects had been known for long, without being properly studied or identified. Second, Metals and Animals are the only two traditional ED lexical compositions not represented.

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[59] See the Appendix for fuller bibliographic details. Each of these compositions is described by Englund 1998: 82–110.

[60] Although archaic wood lists are relatively common, ED versions are few and far between and cannot be connected directly with the archaic version (SF 68; SF 74; OIP 99 18; 19; 20; OSP 1 8). Both OB exemplars are inscribed on small six or seven sided prisms with one column of text per side. Both are associated with a bona fide ED lexical text of a very similar or identical format (unprovenanced: Food, also known as Word List D; Kisurra: Lu A). The two Old Babylonian Wood prisms may duplicate in column 1, though the text is too damaged to be certain. Kisurra (FAOS 2/1 F19): [^{ĝiš}šennu]r?; [^{ĝiš}]ĝeštin; [^{ĝiš}]peš₃; [^{ĝiš}hašhu]r[?]. Unprovenanced [P272608]: ^{ĝiš}ĝi₆-[par₄]; ^{ĝiš}šim-gig; ^{ĝiš}šennur; ^{ĝiš}ĝeštin; ^{ĝiš}peš₃; ^{ĝiš}hašhur[?]; ^{ĝiš}x-gam; ^{ĝiš}a-lil (writing for ^{ĝiš}al-la-nu-um?). See the archaic version (ATU 3 105) ll. 19–21.

The recent discoveries, however, demonstrate that this may be merely a matter of chance. Until recently no copies of Geography X, Officials, Fish, or Wood were known, while two copies of Birds went unrecognized. Several compositions are attested only in one single exemplar—the possibility that additional manuscripts have also been overlooked is very real.

The ED compositions that are attested in OB exemplars all go back in one form or another to the archaic period, with the single exception of the god list, found with Cities on a tablet from Ur. The differences between these fossilized, most ancient lists on the one hand and the lexical creations of third-millennium scribes on the other hand were apparently still perceived and appreciated. Only the most ancient tradition was deemed worth transmitting.

The great majority of provenanced copies of ED texts come from Nippur (11 exemplars) and Ur (3). This is not unlike the distribution of Old Babylonian school texts in general and supports the idea that these texts belong to an Old Babylonian school context. In fact N 5566+, published above, is a good example of a typical Old Babylonian school tablet (type II) with different exercises on obverse (Nigga) and reverse (ED Lu A). In addition, CBS 6142+ combines ED Lu A with an exercise in personal names (names beginning with ur-). This last tablet does not look like an exercise; it is a very carefully produced and neatly inscribed tablet that is similar in format and handwriting to a number of other non-curricular lexical texts from Nippur, including non-standard versions of chapters of Ur$_5$-ra (Veldhuis 2004: 91). The ED lexical texts are hardly suitable for basic scribal education—a school context may rather imply that these texts were owned by accomplished students or teachers.

In several cases it appears that exemplars of different ED texts belong together and form sets. There are several such sets of prisms: a pair from Nippur (ED Lu A and Word List C), one from Kisurra (Lu A and Wood), and an unprovenanced one (Word List D and Wood). The Nippur exemplars of Fish and Birds are very similar in format and writing, and the glossed copies of Pots and Garments and Plants may belong together as well. Such sets of prisms or tablets suggest that some scribes were interested in owning well-executed, beautiful copies of texts that represent the ancient history of writing and that were capable of symbolizing a glorious Sumerian past. The use of glosses in some exemplars indicates that the scribes were interested not only in uncritical copying, but also in understanding the ancient tradition (Veldhuis 2004: 92).

The radical qualitative differences between the ED lexical corpus and the curricular texts of the Old Babylonian school make the Old Babylonian copies of ED lexical texts look redundant and outdated. In fact, the two sets of texts work in different ways towards the same goal: the creation and transmission of a Sumerian history and heritage.

CONCLUSION

The curricular reform that was responsible for the creation of the new Old Babylonian text books was not driven by a desire to hasten a brilliant future dawning on the horizon. This reform was rather looking backwards, trying to preserve the knowledge of the Sumerian history and heritage that was one of the cornerstones of royal ideology. In this context, the preservation of those very compositions rendered obsolete by the new curricular lexical corpus made perfect sense.

APPENDIX: OLD BABYLONIAN COPIES OF EARLY DYNASTIC LEXICAL TEXTS

In 1998 I published a catalogue of Old Babylonian copies of ED lexical lists known to me at that time (Veldhuis 1998: 125). For several reasons the inclusion there of YOS 1 12 I now consider incorrect; the piece is more likely Ur III in date. The sign BAHAR$_3$ = U.BAHAR$_2$ ('col I' = col. 7 line 16) is known only from Ur III Umma (see PSD B: bahar$_2$ and Sallaberger 1996: 3 with further literature). YOS 1 12 is a cylinder; its format and colophon (on the top) may be compared to the Ur III copy of the Names and Professions list published by Fales and Krispijn (1979-80) and several unpublished pieces, all of unknown provenance.

Quite a number of relevant tablets have come to light in recent years. For that reason a new catalogue is provided here.

ED Lu A from Nippur
- SLT 112 (CBS 6142) + SLT 11/3 75 (CBS 7989) + UM 29-16-252 (+) UM 29-16-221 (+) UM 29-16-224 [P218303]. ED Lu A is preceded by a name list (names beginning with ur-). The photographs published here (Figures 7–8) were made before CBS 7989 had been joined. CBS 7989 may be consulted in PBS 11/3; it does not add to the text of ED Lu A.
- SLT 113 (CBS 7845) + Ni 1600 + Ni 2528 [P218302] (Veldhuis and Hilprecht 2003–4: 46). Seven-sided prism.
- SLT 24 (CBS 13493) [P218303] with glosses; see Green (1984). Green dated this text to the Ur III period but an Old Babylonian dating seems more plausible.
- N 5566 + N 5583 + N 5651 + N 7441 + N 7454 (+) N 5655 (+) N 7444 [P218304]; published here, Figures 1–2. School text with an extract from Nigga[61] on the obverse, ED Lu A on the reverse.

ED Lu A from other places
- Sippar?: BM 58680 [P218305]; with glosses (see Taylor 2008).
- Kisurra: FAOS 2/1 pl. 92 F20 [P218309].
- Ur: UET 7 86 [P218310]; with glosses (see Civil 1983b: 1 n. 2).
- Ur: UET 6/3 682 (U.30497) [P346719]; with glosses (see Civil 1983b: 1 n. 1).
- Unprovenanced: BM 30041 + BM 90906 [P373751]; cylinder fragment (see Taylor 2008).
- Unprovenanced: private collection (private communication by Mark Cohen); prism.
- Unprovenanced: MS 2319/6 [P251557].
- Unprovenanced: MS 2268/24 [P251498].
- Unprovenanced: Wilson 2008 no. 129 [P273823]; with glosses.

Birds
- Nippur: SLT 73 (CBS 11694) [P227680] (Veldhuis 2004: 152).
- Unprovenanced: YBC 4613 [P283722] (Veldhuis 2004: 152).
- Unprovenanced: MS 2645 (personal communication Miguel Civil).

Fish
- Nippur: N 5867 [P230881] (Veldhuis 2004: 150).
- Sippar?: BM 82905 [P332828]; with glosses (Veldhuis 1998: 126).
- Unprovenanced: MS 2722 [P251735].

Plants
- Nippur: CBS 7094 [P228023] (Civil and Biggs 1966: 8–11).

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[61] Nigga 278–9; N 5566+ is not included in the edition in MSL 13 103.

Figure 7: CBS 6142+ obverse

Officials
- Nippur: N 3093 [P231387]; published here (Figure 9; also published by Cavigneaux 2007: 172).
- Nippur: Ni 2141 (ISET 3, 19); may join the preceding; known to me in transliteration only.

Cities
- Ur: UET 7 80 [P347043] (combined with a god list).

Geography X (for this designation, see note 19)
- Nippur: N 5174 [P228400] (published here, Figs. 3–4).

Vessels and Garments
- Nippur: SLT 11 (CBS 14130) + CBS 13922 [P228400]; with glosses (see Civil and Biggs 1966: 8).
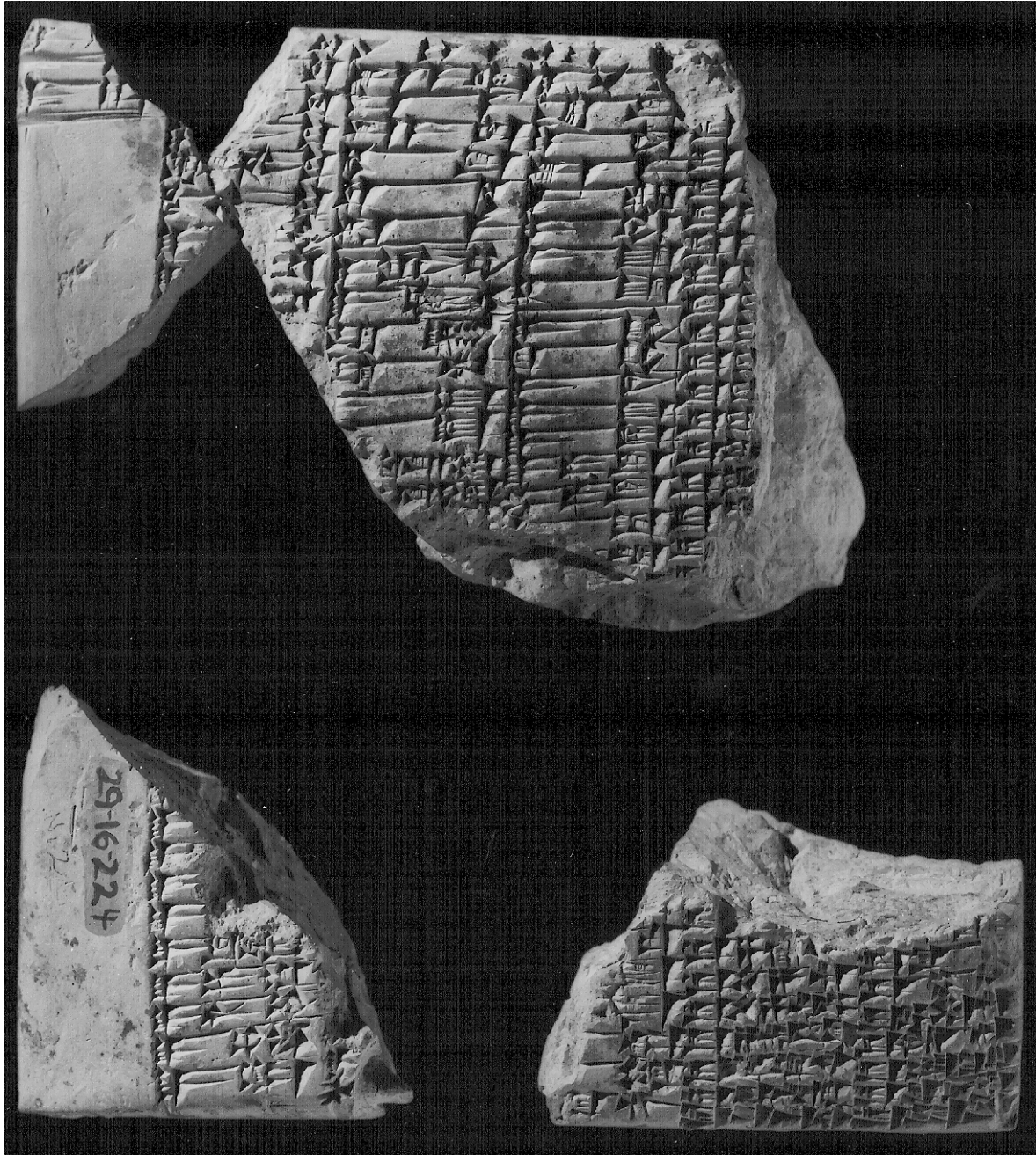
Figure 8: CBS 6142+ reverse

Sumerian Word List C ('Tribute')
- Nippur: SLT 42 (CBS 8237) + Ni 1597 [P228051] (see MEE 3 158ff; ATU 3 25 n. 49).
- Unprovenanced: MS 3373 [P252314].
- Unprovenanced: Wilson 2008 no. 60 [P388293].

Wood
- Kisurra: FAOS 2/1 Plate 92 F19; prism fragment.
- Unprovenanced: CMAA loan 4 [P272608]; prism.
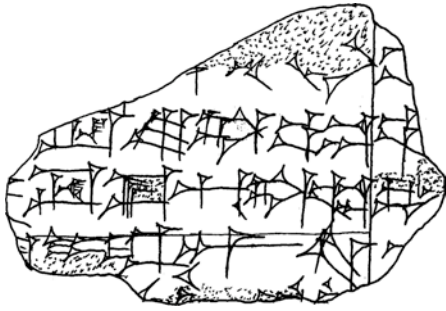
Figure 9: N 3093

Food (Sumerian Word List D)
- Susa: MDP 18 21 [P215653] (see Civil 1982).
- Susa: MDP 27 196 [P215659] (see Civil 1982).
- Unprovenanced: CMAA loan 3 [P272607]; prism.

OATH AND SOVEREIGNTY: HESIOD'S *THEOGONY*, *ENUMA ELIŠ*, AND *THE KINGSHIP IN HEAVEN*

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During the past century it has become increasingly clear that Hesiod's *Theogony* was heavily influenced by ancient Near Eastern ideas. Striking similarities concerning the myth of succession were discovered as soon as the content of the Hittite tablets of the Kumarbi myth was made public (Forrer 1935: 398–9; 1936: 687–713). During the years to come further motifs common to both texts have been pointed out (Güterbock 1946; 1948; Lesky 1950: 137–60; Steiner 1958; Burkert 1986), and, along with common themes in the Babylonian epic *Enuma Eliš*, they have been summarized by V. Haas (1994: 85–152) and M.L. West (1997: 276–333). As an extension of these established parallels I here reexamine the hymn to Styx in Hesiod's *Theogony* within the context of the Babylonian epic *Enuma Eliš* and the Hittite epic cycle *The Kingship in Heaven*. I not only show that Zeus' path to sovereignty is connected with institutionalizing the great oath of the gods, but also that the theme of oath and sovereignty has its parallel in the coronation ceremony of Marduk in the Babylonian epic and in the invocation of oath deities in the proem of the Hittite epic cycle.

THE HYMN TO STYX

The narrative of Styx receiving the honor of being the great oath of the gods is one of the centrepieces of Hesiod's *Theogony* (vv. 383–403) and at the same time one of the most puzzling passages. At first glance, the content of the narrative seems to be very simple. It is the story of Styx bringing forth Zelos (eager Rivalry), Nike (Victory), Kratos (Strength or Dominion), and Bia (Violence), and their arrival on Mount Olympus. Before the battle against the Titans, Zeus promised that all the gods who fought with him against the Titans would receive due honors. Upon Zeus' promise, it was Styx who came first to Mount Olympus and advised Zeus to take her children as his companions. Thereupon, Zeus bestowed on her the honor of being the great oath of the gods. The passage concludes with emphasizing that Zeus is ruling with strength. Thus, the report of bringing forth Zelos, Nike, Kratos, and Bia turns into a narrative that deals with Zeus's sovereignty *in statu nascendi*:

383	Στὺξ δ' ἔτεκ' Ὠκεανοῦ θυγάτηρ Πάλλαντι μιγεῖσα
384	Ζῆλον καὶ Νίκην καλλίσφυρον ἐν μεγάροισι
385	καὶ Κράτος ἠδὲ Βίην ἀριδείκετα γείνατο τέκνα.
386	τῶν οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπάνευθε Διὸς δόμος, οὐδέ τις ἕδρη,
387	οὐδ' ὁδός, ὅππη μὴ κείνοις θεὸς ἡγεμονεύει.
388	ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ ἑδριόωνται.
389	ὡς γὰρ ἐβούλευσε Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Ὠκεανίνη
390	ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε πάντας Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητὴς
391	ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεσσε θεοὺς ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον.
392	εἶπε δ', ὃς ἂν μετὰ εἷο θεῶν Τιτῆσι μάχοιτο,
393	μή τιν' ἀπορραίσειν γεράων, τιμὴν δὲ ἕκαστον
394	ἑξέμεν ἣν τὸ πάρος γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.
395	τὸν δ' ἔφαθ', ὅστις ἄτιμος ὑπὸ Κρόνου ἠδ' ἀγέραστος,
396	τιμῆς καὶ γεράων ἐπιβησέμεν, ἧ θέμις ἐστίν.
397	ἦλθε δ' ἄρα πρώτη Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Οὔλυμπόνδε
398	σὺν σφοῖσιν παίδεσσι φίλου διὰ μήδεα πατρός·
399	τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς τίμησε, περισσὰ δὲ δῶρα ἔδωκεν.
400	αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον,
401	παῖδας δ' ἤματα πάντα ἑοῦ μεταναιέτας εἶναι.
402	ὡς δ' αὕτως πάντεσσι διαμπερές, ὥς περ ὑπέστη,

403   ἐξετέλεσσ'· αὐτὸς δὲ μέγα κρατεῖ ἠδὲ ἀνάσσει.

383   Styx, the daughter of Oceanus, uniting herself with Pallas,[1] bore
384   Zelos and trim-ankled Nike in her halls
385   as well as Kratos and Bie, outstanding children.
386   They have a house not far from Zeus, and neither do they have a seat
387   nor a path, where the god does not go ahead of them,
388   but they sit for ever beside deep-thundering Zeus.
389   For so did Styx, the immortal Oceanid, deliberate
390   on that day when the Olympian hurler of lightning
391   called all immortal gods to high Olympus.
392   He said that those among the gods who would fight with him against the Titans
393   will not be bereft of honors and that each would
394   retain the esteem (s)he formerly had among the immortal gods.
395   He also said that the one who was dishonored and disregarded by Kronos
396   will rise to honor and esteem, as it is set.
397   The first who came to Olympus was immortal Styx
398   along with her children according to the advice of the beloved father.
399   Zeus honored her and gave her countless gifts.
400   He then decreed her to be the great oath of the gods,
401   and her children to dwell with him forever.
402   As he had promised, he completed it in every
403   detail. And he governs with great strength.

Clearly here, Styx plays a key role in Zeus's coming to power. What is not so clear, however, is what exactly her role or function is. While a Titan, she is also attached to the Olympians whose ascendancy to power will come at the expense of the Titans.[2] This gives rise to the following questions: What exactly is the connection between Styx and Zeus's ascendance to power? And why does Styx receive the honor of being the great oath of the gods?

Traditionally, the discussion of the hymn to Styx has focused on the problem of how to interpret the first few lines with respect to the genealogical relation between Styx and her children. It has led the interpretation in two possible directions: either to regard the children of Styx as helpers of Zeus in the battle against the Titans, or to regard these children as executing instruments of Styx, that is as powers that enforce oath-taking procedures among the gods. The latter view was taken up by Fränkel (1931: 9–17) and Schwenn (1934: 98–100), who argued that the children of Styx resemble their mother to the extent that they represent a constellation of powers that matches the reality of court trials. In doing so Fränkel and Schwenn treat the relation between Styx and her children in terms of a genealogical logic (cf. Philippson 1936: 3), which underlies many other genealogical relations in Hesiod's *Theogony*, such as the children of Night or the children of Eris (vv. 211–32). The children of Night such as Fate and Death or Sleep and Dreams, as well as the Children of Eris such as Toil and Pain, or Lies and Lawlessnes, or the Oath, resemble their mothers as they inherit some of their parent's essence or expand on and explain her character. In like manner, the children of Styx are to explain her essence, character, or field of action. According to Fränkel and Schwenn these children expand the essence of Styx as they enforce law through oath-taking by the water of Styx.

In contrast to Fränkel and Schwenn, Solmsen (1949) denied any genealogical resemblance between mother and children, while regarding the children of Styx as helpers whom Zeus needed during the battle against the Titans.[3] Eager Rivalry, Victory, Strength, and Violence are not the most

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[1] According to Hesiod, *Theogony*, v. 376, Pallas is the son of Kreios and Eurybia.

[2] Styx is the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, thus granddaughter of Heaven and Earth (Hesiod, *Theogony*, v. 361 and v. 776).

[3] 'The poet's primary idea was not that the mother of Nike and the three others must be Styx but that what Zeus needs to secure his rule is these four powers. This idea has led him to assign to Styx children who bear

colorful powers, yet, according to Solmsen, it seems important for Zeus to have them to hand, or important to Hesiod to assign them to Zeus. The fact that Zeus goes ahead of them and shows them their paths would, on Solmsen's view, mean that they are personifications of qualities that are neither independent or autonomous nor related to Zeus by nature, but that they have become inseparably associated with Zeus as he ascends to power and secures his sovereignty. The reason why the gods swear by Styx is answered by Solmsen through the fact that Styx enabled Zeus to overcome the Titans by bringing her children to Mount Olympus. Therefore, she received the honor of being the great oath of the gods.[4]

Following in the footsteps of Solmsen, although with less emphasis, West (1966) also maintained that Styx may have provided Zeus with her children as helpers against the Titans, since these children seem to represent qualities which Zeus lacked but needed to overcome the Titans. In addition, West pointed out that the genealogy of Styx and her children does not explain the subsequent narrative but is explained by it.[5] Thus, according to West, this narrative is an aetiological myth which presents an account of why the children of Styx are companions of Zeus and as to why Styx received the honor of being the great oath of the gods. In supporting his view West tried to reconstruct the narrative digression by imagining how the myth may have been created:

Why do the gods swear by Styx? Because Zeus so ordained. Why did he do so? In reward for some service performed for him by Styx. In what connexion? Most likely in connexion with the Titanomachy, for that was when Zeus needed help. Then did she fight for him? Hardly in person: but she might have sent her children to fight for him. Then who can they have been, that he needed their help? Why, Victory and Strength; those were the gods he needed. Therefore those gods are made the children of Styx. (West 1966: 272; cf. Walcot: 1958: 9–14)

West's answer as to why the gods swear by Styx has a textual basis: because Zeus decreed her to be the great oath of the gods (αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον, v. 400). But his answer to why Zeus decreed so is less well founded in the Hesiodic text. The fact that the children of Styx provided physical aid during the battle against the Titans is an implicit argument and therefore makes West's answer somewhat hesitant. Except for a short note in an author as late as Apollodorus,[6] there is no positive evidence in Hesiod or Homer that Styx or her children performed any service for Zeus during the Titanomachy. Already Fränkel (1931) pointed out that this connection remains obscure.[7] Thus it is unsafe to reconstruct her participation through reckoning how the myth may have been created. Text and context point in a different direction and may even dictate a different interpretation.

So far it seems that neither the positions of Solmsen and West nor the positions of Fränkel and Schwenn are utterly convincing. Yet Fränkel and Schwenn, who claimed that law is enforced

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little resemblance to her' (Solmsen 1949: 33).

[4] 'Why should a well of the Underworld have the exceptional honor to serve as the "great oath of the gods"? […] It was Styx who provided Zeus at a juncture of dire emergency with invaluable helpers' (Solmsen 1949: 33).

[5] 'The reason why Styx is made the mother of Zelos, Nike, Kratos, and Bie is to be sought in the narrative digression that follows. This is an aetiological myth explaining (*a*) why Victory and Power are evermore on Zeus' side, (*b*) why the gods swear by Styx' (West 1966: 272).

[6] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheka* I.II.4-5: ἐγένετο . . . Πάλλαντος δὲ καὶ Στυγὸς Νίκη Κράτος Ζῆλος Βία. τὸ δὲ τῆς Στυγὸς ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας ἐν Ἅιδου ῥέον Ζεὺς ἐποίησεν ὅρκον, ταύτην αὐτῇ τιμὴν διδοὺς ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτῷ κατὰ Τιτάνων μετὰ τῶν τέκνων συνεμάχησε. And to Pallas and Styx … were born … Victory, Dominion, Emulation, and Violence. But Zeus caused oaths to be sworn by the water of Styx, which flows from a rock in Hades, bestowing this honor on her because she and her children had fought on his side against the Titans.

[7] 'Er hat sie für sich gewonnen, als er mit den Titanen um die Weltherrschaft zu kämpfen sich anschickte. Wie nötig brauchte er da Sieg und Gewalt! Aber diese Sache bleibt im Dunkel' (Fränkel 1931: 15).

through Styx as the great oath of the gods, were too easily dismissed by Solmsen (1949: 33 n. 102): 'I can find no trace of this thought in Hesiod.' Therefore I shall reconsider their position in more detail, point out the major difficulties of their position, and lead the discussion in a different direction.

CONTEXTS OF THE GREAT OATH OF THE GODS

Since Hirzel's (1902: 171–82) study *Der Eid*, oath-taking by the water of Styx has been interpreted with respect to assertory or juridical oaths that are taken in court procedure. This would fit perfectly into the picture that most scholars have drawn of the world of Hesiod, whose verses often reflect a claim for justice based on the legal dispute with his brother (*Erga* vv. 10ff; 213ff). Like in Hesiod's *Erga* (vv. 190–210), where strife and quarrel are solved in court procedure if one party takes an oath, the description of Tartarus in the *Theogony* (vv. 782–6) presents the administration of justice among the gods:

782 ὁππότ' ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ὄρηται,
783 καί ῥ' ὅστις ψεύδεται Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων,
784 Ζεὺς δέ τε Ἶριν ἔπεμψε θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον ἐνεῖκαι.
785 τηλόθεν ἐν χρυσέῃ προχόῳ πολυώνυμον ὕδωρ
786 ψυχρόν, ὅ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἠλιβάτοιο.

782 When strife and quarrel arise among the immortals
783 and when one of those who has Olympian houses lies,
784 then, Zeus sends Iris to get the great oath of the gods
785 from afar the famous water in a golden bowl,
786 the cold (water) that flows down from a sheer cliff.

In transferring human affairs into the divine sphere, Hesiod describes a possible court procedure among the gods (Solmsen 1949: 32–3). The water of Styx, which gushes forth from a sheer cliff, is later described as a μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσιν, a great bane for the gods (v. 792), since the consequences for those gods, who are convicted of perjury, are imagined to be quite severe (vv. 793–804):

793 ὅς κεν τὴν ἐπίορκον ἀπολλείψας ἐπομόσσῃ
794 ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,
795 κεῖται νήυτμος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν·
796 οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἔρχεται ἆσσον
797 βρώσιος, ἀλλά τε κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος
798 στρωτοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ κῶμα καλύπτει.
799 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν νοῦσον τελέσει μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
800 ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται χαλεπώτερος ἆθλος·
801 εἰνάετες δὲ θεῶν ἀπαμείρεται αἰὲν ἐόντων,
802 οὐδέ ποτ' ἐς βουλὴν ἐπιμίσγεται οὐδ' ἐπὶ δαῖτας
803 ἐννέα πάντ' ἔτεα· δεκάτῳ δ' ἐπιμίσγεται αὖτις
804 εἰρέας ἀθανάτων οἳ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.

793 The one of the immortals dwelling on snow-capped Olympus,
794 who has poured out the water and then swears a false oath,
795 will lay down breathless for an entire year.
796 He cannot come close to ambrosia and nectar for
797 nourishment, but breathless and speechless he lays down
798 in bed, wrapped in an evil coma.
799 And when he has finished that illness after a great year,
800 another, even harsher, trial awaits him.
801 For nine years he will be excluded from the gods who always are,
802 he neither will join their assemblies nor their feasts
803 for nine full years. But in the tenth he again will join
804 the assemblies of the immortals who have Olympian houses.

The enumeration of possible consequences for the perjured god should not be regarded as a climax of retributions, but, as Hirzel (1902: 181) correctly pointed out, as the difference between

conviction and punishment (cf. Latte 1920: 6; Marót 1924: 10). The exclusion from Olympian society is the punishment proper, whereas lying down breathless and falling into a one year coma should be regarded as an indication of the god's guilt. In other words, the effect of the water of Styx leads to a physical consequence designating the means of evidence for convicting the perjured god. The exclusion of the perjured god from the Olympian community is a legal consequence designating a civil punishment which is not prescribed by Styx but by Zeus and the Olympians.

Against this backdrop of divine court procedure or dispute settlement, not only Styx, who receives the honor of being the great oath of the gods, but also deified Oath, the last offspring of Eris, were consequently determined to be assertory oaths.[8] In regarding Styx or the water of Styx as an assertory oath Hirzel (1902) was followed by Fränkel (1931), who argued that the narrative of Styx receiving the honor of the great oath of the gods has to be understood with reference to a trial scene. According to Fränkel, the children of Styx represent the power of the oath by which one of the litigants is victorious in juridical procedures.[9] This position was taken up by Schwenn (1934), who argued that the children of Styx resemble their mother to the extent that they form a constellation of powers that represents the reality of court procedure. Due to their character they represent the dispute and its settlement between two parties by enforcing the great oath of the gods; thereby enforcing law (Recht).[10] Schwenn's remark that the oath enforces law is ambivalent, since it remains unclear whether he understood 'Recht' as positive law or as natural law or right. The assertory oath certainly enforces positive law but not natural right. The least one could say is that within the logic of Hesiod's *Theogony* the hymn to Styx does not provide immediate evidence that the great oath of the gods has to be determined as an assertory oath. This can be shown through the examples in Homer.

In the Homeric poems, the water of Styx is used for oath-taking procedures among the Olympian gods. After Hera has seduced Zeus and then put him to sleep in order to assist Poseidon in supporting the Achaeans against the Trojans (*Iliad* XIV, vv. 153ff), Zeus awakes and realizes that the Trojans have had to experience disadvantages. He becomes angry and accuses Hera of having betrayed him. In return, Hera declares that she did not betray Zeus (*Iliad* XV, vv. 36–40):

36   Ἴστω νῦν τόδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπ ερθε
37   καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος
38   ὅρκος δεινότατος τε π έλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.
39   σή θ' ἱερὴ κεφαλὴ καὶ νωΐτερον λέχος αὐτῶν
40   κουρίδιον, τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἄν ἐγώ π οτε μὰψ ὀμοσαίμ[11]

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[8] 'Als assertorischen betrachtete den Eid Hesiod, da er ihn ein Kind der Eris nennt' (Hirzel 1902: 2; cf. Latte 1920: 6). Hirzel 1902: 171–82 even went as far as to believe that the water of Styx represents a primordial ordeal.

[9] 'Die Mutter der vier Gewalten ist Styx. Ebenso war auch unter den streitbaren Eriskindern eines der Eid gewesen. Aber hier, in dem himmlischen Gegenbild zu der menschlich nächtigen Erisfamilie, ist Styx kein Menscheneid, sondern ein Sondereid der Olympier. Die nahe Verwandtschaft zwischen den Vier und der Eideskraft können wir dahingehend verstehn, daß im Streit, nach altem Recht, der Eid den Prozeß zugunsten des Schwörenden entscheidet. Der Eid wendet sich nicht an den Richter, sondern an die andere Partei: sie wird durch den Eid besiegt und niedergezwungen' (Fränkel 1931: 12).

[10] 'Aber Styx? Sie erhält die Aufgabe, „Eidbindung, ὅρκος, der Götter zu sein" […], und wird dadurch unter allen Okeaninen hervorgehoben. Was befähigt sie dazu? Freier Wille des Zeus, gewiß, aber man erwartet nach dem sonstigen symbolisch-gnomischen Sinn der Stelle einen inneren Zusammenhang zwischen der Eidesgarantin und ihren „Kraft- und Erfolg" kindern. Also wird man verstehen: unter den Göttern wenigstens steht der Erfolg im Zusammenhang mit dem Recht, wie es durch einen Eid erhärtet werden kann; so ist es eingerichtet, seitdem Zeus die Macht gewonnen hat' (Schwenn 1934: 99).

[11] Lines 36–8 also occur in Calypso's oath in *Odyssey* V, vv. 184–6 and in Leto's oath in the *Hymn to Apollo*, vv. 84–6.

36   Let Earth be my witness and broad Heaven above
37   and the down-flowing water of Styx, which is the greatest
38   and most uncanny oath for the sublime gods,
39   and your own sacred head, and our bed,
40   the bed of our wedded love, by which I surely would never forswear myself.

Because Hera asserts the truth of things that happened in the past, her oath by the water of Styx is an assertory oath. Hence, bestowing on Styx the honor of being the great oath of the gods would mean that Zeus has introduced the institution of the assertory or juridical oath. It would support the position of Fränkel and Schwenn. However, the suggestion that an oath by the water of Styx necessarily represents an assertory or juridical oath can be rejected through at least two instances.

In the *Odyssey* (V, vv. 184–7) Odysseus asks Calypso to swear a great oath, μέγαν ὅρκον, that she will not add any other evil to his suffering:

184   Ἴστω νῦν τόδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε
185   καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος
186   ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν,
187   μή τί τοι αὐτῷ πῆμα κακὸν βουλευσέμεν ἄλλο.

184   Let Earth be my witness and broad Heaven above
185   and the down-flowing water of Styx, which is the greatest
186   and most uncanny oath for the sublime gods,
187   that I will not plot against you any other evil to your suffering.

The first three lines of Calypso's invocation exactly match the first three of Hera's. Yet Calypso's oath is not an assertion concerning the truth of past events but a promise concerning her action in the future. She promises not to add further evil (κακὸν βουλευσέμεν ἄλλο) to Odysseus's suffering (πῆμα), thus, making a promissory oath (cf. Karavites 1992: 17).

In the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (vv. 84–8), Leto swears a great oath that Apollo shall have a temple:

84   Ἴστω νῦν τόδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε
85   καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος
86   ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·
87   ἦ μὴν Φοίβου τῇδε θυώδης ἔσσεται αἰεὶ
88   βωμὸς καὶ τέμενος, τίσει δέ σέ γ' ἔξοχα πάντων.

84   Let Earth be my witness and broad Heaven above
85   and the down-flowing water of Styx, which is the greatest
86   and most uncanny oath for the sublime gods.
87   Surely, Phoebus shall have here his fragrant altar for ever
88   as well as his precinct, and he shall honor you above all.

Again, the first three lines of Leto's invocation exactly match Hera's and Calypso's oaths. By invoking Earth, Heaven, and the down-flowing water of Styx, Leto promises Apollo an altar. Leto's oath equally cannot be considered an assertory or juridical oath but rather a promissory one, since she is not stating the truth of past events but gives a promise concerning her future actions. With the single exception of Hera's, all divine oaths that are taken by Styx have to be regarded as promissory.[12]

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[12] See also *Iliad* XIV 270ff., where Hera takes a promissory oath by the water of Styx. The same applies for human oaths that are taken by the Arcadian river Styx in Nonacris. See: Herodotus VI, 74: ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην, νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὅρκους προσάγων σφι, ἦ μὲν ἕψεσθαί σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγῆται· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων, ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. 'From there (Thessaly) he (Cleomenes) went to Arcadia and created new facts by uniting the Arcadians

Attempts to relate Styx or the water of Styx only to assertory oaths, which are taken in court procedure, are not necessarily convincing in terms of evidence outside the Hesiodic text or within it. The fact that oaths sworn by the water of Styx cannot necessarily be regarded as assertory leaves us with the opportunity to identify the great oath of the gods in Hesiod's narrative with respect to promissory oaths. The ideas of Fränkel and Schwenn that positive law would be enforced through oath-taking were not bad, as they apply the context of social reality to the text, but the Hesiodic text seems to speak of a different reality. It is for this reason, probably, that Solmsen (1949: 33 n. 102) could not find any trace of this thought in Hesiod. Yet, these traces become more visible if one looks beyond the assertory or juridical oath as depicted in Hesiod's *Erga* and the description of Tartarus in the *Theogony*, and tries to reconstruct Zeus' ascendancy to power in relation to promissory oaths.

Without being utterly convincing, Cornford (1952: 222) took the path of interpreting the hymn to Styx within the realm of promissory oaths:

The allegory of the Oath of the gods, bringing Victory, Mastery, and Force to the newly enthroned King is transparent enough. Zeus takes an oath, at his coronation, to confirm the rights and privileges of his courtiers, and his own rule will last so long as he keeps his pledge.

Cornford's interpretation of these lines is very interesting, since it combines oath-taking with Zeus's sovereignty.[13] Zeus, however, is not enthroned or elected king until he will have defeated the Titans (Hesiod, *Theogony*, vv. 881–5). Moreover, does Hesiod really say that Zeus took an oath?

In his commentary West (1966: 276) correctly pointed out that 'Ὅρκος is here not the oath itself, i.e. the act of swearing, but that by which the oath is sworn'. His observation that no words of an oath are cited is certainly correct, as is his conclusion that the reference to the oath in these lines does not necessarily designate an act of swearing but the object by which the oath is sworn: 'A god takes an oath by Styx, not merely by mentioning her name, but by making a libation with her water' (West 1966: 275). West's further conclusion is corroborated by the examples from Homer as well as through the context of the cosmographical passage in Hesiod's *Theogony* (vv. 720-819). But do West's conclusions exhaust the understanding of these lines? Can the treatment of oaths be reduced to citations of oath formulas, an invocation of a god, a ritual, or a ceremonial object? Or, should one also consider legal, socio-legal, or even political aspects of oath-taking? Nevertheless, in following West, one has to interpret the fact that Styx receives the honor of being the great oath of the gods within the context of the battle against the Titans. But what exactly is the context? And how does the connection with the Titanomachy explain the fact that the gods swear by Styx?

READING THE NARRATIVE OF THE HYMN TO STYX

If, according to West, the reason why Styx is made the mother of those four powers is explained through an aetiological myth as to why the gods swear by Styx, then the hymn to Styx offers only one answer: Because Zeus ordained Styx to be the great oath of the gods (αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον, v. 400). Since this answer is somewhat dissatisfying, it is justified to ask the question in a slightly different way: Why did Zeus ordain Styx to be the great oath of the gods? This question may well be answered in the general sense as West does: in connection with the Titanomachy. As we have seen, the more specific answer that the children performed some service for Zeus during the battle against the Titans lacks evidence. The only textual evidence that may lead to this position is that Zeus took the children of Styx as his companions according to

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against Sparta. He imposed other oaths upon them that they truly were to follow him wherever he should lead. And he was especially eager to bring the leading men of the Arcadians to the town of Nonacris, where he had them take the oath by the river Styx.'

[13] The idea of combining oath-taking and the ascendance of Zeus to power has received some support in recent years: 'Even Zeus must swear and is bound to uphold θέμις' (Blickman 1987: 353).

Styx's deliberation (ὡς γὰρ ἐβούλευσε Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Ὠκεανίνη, v. 389). But the same textual evidence also leads to the alternative position that these children enforce the great oath of the gods, once Zeus has established his reign.

Yet, by stressing some textual evidence that has been overlooked so far, the question—Why did Zeus ordain Styx to be the great oath of the gods?—may be answered in a different way: Because Styx was the first to come to Mount Olympus (ἦλθε δ' ἄρα πρώτη Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Οὔλυμπόνδε, v. 397). At first glance this answer may be equally dissatisfying, since the primordial act of arriving first on Mount Olympus is difficult to understand. However, it leads to other questions: Why did Zeus ordain anyone at all to be the great oath of the gods? When did Styx receive the honor of being the great oath of the gods: before or after the battle against the Titans?

Concerning the time of Styx's arrival on Mount Olympus, the Hesiodic text is very precise. The narrative of the hymn to Styx does not mention any events during the Titanomachy, but it explicitly refers to events before as well as after the battle. After the victorious battle it is said that Zeus rules with strength and that he has accomplished everything he promised, ὡς δ' αὔτως πάντεσσι διαμπερὲς ὥς περ ὑπέστη ἐξετέλεσσ' (vv. 402f). The promise was given on the day on which Zeus summoned all the gods to Mount Olympus. On that day (ἤματι τῷ, v. 390), Zeus said or promised that all the gods who would fight with him against the Titans (εἶπε δ', ὃς ἂν μετὰ εἷο θεῶν Τιτῆσι μάχοιτο, v. 392), will not be bereft of honors (μή τιν' ἀπορραίσειν γεράων, v. 393) and that each will retain the esteem (s)he formerly had among the immortal gods (τιμὴν δὲ ἕκαστον ἐξέμεν ἣν τὸ πάρος γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, vv. 393f.). He also promised that those who were dishonored or disregarded by Kronos will rise to honor and esteem (τὸν δ' ἔφαθ', ὅστις ἄτιμος ὑπὸ Κρόνου ἠδ' ἀγέραστος, τιμῆς καὶ γεράων ἐπιβησέμεν, v. 395f.). Thus, Zeus' promise occurred before the battle against the Titans.

The fact that upon Zeus's promise, Styx was the first to come to Mount Olympus (ἦλθε δ' ἄρα πρώτη Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Οὔλυμπόνδε, v. 397) along with her children (σὺν σφοῖσιν παίδεσσι, v. 398) must also refer to events before the battle; otherwise neither she nor her children could have performed any service for Zeus during the battle. Upon her arrival on Mount Olympus, Zeus bestowed on her countless gifts (τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς τίμησε, περισσὰ δὲ δῶρα ἔδωκεν, v. 399) and then decreed her to be the great oath of the gods (αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον, v. 400). Therefore, one must assume that the great oath of the gods was established before the battle against the Titans. If it were the primary function of the great oath of the gods to secure law, positive law that prescribes certain procedures within established Olympian society, then it would have been established after the battle. In that case Hesiod probably would have made Styx a wife of Zeus or a daughter of Themis. This leads to the following question: What is the significance of bestowing on Styx the honor of being the great oath of the gods *before* the battle against the Titans?

On the brink of war against the Titans, Zeus says or promises (εἶπε, v. 392) that those gods who had honors under Kronos will keep them, but those gods who did not have honor will receive some. Zeus's words are not given in direct speech but as an *oratio obliqua* (Fränkel 1931: 15 n. 1). Nevertheless, his words refer to events that may or may not be realized in the future. Therefore one must conclude that his words entail a promise to the other gods. Thus his words represent a promissory speech or a promissory speech-act. However, one cannot conclude that Zeus takes a coronation oath, as Cornford (1952: 222) suggested.

The hymn to Styx neither depicts a coronation ceremony nor a trial scene but Zeus's preparations to overthrow the previous generation of gods in battle. This battle is a conflict between different generations of gods, between Titans and Olympians. The outcome of this conflict decides which party will gain sovereignty. As a conflict concerning sovereignty, the battle is a conflict between enemies, thus a political conflict. In attempting to win allies, Zeus promises to bestow honors on those who will fight with him. Since Zeus's words cannot be regarded as a coronation oath nor as means of evidence in court procedure, they have to be understood as a pledge or vow, a promise with legal implications.

The problem of a promise's legal implications is of lesser interest for positive law, yet of great interest for natural-law philosophy. Faced with the problem of what kind of lies and deceptions towards the enemy are allowed in war, it was Hugo Grotius (1646 [1625]) who claimed that on the basis of natural law it is licit to lie to enemies in assertory speech but not in promissory speech.[14] Grotius (1646 [1625]: III 19, 1) then argued that a promise necessarily confers a new right on someone to whom the promise is made: *promissio per se jus novum confert*. Applying Grotius's argument to the hymn to Styx in Hesiod's *Theogony* would mean the following: In promising honors to those gods who will fight with him against the Titans (εἶπε δ', ὃς ἂν μετὰ εἷο θεῶν Τιτῆσι μάχοιτο, v. 392), Zeus does not establish law (Gesetz) but confers a legal right (*ius*, Recht) on the other gods. Upon receiving Zeus's promise, Styx was the first to accept it by arriving as the first on Mount Olympus. Since Styx was the first of all the gods who came to Mount Olumpus, she is decreed to be the θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον, the great oath of the gods. Styx was accompanied by her children, eager Rivalry or Emulation (Ζῆλος), Victory (Νίκη), Strength or Dominion (Κράτος), and Violence (Βίη), who became companions of Zeus. By bestowing on Styx the honor of being the great oath of the gods and on her children the honor of dwelling with him forever, Zeus accomplished everything as he had promised, ὥς περ ὑπέστη (v. 402).

In creating the institution of the great oath of the gods, Zeus makes his promise more binding. It not only serves as an example for those who will follow Zeus in the future but also provides guarantees as well as trust in his future actions. Thus, Zeus gains sovereignty through a promise that he gives to the other gods by creating the institution of the great oath of the gods. As a consequence he is inaugurated as king after the victorious battle (Hesiod, *Theogony*, vv. 881–5).

Although Zeus does not swear an oath in order to validate his promise, his promise comes close to a promise under oath insofar as he establishes Styx as the great oath of the gods as a witness for his promise. Perhaps one can even maintain that establishing the institution of the great oath of the gods defines Zeus's promise as a promise under oath. In that case Zeus's promise could be considered as a promissory oath. It then would be a mnemo-technical device that supposedly adds more credibility to a speech-act. To that extent Zeus's promise does not differ from promises under oath that are given by kings and queens upon their inauguration. Oath or no oath, the point is that promissory speech has legal implications and does not need corroboration through an additional oath.

Styx's receipt of the honor of being the great oath of the gods represents the first step in creating a new order, the first step in establishing the social contract of the Olympian community. Once Zeus has established his reign, the appointment of Styx as the great oath of the gods may well represent the institution of the juridical oath as prescribed in court procedures. Whenever a god takes the great oath, he or she is implicitly reminded of Zeus's promise. A god who perjures himself in taking the great oath of the gods threatens the social contract of the Olympians. Therefore he will be punished like a Titan, who has to live in Tartarus. Unlike a Titan, who has to dwell in Tartarus forever, the perjured god will be able to return to the Olympian community after nine years. The enormous punishment for swearing a false oath seems to be justified for the simple reason that Styx in connection with deified Oath has become a fundamental principle of the Olympian community. Violating the great oath of the gods is to question the fundaments of the Olympian community. Therefore, Styx keeps an eye on its function.

Under the reign of Zeus, the great oath of the gods can be considered both an assertory and promissory oath. Its origin, however, is not the assertion of truth, as Hirzel conceived it, claiming that the assertory oath is the original or primordial form of oath taking, whereas the promissory oath is derived from it (Hirzel 1902: 171–5). The origin of oath taking, however, has to be seen in

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[14] '*Sciendum vero quae de falsiloquio diximus ad asserentem sermonem, et quidem talem qui nulli nisi publico hosti noceat, non ad promittem referenda. Nam ex promissione, ut jam modo dicere coepimus, jus speciale ac novum confertur ei cui fit promissio*' (Grotius [2]1646 [1625]: III 1, 18). See also book III 19, 1: '*Nam vero eloquendi obligatio est ex causa, quae bello fuit anterior, et bello tolli forte aliquatenus potest: at promissio per se jus novum confert.*'

the provision of guarantees: the promise. Just as Thomas Hobbes some centuries later claimed that the assertory oath must be reduced to the promissory oath,[15] the narrative of Styx receiving the honor of being the great oath of the gods must be conceived as a primordial act of promise-giving.

Interpreting Hesiod's *Theogony* in terms of natural-law philosophy not only elucidates the narrative of the hymn to Styx, but it also opens the field for further investigations into the relation with its Near Eastern forebears. The connection will be briefly indicated here.

HESIOD'S *THEOGONY* 383–403, *ENUMA ELIŠ* VI 95–100, AND *KUB* 33 120, 1–7

Parallels between Hesiod's *Theogony* and the *Kingship in Heaven* are found in the myth of succession (Forrer 1935; 1936; Steiner 1958; Haas 1994: 106–15; West 1997: 276–305). The most striking parallel is the succession of divine kings. The sequence of Uranos-Kronos-Zeus exactly matches the sequence of Anu-Kumarbi-Tessub in the Hittite epic and Anu-Ea-Marduk in the Babylonian epic. Both Uranos and Anu represent heaven, Kronos and Kumarbi are corn and harvest-gods, while Tessub and Zeus are storm- and weather-gods.

In Hesiod's *Theogony* the succession of divine rulers begins when Kronos overcomes his father Uranos by castrating him with a sickle of adamant; it comes to an end when Kronos is defeated in battle by his son Zeus. Here, I think, one can point out a further similarity, if not a further parallel (with a significant difference) between Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Enuma Eliš*. Both Marduk and Zeus have prepared their reign through a promise given to the other gods before their decisive battles.

In *Enuma Eliš* (III, 113ff) the future king Marduk comes forward to announce his fight against Tiamat and her monsters, when the other gods are struck with fear. As soon as Anshar's messenger brings Marduk's words to Lahmu and Lahamu, they assemble the gods. In promising to defeat Tiamat and her monsters, Marduk confers a legal right on the other gods for a new order. In accepting Marduk's promise, the elderly generation of the gods also confers a legal right on Marduk by giving him the tablet of destinies. In giving Marduk the tablet of destinies, they bestow on him the honor of supreme command. Thereby a contract has been established between Marduk and the elder generation of gods. After the defeat of Tiamat, the other gods acknowledge Marduk as their sovereign (*EE* VI, 95–100):[16]

95	*ip-hu-ru-nim-ma*	DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL
96	*ši-mat* ^dAMAR.UTU *ul-lu-ú*	*šu-nu uš-ken-nu*
97	*ú-zak-ki-ru-ma*	*a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu a-ra-ru*
98	*ina* A.MEŠ *ù* Ì.GIŠ *it-mu-ú*	*ú-lap-pi-tu₄ nap-šá-a-ti*
99	*id-di-nu-šum-ma*	*šar-ru-ut* DINGIR.DINGIR *e-pe-šá*
100	*a-na be-lu-ut* DINGIR.DINGIR *šá* AN-*e u* KI-*tim*	*šu-nu uk-tin-nu-šu*

95	Then they convened, the great gods,
96	they elevated the destiny of Marduk, they prostrated themselves.
97	They laid upon themselves a curse,
98	with water and oil they swore, they touched their throats.
99	They granted him exercise of kingship over the gods.
100	They established him firmly the lordship of heaven and netherworld.

In prostrating themselves the gods elevate Marduk. Their oath is the final part of Marduk's inauguration, which is concluded by a loyalty oath during the coronation ceremony. Marduk's path to becoming the new king of the gods is in two parts. It started when he came forward to fight Tiamat and is concluded after her defeat. The assembly of the gods elected Marduk as their

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[15] '*Neque obstat, quod jusjurandum non solum promissorium, sed aliquando affirmatorium dici posit: nam qui affirmationem juramento confirmat, permittet se vera respondere.*' Thomas Hobbes, *De cive* II 20 (= *Op. Lat.* II Sp. 179).

[16] These lines are not included in Labat's edition (1935). They were discovered in Sultantepe (Gurney 1952: 25–35; 1954–6: 353–6).

supreme commander by giving him the tablet of destinies. After Tiamat's defeat, the gods' oath ceremony acknowledges both Marduk's sovereignty and the legal status of his kingship (*šarrūtu*). Although Marduk does not have to take an oath, kingship as well as lordship (*bēlūtu*) over heaven and netherworld (*ša šamê u erṣetim*) is granted to him through an oath of the other gods.

There are further common motifs and themes in Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Hittite *Kingship in Heaven* with respect to the myth of succession. Both Anu and Uranos have their genitals cut off. Kronos cuts off Uranos's genitals with a sickle, Kumarbi bites off the genitals of Anu (the motive for the separation of heaven and earth). From their genitals other gods spring forth. From the blood of Uranos's genitals the principle of divine vengeance, the Erinys, comes forth and from the foam where the genitals have fallen into the sea, the goddess Aphrodite emerges. In swallowing Anu's genitals Kumarbi is impregnated with Tessub, Tasmisu, and Kanzura. After he has given birth to them he seems to swallow them again. Like Kronos, who receives a stone instead of Zeus, Kumarbi seems to be provided with a stone instead of Tessub. In each case the stone will be connected with a ritual (Haas 2002: 234–7).

While the passage in Hesiod's *Theogony* represents a hymn to the supreme god Zeus, the *Song of Kumarbi*, the first part of the epic cycle the *Kingship in Heaven (*Güterbock 1980–3), is not a hymn to the supreme god Tessub but an invocation of the old gods of the netherworld:

1   […….. approx. 18 signs ……..] ka-[ru]-ú-i-l[i-y]a-aš-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-iš ku-i-e-e[š]
2   [……. approx. 12 signs ……]i-iš da-aš-ša-u-e-eš iš-ta-m[a-aš-k]án-du ᵈNa[-ra-aš]
3   [ᵈNa-ap-ša-ra-aš ᵈMi-in-k]i-iš ᵈAm-mu-un-ki-iš iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-id-du ᵈAm-me-[e]z-za-du-u[š]
4   [….. approx. 10 signs …..]x-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš iš-ta-ma-aš-kán-du
5   [. approx. 8 signs …]x-uš ᵈIš-ha-ra-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš iš-ta-ma-aš-kán-du ᵈEN.LÍL-aš
6   [ᵈNIN.LÍL-aš kat-ta ša-r]a-a-ya ku-i-e-eš da-aš-ša-u-e-eš wa-ak-tu-u-ri-iš DINGIR.MEŠ-iš
7   [x]—x—x[k]u-ul-ku-li-im-ma-aš-ša iš-ta-ma-aš-[ká]n-du ka-ru-ú-uš-ša-an[17]

1   [………………………………] (to) the old gods who
2   […………………………….] (….) the strong (gods?) shall hear, Na[ra] (and)
3   [Napsara, Mink]i and Ammunki shall hear, Amm[e]zzandu
4   [……………….](…) father (and) mother shall hear
5   [……………..](…) Išhara's father (and) mother shall hear, Enlil (and)
6   [Ninlil, those below and ab]ove who are the mighty and perpetual gods
7   [   ]   shall listen: Once

The *Song of Kumarbi* begins with an invocation of the *karuileš šiuneš* 'the early and old gods'. These early and old gods, however, are not necessarily considered to be primeval gods, since the *Song of Kumarbi* is concerned not with the origins of the gods but with the history of divine kingship. The *karuileš šiuneš* are equivalent to the Hurrian *ammati-na enna*. A Hurrian-Hittite bilingual text has the following equation: *a-ma-at-te-na e-en-na = ka-ru-ú-li-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*uš* (*KBo* 32, 1ff). The *karuileš šiuneš* are also equivalent to the *katereš šiuneš* 'the inferior gods', or gods of the netherworld. Further, *katereš šiuneš* is also a translation of the Hurrian *enna turi-na* (*du-ú-ri-e-na*), 'inferior gods', who live in the netherworld and belong to the first generation of gods. The distance of time has become a distance of space: the gods of the past are thought to be the gods of netherworld.

These old oath deities Nara and Napšara, Minki and Ammunki, Ammezadu, Išhara, Enlil and Ninlil are known as divine witnesses from the Hittite state treaties (Korošec 1931). Here, in the *Song of Kumarbi*, these oath deities are asked to listen: *ištamaškandu* 'they shall hear' (l. 7). In the Tavagalava-letter there is a close connection between the imperative *ištamaškandu* 'they shall hear' and words that are sworn (Sommer 1932: 4–5). Thus, these old oath deities are invoked as witnesses for securing sovereignty of each divine ruler within the succession of divine kings.

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[17] *KUB* 33 120. The text follows the edition of Laroche 1968; for the *Kingship in Heaven,* see 37ff.

To conclude, already in the ancient Near East the sovereignty of the highest god was connected with the institution of the oath: either in form of divine witnessing or in form of a divine loyalty oath. This may well be a reflection of the investiture and coronation ceremony of actual Babylonian and Hittite kings. Unfortunately, no oath is mentioned in one of the few attested Mesopotamian coronation ceremonies, the crowning of Nabopolassar, a point that already has been made in the context of *Enuma Eliš*.[18]

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[18] 'The coronation of Nabopolassar […] is the sole narrative preserved in cuneiform of the ritual attending the accession of a Mesopotamian king. The only comparable account is the crowning of Marduk as king of the gods in Enuma Elish (Tablet IV)' (Grayson 1975: 78). 'The image of an earthly coronation is reflected in the Babylonian creation myth *Enuma Eliš* […], where the gods make Marduk their king. In the assembly of the gods, Marduk is chosen as their king; they acclaim with joy and blessing (*Marduk-ma šarru*) 'Marduk is indeed/truly king'. They bestow upon him the insignia of kingship, scepter, throne and symbol of kingship (*palû*)' (Ben-Barak 1980: 59).

HYMNS TO NINISINA AND NERGAL
ON THE TABLETS ASH 1911.235 AND NI 9672

GÁBOR ZÓLYOMI—BUDAPEST

This paper consists of two main parts.[1] The first part contains a transliteration and a translation of the compositions preserved on Ash 1911.235 and Ni 9672 with philological commentary. A copy and photos of Ash 1911.235 are also included. Ash 1911.235 was published over ninety years ago as BL 196 (Langdon 1913: 84–6, pl. 64), while Ni 9672 was published in a hand copy in ISET 2, pl. 3. No-one has recognized, however, that these two tablets preserve the same compositions. The second part of the paper discusses the relationship between the compositions that end with a so-called kaga muniĝar refrain, in connection with the fragmentary tablet Ni 1138, which might have contained the same compositions as Ash 1911.235 and Ni 9672, and whose colophon refers to the first line of Išme-Dagan W.

HYMNS TO NINISINA AND NERGAL ON THE TABLETS ASH 1911.235 AND NI 9672
Ash 1911.235[2] is a one-column tablet that preserves two separate compositions on its obverse and reverse; the compositions are separated by a deeper ruling on the lower edge. The tablet was first published as BL 196 (Langdon 1913: 84–6, pl. 64); its size is 6.5 × 11.5 cm. The provenance of the tablet is unknown.[3] Langdon provided the text with a transliteration but no translation. Using photographs of the tablet, van Dijk (1960: 16) transliterated and translated lines 15–21 of the reverse.

The new copy published here (Fig. 1) also shows the first 16 very fragmentary lines of the obverse which were not copied by Langdon. Two sets of photos are published here. The older photos are the same as those used by van Dijk (Fig 2). The new set was kindly made by Eleanor Robson in 2005 (Fig. 3). The only difference between the present state of the tablet and that shown on the older photos is that the place with the foreign clay is now filled with plaster. The small fragment preserving the ends of rev. 12–17 has been glued incorrectly to the tablet; it should be positioned half a line higher. The copy published here shows the fragment in its correct position.

The composition on the obverse of Ash 1911.235 is a hymn to Ninisina (not recognized as separate composition in ETCSL), while that on the reverse is a hymn to Nergal that concludes with a kaka muniĝar refrain (see section 2 below), and is known as Išme-Dagan T (ETCSL 2.5.4.20). After a double ruling the reverse ends with the first two lines of Išme-Dagan K (ETCSL 2.5.4.11).[4]

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[2] The tablet is erroneously referred to as Ash 1911, 255 by Ludwig 1990: 18.

[3] It was purchased from a dealer in London, who claimed that he had bought the tablet in Baghdad. Langdon 1913: 81 noted that the tablet (together with Ash 1911.236: see Zólyomi 2005a) must 'have been tampered with by some thievish person who attempted to mend them with clay and to complete the lines with cuneiform signs. When the tablets arrived at the Ashmolean Museum, they had the appearance of being in a perfect state of preservation. I have of course removed the modern restorations.'

[4] The number in brackets after the title is the composition's catalogue number in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL, Black et al. 1998–).
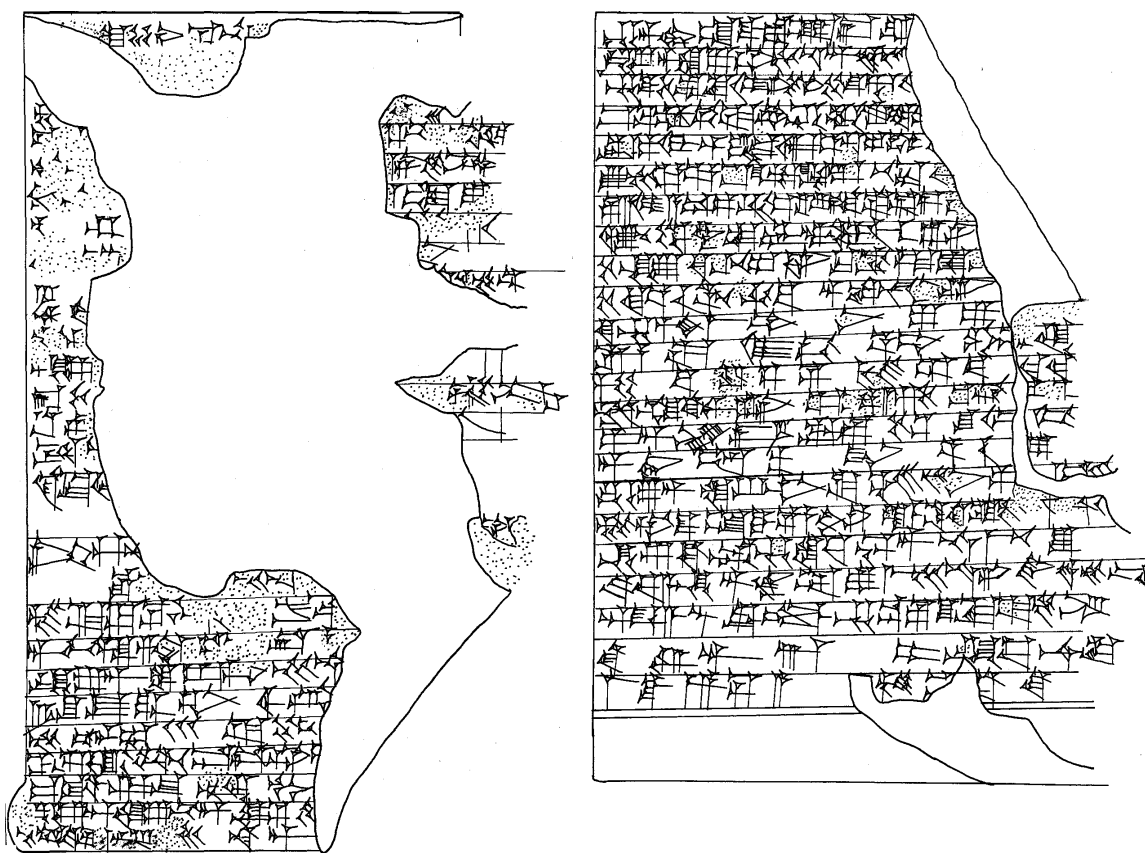
Figure 1: Ash 1911.235 obverse (left) and reverse (right); copy by Gábor Zólyomi

Ni 9672 is a fragment of a one-column tablet, published in ISET 2, pl. 3. Its obverse duplicates Ash 1911.235 obv. 15–26 and its reverse duplicates rev. 5–17. It is very likely therefore that the original tablet of Ni 9672 contained the same compositions as the Ashmolean tablet.

Ash 1911.235 appears to be written by a scribe whose hand was poor. The tablet contains numerous badly formed signs; for example, the sign AMA in obv. 24, the fancy sign UNU×GAL in rev. 1, the first sign of rev. 8, the use of the sign GUR for writing the verb luḫ in rev. 11, the writing of Nergal's name in rev. 16, the writing of the word me with a LAL-like sign in rev. 11, 19, 20, and 23. Nergal's name is written in three different ways on the reverse: KIŠ.UNU.GAL (rev. 1), KIŠ.AB×GAL.GAL? (rev. 16)[5], and KIŠ.AB×GAL (rev. 20). Especially towards the end of the reverse, sign forms become very irregular. The size of the signs is uneven: the tablet starts with relatively small signs on the reverse, which become quite large by the end of the tablet. The surface of the tablet is rather worn around the middle of the reverse, due to its convexity, making it very difficult to read at that point.

Transliteration
A = Ash 1911.235; B = Ni 9672 (ISET 2, pl. 3)

Segment A
1   A obv. 1   [x (x)] [ᵈ]ʳninʼ-isin₂ˢⁱ-na […]

2   A obv. 2   […]

---

[5] For a similar writing of Nergal's name, cf. Šu-ilišu A (ETCSL 2.5.2.1) ll. 21 23 on CBS 14074 (ms. B).

|		
3	A obv. 3	⸢nam⸣ […] x-⸢le$^?$⸣
4	A obv. 4	e$_2^?$ x […]-⸢ra$^?$⸣-bi ed$_3$([UD].DU)–de$_3$
5	A obv. 5	⸢AN NIN$^?$⸣ […] x ⸢ba$^?$⸣-ni-in-tag
6	A obv. 6	x x […] ⸢a$_2^?$⸣ aĝ$_2$-⸢ra$^?$⸣
7	A obv. 7	⸢nam⸣ x en […] x x
8	A obv. 8	x [x] x x […] ḪI$^?$
9	A obv. 9	niĝ$_2$ […]-⸢na$^?$-šum$_2^?$⸣-mu-uš
10	A obv. 10	^{d}⸢nin⸣-[isin$_2^{si}$-na …]
11	A obv. 11	⸢nam$^?$⸣ x […]
12	A obv. 12	^{d}en-lil$_2$ […]
13	A obv. 13	e$_2$-kur […]-ni-in-DU
14	A obv. 14	ki-⸢bi$^?$⸣ […] x
15	A obv. 15 B obv. 1′	a$_2$ x […] x [x] x x […]
16	A obv. 16 B obv. 2′	ki-ur$_3^!$ ⸢ki⸣-[…] [x]-⸢ur$_3^!$⸣ ki-tuš kug x […]
17	A obv. 17 B obv. 3′–4′	i$_3$ ḫi-nun-⸢na⸣ […]-⸢ta$^?$⸣; e-⸢ne$^?$⸣-[ra] ⸢mu-na⸣-[…] [x] ⸢ḫi⸣-nun-na ^{tug_2}niĝ$_2$-lama$_3$(KAL) sag$_9$ […] / ⸢e⸣-ne-ra mu-na-an-šum$_2$-mu-⸢uš⸣
18	A obv. 18 B obv. 5′	nam-sa$_{12}$-du$_5$ eg$_2$ ⸢pa$_5$ <e$_2$>-mi-tum⸣-ma-[…] ⸢nam⸣-sa$_{12}$-du$_5$ eg$_2$ pa$_5$ <e$_2$>-mi-tum-ma-al^{ki}-ka
19	A obv. 19 B obv. 6′	^{d}gu-la gi 1 nindan(⸢NIĜ.DU⸣)⸢na⸣ [x] gana$_2$ ⸢za⸣-[gin$_3$ …] ^{d}gu-la gi nindan(NIĜ.DU)^{na} eš$_2$ gana$_2$ za-gin$_3$-bi
20	A obv. 20 B obv. 7′	^{d}en-lil$_2$ ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-bi mu-na-an-[…] ^{d}en-lil$_2$ ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-bi mu-na-an- šum$_2$-mu-uš
21	A obv. 21 B obv. 8′	ninda šu ur$_3$-ra kaš igi-bi […] ninda šu$^!$(ŠE$_3$) ur$_3$-ra kaš igi-bi-še$_3$ ku$_4$-ku$_4$
22	A obv. 22 B obv. 9′	mu-na$^!$-an-ne$^!$-eš saĝ-en$_3$-[tar …] mu-na-an-ne-eš saĝ-en$_3$-tar zid-bi
23	A obv. 23 B obv. 10′	gal-zu u$_3$-en$_3$ nu-ša$_4$-ša$_4$-bi ⸢muš$^?$⸣ […] ⸢gal-zu⸣ u$_3$-en$_3$ nu-ša$_4$-ša$_4$-bi muš nu-tum$_2$-mu-bi
24	A obv. 24 B obv. 11′	ĝeštug$_2$ daĝal$^!$ šu maḫ dim-[…] [x x] x ⸢daĝal⸣ šu maḫ dim-dim-⸢ma⸣
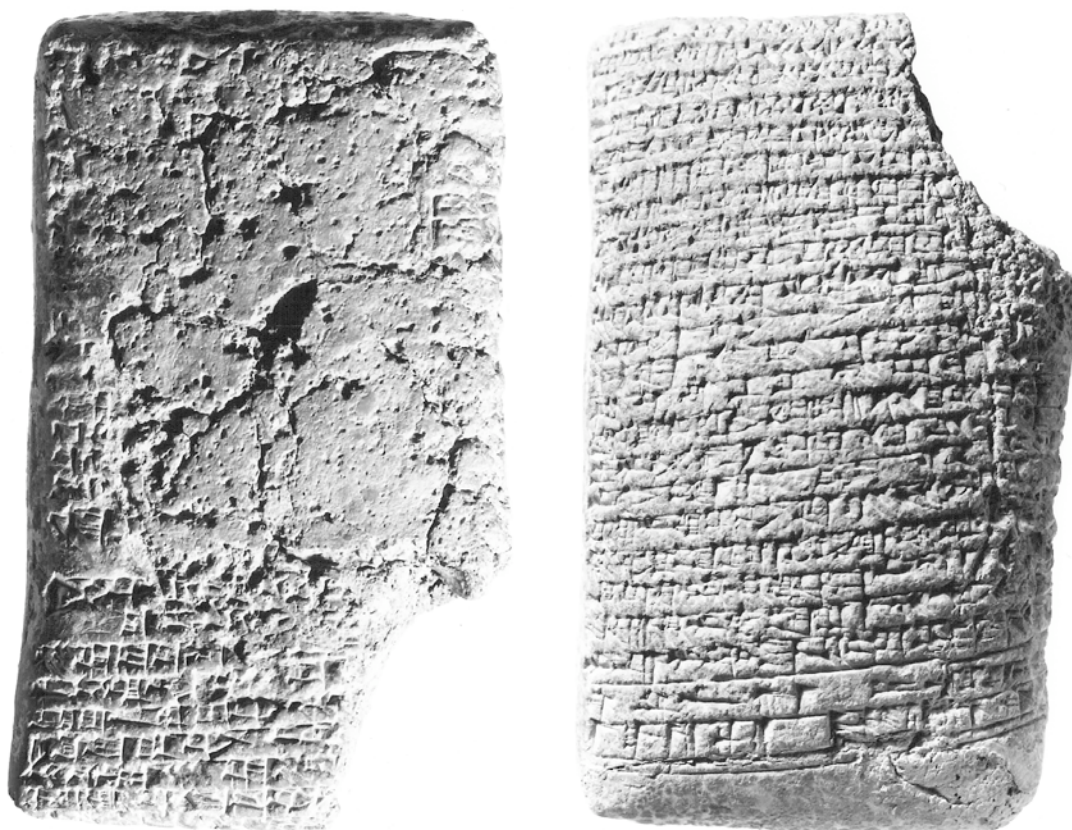
Figure 2a: Older photos of Ash 1911.235 (Ashmolean Museum, unknown photographer)

25   A obv. 25   ⌜ᵈen⌝-lil₂ ᵈnin-lil₂-bi ᵈnin-ˢⁱ⌜isin₂⌝-[…]
      B obv. 12′   […]-⌜isin₂⌝ˢⁱ-na-ra

26   A obv. 26   ⌜munus?⌝ maḫ ša₃-zu ⌜an? ki?⌝ (x) mu-na-an-[šum₂-mu-uš]
      B obv. 13′   […] ⌜MU⌝ E x

27   B obv. 14′   […] ⌜mu?-na?⌝-[…]

Segment B
1   A rev. 1   en ᵈnergal(KIŠ.UNU.GAL)-ra irigalₓ(UNU×GAL) e₂-mes-[lam …]

2   A rev. 2   ᵈen-lil₂ ᵈnin-lil₂-bi mu-na-an-šum₂-mu-[uš …]

3   A rev. 3   en gal kur-ra-ka mi-ni-in-kur₉-re-⌜eš?⌝ […]

4   A rev. 4   ᵍⁱˢaga₃⌜!⌝-šilig-ga saĝ-bi-gin₇ šu₂-ur₂-šu₂-ru ⌜erim₂⌝ […]

5   A rev. 5   a₂-sag₃ dugud ᵈudug? ḫul ud ḫu-um-tag x […]
      B rev. 1′   […] x […]

6   A rev. 6   u₃-mu-un kalam-ma dul₄-dul₄-la? BAD DA? ⌜IGI?⌝ […]
      B rev. 2′   […] ⌜kalam-ma?⌝ […]

7   A rev. 7   iri-a ĝi₆-a du ᵍⁱˢig ĜIŠ KUG x GA KI saĝ ĝa₂⌜!⌝-ĝa₂ x […]
      B rev. 3′   […] ⌜du⌝ x x […]
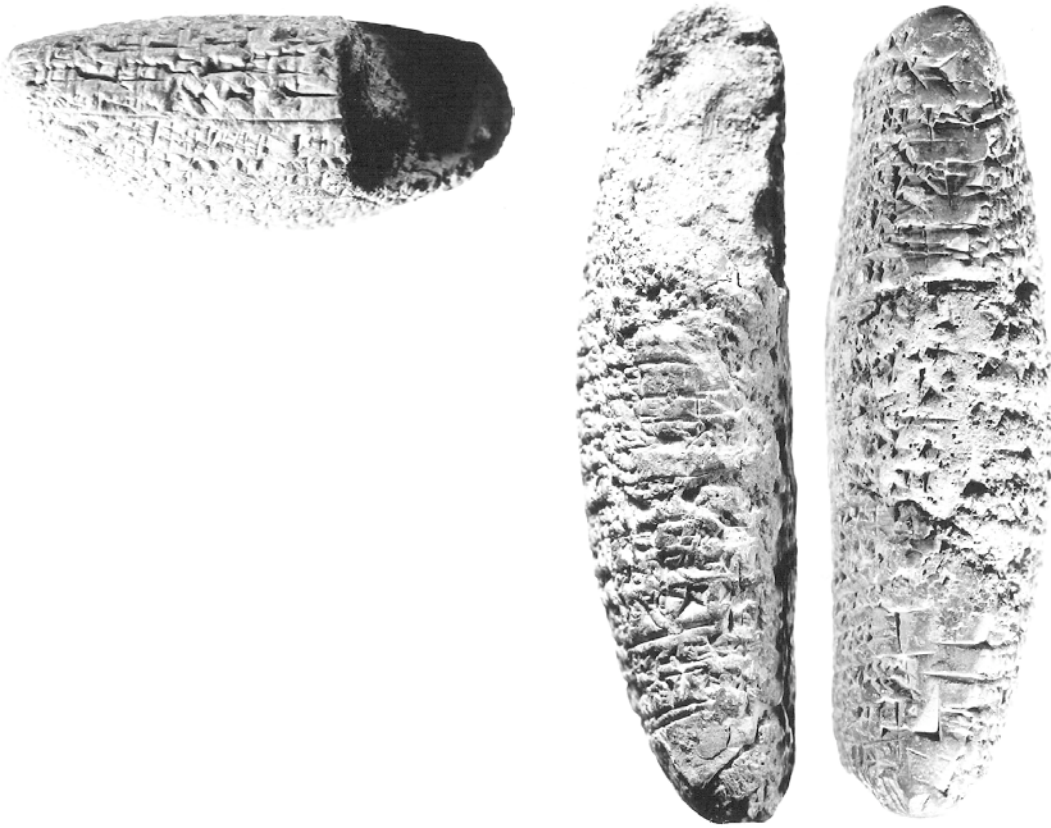
Figure 2b: Older photos of Ash 1911.235 (Ashmolean Museum, unknown photographer)

8   A rev. 8   u₃ˈ(ḪUL) nu-ku₄ pirig? KA x maḫ x igi bar-ra-ˈniˈ […]
          B rev. 4´   ˈu₃?ˈ [x x] pirig KA me₃? ˈmaḫ?ˈ […]

9   A rev. 9   kur nibruki-ˈše₃ˈ nu-um-ši-ni-ib-ĝal₂-la IŠ x […]
          B rev. 5´   kur nibruki-še₃ nu-um-ši-ˈib-ĝal₂ˈ-la? x x x x ˈAK?ˈ

10   A rev. 10   kur ki ud-šu₂ ud nu-ĝal₂-ba ᵈbi₂-ti?-ir šu-ni […]
          B rev. 6´   kur ki ud-šu₂ ud ˈnu-ĝal₂-ˈla?ˈ ᵈbi₂-ti?-ir šu-ni šum₂-mu

11   A rev. 11   ki-en-gi me-bi i₃-luḫˈ(GUR)-luḫˈ(GUR)-[x]
          B rev. 7´   ki-en-gi me-bi i₃-luḫ-luḫ-ḫa

12   A rev. 12   uĝ₃ saĝ gig₂-ga ud-bi su₃-ˈud-du?ˈ-u₃
          B rev. 8´   ˈuĝ₃ˈ-[x] gig₂-ˈgaˈ ud-bi su₃-ud-u₃

13   A rev. 13   zi-ba ˈḫul₂?ˈ si-si namˈ-ab-ba sa₂ di
          B rev. 9´   ˈzi?ˈ-[x] x si-si nam-ab-ba sa₂ di

14   A rev. 14   eĝir-bi-še₃ ki diĝir-ra-ni gu₃ de₂-a-ašˈ kur-še₃ gu₂ˈ ˈsi-siˈ
          B rev. 10´   […]-ˈše₃ˈ ki diĝir-ra-ni gu₃ de₂-a-aš kur-še₃ gu₂ si-si

15   A rev. 15   ĝarza gi₁₆-sa niĝ₂ da-ri₂ kur-še₃ šu ˈdu₇ˈ-du₇
          B rev. 11´   […] ˈniĝ₂ˈ da-ri₂ kur-še₃ šu du₇-du₇

Figure 3: Photographs of Ash 1911.235 taken in 2005 (Eleanor Robson)

| 16 | A rev. 16 | ᵈnergal(KIŠ.AB×GAL.GAL$^?$) lugal ud-šu₂-⌜ra⌝ |
| | B rev. 12′ | […] ⌜lugal⌝ ud-šu₂-ra |

| 17 | A rev. 17 | ᵈen-lil₂ ᵈnin-lil₂-bi saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-⌜rig₇⌝-eš |
| | B rev. 13′ | […]-⌜e$^?$-eš$^?$ mu-ni$^?$-rig₇⌝-eš |

| 18 | A rev. 18 | nam-bi-še₃ iri₁₁-gal uĝ₃ šar₂ zal-la ME e₂$^?$ ki-tuš-še₃ mu-⌜na-an-šum₂-mu⌝-[uš] |

| 19 | A rev. 19 | nibruᵏⁱ maḫ en nin-zu-gin₇ diĝir na-me nu-dib |

| 20 | A rev. 20 | šag₄-zu-a en ᵈnergal(KIŠ.AB×GAL)-ra me mu-na-ni-in-šum₂-mu-uš |

| 21 | A rev. 21 | ᵈiš-me-ᵈda-gan-me-en du-ri₂-še₃ ka-ga₁₄ mu-ni-ĝar |

| 22 | A rev. 22 | ki-sikil ᵈinana dumu ᵈsuen-na-ka |

| 23 | A rev. 23 | me gal me-a dirig [niĝ₂]-nam-e ⌜sa₂ di⌝ |

Translation
Segment A
¹⁻⁹ …… Ninisina ……
(*1 line missing*, *6 lines unclear*)
…… was given …… by …….
¹⁰⁻¹⁷…… Nin-isina …….
(*1 line unclear*)
Enlil ……. Ekur ……,
(*2 lines unclear*)
…… the Ki-ur, the holy seat …… precious oil, beautiful *niĝlam* garment, … was given to her by them. ¹⁸⁻²⁶Gula was given the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line for the accountancy of the levees and ditches belonging to the Emi-tummal by Enlil and Ninlil. They ordered her, their faithful caretaker, the wise and unfathomable, who cares unceasingly for them, to bring *šuʾura* bread and beer in front of them. Ninisina, the exalted woman, the midwife of heaven and earth$^?$, was given broad wisdom created by an august hand by Enlil and Ninlil.
²⁷(*1 line unclear*)

Segment B
¹⁻²Lord Nergal was given the underworld, the E-meslam …… by Enlil and Ninlil. They made him the great lord of the netherworld ….
³⁻⁹…… like the head of a mighty mace that overwhelms the enemy, …… the dangerous *asag* demon, the evil *udug* demon ……, …… the blood covering the Land, ……, prowling at night in the city ……, who never rests, the lion ……, …… the netherworld which does not …… for Nibru …….
¹⁰⁻¹⁸To see that the netherworld where the sun sets, where there is no light, is entrusted to Biti, to prolong the life of the black-headed people of Sumer where the divine powers are utterly cleansed, to fill their life with happiness, to make them reach an old age, to see that after their death they gather to the place where one is called by his personal god (i.e., to the place of death), to the netherworld, and to see that the precious and lasting cultic ordinances are performed befitting the netherworld, Nergal, the king of sunset, was entrusted by Enlil and Ninlil. Because of this they gave him the underworld where the numerous perished people …… as a dwelling place.
¹⁹⁻²¹August Nibru, no god excels like your lord and lady! In your midst they have bestowed the divine powers on lord Nergal. I, Išme-Dagan, have put this (composition) in everyone's mouth for all time.
²²⁻²³Young woman Inana, Suen's daughter, who achieves everything, even the great divine powers which exceed all other divine powers.

Commentary

A 17   With some hesitation, the writing ^{tug2}niĝ$_2$-lama$_3$(KAL) is considered here to be a fanciful writing of the usual ^{tug2}niĝ$_2$-lam$_2$ = Akkadian *lam(a)ḫuššû*.

A 19   The writing NIĜ.DU for the length unit nindan is said to be characteristic of the pre-Ur III period by Powell (1972: 197–201); see now also Foster and Robson (2004).

A21   For other attestations of the *šu'ura* bread, see Oppenheim (1948: 56 E 34 136 S 10); ḪAR-ra 23–24, Nippur Forerunner 6.1 70 (MSL 11 120); ḪAR-ra 20–24, OB Forerunner 13 ii 99 (MSL 11 49); ḪAR-ra 20–24, Susa Forerunner 1 vi 8; Owen (1980: 192 (HSM 911.5.31, obv. 6, and 195–6).

A 23   For reading u$_3$-li as u$_3$-en$_3$, see Sjöberg (1977: 8, to l. 10) with reference to van Dijk (1983: II 180, to l. 721).

A 25–7   The first preserved line on the reverse of Ni 9672 corresponds to rev. 5 on the Ashmolean tablet. Obv. 12′ of Ni 9672 corresponds to the penultimate line of Ash 1911.235. Obv. 13′ of Ni 9672 does not seem to match the text of the last line on the obverse of the Ashmolean tablet, and the last line on the obverse of the Nippur tablet (= l. 14′) is unlikely to correspond to line 1 on the reverse of the Ashmolean tablet. If the hymn to Nergal also started on the reverse on the original tablet of Ni 9672, then the poem to Ninisina may have been at least 5–6 lines longer on the Nippur tablet than on the Ashmolean tablet. The last two lines on the obverse of Ni 9672, which do not appear to correspond to any of the lines on the Ashmolean tablet, may also support the assumption that the Nippur version of the Ninisina composition had a different ending. Alternatively, the Nergal hymn could have started already on the obverse of Ni 9672, so the Nippur version of the Ninisina composition was not substantially longer than the one preserved on the Ashmolean tablet. In the absence of any information about the physical features of Ni 9672, it is, however, impossible to decide this question.

B 1   The sign transliterated here as irigal(UNU×GAL) appears to be a mixture of the writings iri$_{11}$(UNU)-gal and irigal$_x$(AB×GAL).

B 6   The word u$_3$-mu-un is here a phonographic writing for u$_3$-mun 'blood' (cf. Green 1978: 150).

B11   The only attestation of the word luḫ in connection with me is *The lament for Nibru* (ETCSL 2.2.4) 59:

   me luḫ-luḫ-ḫa sikil šen-na-bi šu pel-la$_2$-ke$_4$-eš e$_2$-e ur$_5$ ib$_2$-ug$_7$
   The temple despairs of its divine powers, utterly cleansed, pure, hallowed, which are now defiled!

B 14   The expression ki diĝir-ra-ni gu$_3$ de$_2$-a literally means 'the place where one is called by his personal god'. It can be understood with reference to the Akkadian expression *(ištu/ūm/warki)* PN *ilū-ša/šu/šina iq-te-ru-(ú)-ša/šu/šināti* '(since/when/after) PN was called by his/her/their personal god' (see CDA Q 242–3), a euphemism for 'to die'.
   For descriptions of the netherworld as a place where the people 'gather' (gu$_2$—si), see Sjöberg and Bergman (1969: 88 to l. 180).

B 18   The word zal may be used here in the meaning 'to perish', see CAD Q 178–9.

B 22–3   These two lines are the first two lines of Išme-Dagan K (ETCSL 2.5.4.11).[6]

THE KAGA MUNIĜAR COMPOSITIONS

The composition to Nergal concludes with the following line on Ash 1911.235:

^{d}iš-me-^{d}da-gan-me-en da-ri$_2$-še$_3$ ka-ga$_{14}$ mu-ni-ĝar
I, Išme-Dagan, have put this (composition) in everyone's mouth for all time.

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[6] See Zólyomi 2000a on line 2 of Išme-Dagan K.

Table 1: Tablets preserving KM compositions

Siglum	Tablet number	Description
A	U 7744 = UET 6/1 118	Two-column tablet from Ur, written with short lines.
B	CBS 10512	Fragment of a one-column excerpt tablet from Nippur, upper edge preserved. Ludwig 1990: Taf. 1 (photo).
C	UM 29-15-254	Fragment of a two- or more column collective tablet from Nippur, upper and lower edges missing. Sjöberg 1974–5: 179 (photo); Ludwig 1990: Taf. 2 (photo).
D	UM 29-13-594	Fragment of a one-column tablet from Nippur, upper and lower edges missing. Sjöberg 1974–5: 179 (photo); Ludwig 1990: Taf. 3 (photo).
E	N 4218	Fragment of a one-column tablet from Nippur, upper edge preserved. Tinney 1995: 26 (copy).
F	N 3544	Fragment of an at least two-column tablet from Nippur. Obv. col. ii: end of composition to Enki (ETCSL 2.5.4.b), followed by a composition to Ninurta (ETCSL 4.27.a); the composition to Enki ends with a KM refrain, uncertain whether there was a catchline; reverse destroyed. Tinney 1996: 71 (translit.).
G	N 2176 + N 6276	Fragment of a one-column tablet from Nippur. Obv.: beginning of a composition to Enki, rev.: end of a composition to Ninurta (Išme-Dagan 'AC' [ETCSL 2.5.4.29]); the text of the rev. ends with a KM refrain; catchline refers to an unidentified composition to Nuska. Tinney 1995: 26 (copy).
H	Ash 1991.235	One-column tablet, provenance unknown. Obv.: composition to Ninisina, rev.: composition to Nergal (Išme-Dagan T [ETCSL 2.5.4.20]); rev. ends with a KM refrain; catchline refers to Išme-Dagan K (ETCSL 2.5.4.11).
I	Ni. 9672	Fragment of a one-column tablet from Nippur. Obv.: composition to Ninisina, rev.: composition to Nergal (Išme-Dagan T); rev. breaks off before the KM refrain. ISET 2, pl. 3.
J	Ni. 2485	One-column tablet from Nippur. Obv. and beginning of rev.: a composition to Inana (Išme-Dagan K), end of rev.: a composition to Nippur (Išme-Dagan C [ETCSL 2.5.4.03]); Išme-Dagan K ends with a KM refrain; Išme-Dagan C is the *sa-gida* of longer composition, no catchline.
K	UCLM 9–1914	Fragment of a one-column tablet, provenance unknown. Obv. breaks off after the first 15 lines of Išme-Dagan K; rev. is destroyed. A copy of the tablet was published by Foxvog 1976: 104; its text was edited by Römer 1988; 2001: 54–89.
L	CBS 10336[7]	Surface flake of a tablet of at least two-columns from Nippur. Its right-hand column preserves ll. 3–8 of Išme-Dagan K; the composition in its left-hand column is unidentifiable.
M	Ni 1138	Fragment of a one-column tablet from Nippur. Obv.: bilingual composition probably to Ninisina, rev.: only the catchline is preserved referring to Išme-Dagan K; the colophon refers to the first line of Išme-Dagan W. BE 31 30 (copy) = JAOS 60 257 (copy).

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[7] The left-hand column has preserved only the end of three lines. The end of the second line might perhaps be read [… ᵈ]nin-urta-ka?. The text on its right-hand column differs from the other known mss. of Išme-Dagan K in that line 5 of the composition is placed after line 7 in this ms. I thank Eleanor Robson for providing me with an excellent photo of CBS 10336.

The unpublished tablet N 5873 + N 6989 is also known to contain the text of Išme-Dagan K (see Tinney 1995: 22). It is, however, not listed here as no copy, photo, or detailed description of it is available. Tinney there mentions the possibility that N 5873 + N 6989 belongs to Ni 1094, whose text is referred to in the literature as Išme-Dagan Y (ETCSL 2.5.4.25). Tinney suggests that the reconstructed tablet would be a collective tablet with three short compositions to Inana.

This line is the very last line of a stanza which is attested on a total of six tablets. Following Steve Tinney (1996: 71), I will refer to the compositions which end with this stanza as kaga muniĝar (henceforth, KM) compositions, and to their concluding stanza as the KM stanza.

Five compositions that end with a KM stanza are known. UM 29-15-254 (labelled as ms. C below) and UM 29-13-594 (ms. D) preserve parts of a compositions that relates to Nuska; N 3544 (ms. F) preserves one that relates to Enki; N 2176 + N 6276 (ms. G) preserves one that relates to Ninurta. The KM composition on Ash 1911.235 (ms. H) praises Nergal; the one on Ni. 2485 (ms. J) praises Inana. Very little is known of the KM compositions to Nuska, Ninurta, and Enki apart from the last stanza. This stanza, as preserved on UM 29-15-254 (rev. ii′, ll. 3′–10′), is transliterated on page 424 below. It translates into English as follows:

Nibru, no god excels like your lord and lady; they are powerful princes, brilliantly revealed deities. No god excels like Enlil and Ninlil; they are powerful princes, lords who can decide destinies. **In your midst they have bestowed the divine powers on minister Nuska**. Nibru, your holy songs are exceptionally precious, surpassing all praise. I, Išme-Dagan, have put this (composition) in everyone's mouth for all time.

In the line set in bold above, each composition contains a different divine name with a title.

As regards the parts that precede this stanza, only the KM compositions to Nergal and Inana are well enough preserved to allow a characterisation. On the basis of these compositions, it seems that the main theme of the KM compositions is the listing of the various capacities or duties of a given deity. In each exemplar these capacities are said to be given by Enlil and Ninlil. The few lines preserved before the last stanza from the KM composition to Enki support this conclusion.

Table 1 lists all the tablets which preserve KM compositions or compositions which can be related to KM compositions. (For the content of mss. A–E, see Table 2; in the following, manuscripts will be referred to by their sigla in Table 1.)

Mss. A–E contain compositions which are usually considered to be part of a longer composition referred to as Išme-Dagan W (ETCSL 2.5.4.23); the content of these and of mss. F and G will be discussed in detail in the following section. The relevance of the mss. G–L to the reconstruction of Išme-Dagan W (2.5.4.23) is the subject of pages 424–6.

The reconstruction of Išme-Dagan W by Marie-Christine Ludwig and Steve Tinney
Three of the KM compositions, namely those of Enki, Ninurta, and Nuska, are usually considered to be parts of the composition Išme-Dagan W (ETCSL 2.5.4.23). Marie-Christine Ludwig's reconstruction of Išme-Dagan W involved four manuscripts: mss. A, B, C, and D. In 1995 Steve Tinney published a further manuscript, ms. E, which provides parallel lines to the beginning of the composition. The distribution of lines on mss A, B, C, D, and E is shown in Table 2.

On the basis of these five manuscripts, Išme-Dagan W breaks up into three segments divided by gaps of unknown length. Segment A contains a long hymnic passage praising Nippur. It ends with a passage which appears to describe how the Anuna gods set to work on building the city. Unfortunately the text breaks off here. After a gap, in segment B the topic of the composition is Ninurta, who is presented with various capacities by Enlil and Ninlil. After another gap, in Segment C the protagonist is Nuska, who like Ninurta is given various capacities by Enlil and Ninlil. These capacities are unknown as they are described in the missing part of the text. Segment C ends with a KM stanza involving Nuska. In ms. C, the KM stanza is followed by another, unidentified composition, separated from the KM stanza by a deeper ruling.

Table 2 shows that the only basis for connecting Segment A with Segments B and C is ms. C. This is the only ms. that contains lines from all segments. Had it not been found, no one would have ever thought to assign these segments to one composition. Ms. C is a so-called collective tablet (*Sammeltafel*). As collective tablets contain more than one composition that may be written on one tablet for various reasons, the reconstruction of Išme-Dagan W must remain tentative until new manuscripts confirm or refute it.

Table 2: The distribution of lines in the manuscripts of Išme-Dagan W

Segments	Lines	Manuscripts
A	1–114	A, obv. and rev.
	25–31, 36–45	B, obv.
	57–9, 63–5	B, obv.
	63–73	C, obv. i´ 1´–5´
	1–23	E, obv.
B	1–15	C, rev. i´ 1´–15´
	2–18	D, obv. 1´–17´
C	1–13	D, rev. 1´–13´
	9–18	C, rev. ii´ 1´–10´

The relationships between Segment A of Išme-Dagan W and the various KM compositions were examined in detail by Tinney (1995) in his review of Ludwig's book and in a short chapter of his edition of the *Nippur Lament* (ETCSL 2.2.4) (Tinney 1996). The suggestions he made in the latter superseded his proposals in the former. Tinney connects two further tablets with Išme-Dagan *W*: mss. F and G. Ms. G is the upper part of a one-column tablet. Its obverse preserves the beginning of a composition to Enki, its reverse the end of a KM composition to Ninurta. Ms. F is an obverse-only fragment from a collective tablet that originally had at least two columns. The second column on the obverse preserves the end of a KM composition to Enki and the beginning of a composition to Ninurta (Figure 4).[8] Tinney suggests that although there is not a single overlapping line between mss. G and F, nothing rules out the possibility that the two tablets contained the same compositions: the composition about Enki on ms. G might be the beginning of the KM composition to Enki whose end is preserved on ms. F, and the composition about Ninurta on ms. F might be the beginning of the KM composition to Ninurta whose end is preserved on ms. G.

Tinney also observes that ms. F is from the right half of a tablet with two or more columns. Its relative position on the original tablet might well correspond therefore to the gap in the second column on the obverse of ms. C. It is therefore not implausible to suggest, says Tinney, that ms. C and ms. F may have been similar collective tablets containing the hymnic composition to Nippur (our Segment A of Išme-Dagan W) followed by KM compositions to Enki, Ninurta and Nuska. The sequence of the compositions to Enki, Ninurta, and Nuska on mss. G and D seems to show a similar sequence of KM compositions.[9]

In sum, Tinney suggests that the KM compositions to Enki, Ninurta, and Nuska may have had a standardized sequence attested on several tablets. The KM compositions to Nergal and Inana which are linked by the catchline on ms. H do not disrupt this sequence. As regards the relationship between Segment A and the KM compositions (including those to Nergal and Inana), Tinney (1996: 71) suggests viewing 'this cycle as a series in which one deity in each text receives the me's from Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur'. Two pages later Tinney (1996: 73) says that 'the possibility must be mentioned that the compositions discussed here as separate texts actually represent discrete parts of a single composition with a shared refrain, and to which Išme-Dagan W Segment A may have served as a prologue'.

The KM compositions are similar to the passages of Gudea Cylinder B where the various subordinated deities are introduced before Ninĝirsu and Baba with their duties named (Cyl. B 6:11–12:25 = ETCSL 2.1.7, ll. 944–1106). They always end with a phrase like the following (Cyl. B 6:22–23 = ETCSL 2.1.7, ll. 955–66):

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[8] My drawing of the fragment below is based on a photo of the tablet that was kindly provided by Jon Taylor. The drawings of the tablets are not intended to reflect the relative proportions of the fragments!

[9] Tinney observes that on the basis of tablet format and writing mss. D and G may have been written by the same scribe.

^{d}ig-alim dumu ki $a\hat{g}_2$-$\hat{g}a_2$-ni, en ^{d}nin-$\hat{g}ir_2$-su-ra me-ni-da mu-⌈na-da⌉-dib-e
With his divine duties he (= Gudea) introduced Ig-alim, his beloved son, to lord Ninĝirsu.

Both the KM compositions and Cylinder B use the same word me, which may in both cases refer to the capacities or duties of a deity.

The relation of Išme-Dagan K and T to the other KM compositions
Tinney's suggestion relating Išme-Dagan K and T to Segment A of Išme-Dagan W and the other KM compositions is based solely on the presence of the stanzas that conclude with the same sentence. A closer look at the concluding stanzas of all KM compositions shows, however, that one particular feature sets apart the compositions to Enki, Ninurta, and Nuska from those to Nergal and Inana. One can distinguish two types of concluding stanza: a long one of seven lines and a short one of three lines. The stanza preserved on UM 29-15-254 rev. ii´ 3´–10´ belongs to the long type (l. 3´ contains the sentence that in four of the five KM compositions concludes the section preceding the stanza):[10]

3´		[^{d}en]-lil$_2$ ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-bi saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig$_7$-eš
a—4´		⌈nibru⌉^{ki} en nin-zu-gin$_7$ diĝir na-me nu-dib$_2$
b—5´		e-ne-ne nun ir$_9$-me-eš diĝir pa ed$_2$-me-eš
c—6´		^{d}en-lil$_2$ ^{d}nin-lil$_2$$^!$-gin$_7$ diĝir na-me nu-dib$_2$
d—7´		e-ne-ne nun ir$_9$-me-eš en nam tar-re-me-eš
e—8´		šag$_4$-zu-a sukkal ^{d}nuska-ra me mu-na-ni-in-šum$_2$-mu-uš
f—9´		nibru^{ki} šir$_3$ kug-zu niĝ$_2$-kal-kal a-re-eš-še$_3$ dib$_2$-am$_3$
g—10´		[^{d}]⌈iš⌉-me-^{d}da-gan-me-en du-ri$_2$-še$_3$ ka-ga$_{14}$ mu-ni-ĝar

Labelling the seven lines with the letters of the alphabet, the refrains of the compositions can now be compared conveniently, as shown in Table 3. The refrain on ms. G is very likely to belong to the long type as the preserved part contains lines *d* and *f* which are not part of the short type. Table 3 shows that the long type of stanza is in fact a feature that distinguishes the Enki, Ninurta, and Nuska KM compositions. This feature sets them apart from Išme-Dagan T and K which are also linked by the catchline on Ash 1911.235. The refrain types and the evidence based on connections among manuscripts arrange the KM compositions into the same two groups: compositions to Enki, Ninurta, and Enki on the one hand, and those to Nergal and Inana on the other. This may not be accidental, but rather suggests the existence of two groups of KM compositions.
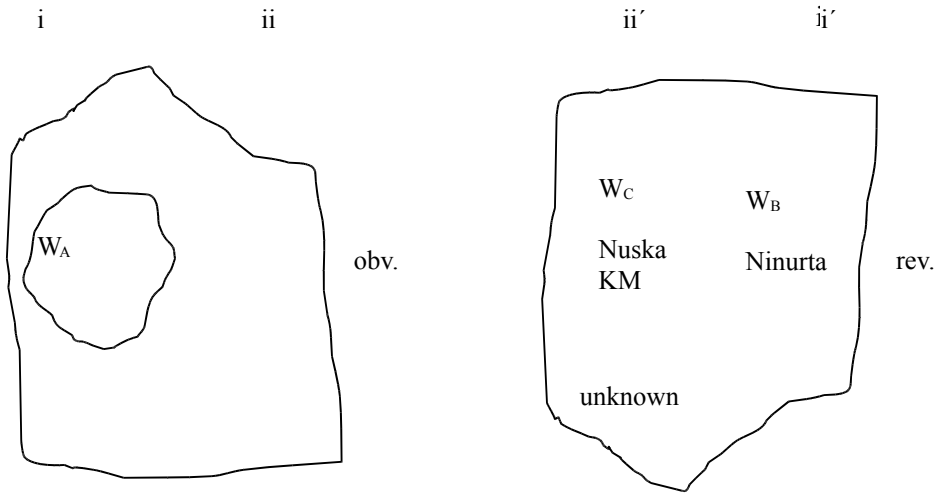
Table 3: The refrains of the KM compositions

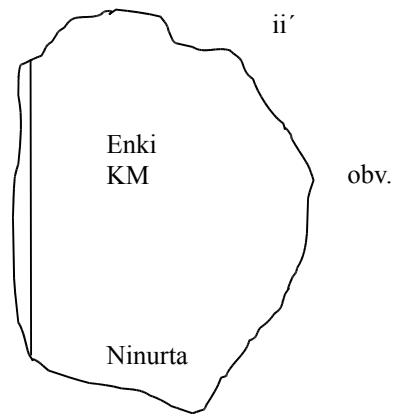|	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*
Ms. H = Ash 1911.235 (to Nergal)	x	–	–	–	x	–	x
Ms. J = Ni. 2485 (to Inana)	x	–	–	–	x	–	x
Ms. G = N 2176 + N 6276 (to Ninurta)	o	o	o	x	x	x	x
Ms. C = UM 29-15-254 (to Nuska)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ms. D = UM 29-13-594 (to Nuska)	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
Ms. F = N 3544 (to Enki)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

(x = present; – not present; o = broken)

The second piece of evidence that bears on the relationship among the KM compositions comes from Ni 1138, a fragment from the upper right part of a one-column tablet. This fragment was excavated from the central part of the West Mound during the third campaign of the Pennsylvania expedition. It was originally published by Langdon as BE 31 30, and was later recopied by Kramer

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[10] On Ash 1911.235 there is an extra line between the lines corresponding to l. 3´ and l. 4´ on UM 29-15-254.
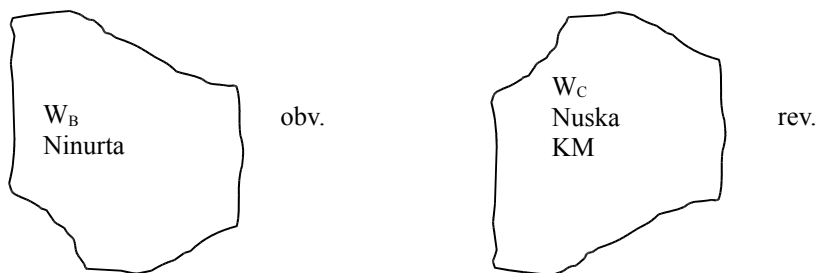
ms. C

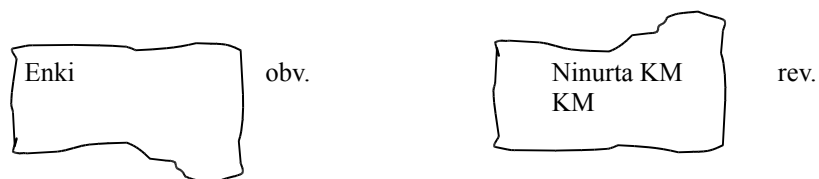i   ii   ii´   ji´

W_A   obv.

W_C   W_B
Nuska   Ninurta   rev.
KM

unknown

ms. F

ii´

Enki
KM   obv.

Ninurta

ms. D

W_B   obv.
Ninurta

W_C   rev.
Nuska
KM

ms. G

Enki   obv.

Ninurta KM   rev.
KM

Figure 4: Some of the manuscripts of Išme-Dagan W

(1940: 257). Its obverse contains the first seven lines of an interlinear bilingual composition; the Akkadian translation, written with smaller script, is squeezed under the Sumerian line. The reverse of Ni 1138 preserved only the colophon of the original tablet, separated from the main text by a ruling. This poorly preserved fragment deserves attention on three accounts: i) its obverse may preserve the beginning of the same composition as the obverse of Ash 1911.235;[11] ii) Ni 1138 ends with a catchline to Išme-Dagan K (ETCSL 2.5.4.11), as does Ash 1911.235; iii) its colophon refers to the incipit of Išme-Dagan W.

The fragment Ni 1138
Consider the following score presentation of the relevant lines on Ash 1911.235 and Ni 1138 (ms. H = Ash 1911.235; ms. M = Ni. 1138; line numbers according to the Ashmolean tablet):

H (obv. 1)   [x (x)] [^{d}]⌜nin⌝-isin$_2$^{si}-na [...]
M (obv. 1)   [...] dumu an-na-ra

H (obv. 2)   [...]
M (obv. 2)   [...] x x x (x) kur-kur kilib-a-ba
              [...] x x [...]

H (obv. 3)   ⌜nam⌝ [...] x-⌜le$^?$⌝
M (obv. 3)   [...] uĝ$_3$ šar$_2$$^?$-ra ⌜til$_3$⌝-le
              [...] x x *ni-ši bu-ul-lu-ṭa*

H (obv. 4)   E$_2$$^?$ x [...]-⌜ra⌝-bi ed$_3$([DU$_6$].DU$^!$)–de$_3$
M (obv. 4)   [...] ⌜zid$^?$⌝-da$^?$-ta ĝar-ra-bi ed$_3$-x
              [...] x (x) *ba-šú-u šu-lá-a*

H (obv. 5)   ⌜AN NIN$^?$⌝ [...] x ⌜ba$^?$⌝-ni-in-tag
M (obv. 5)   [...] x uĝ$_3$ lu-a šu-um$_2$-⌜ma⌝-ni-in-⌜dim$_2$⌝
              [... *te*]-*né-še$_{20}$*-⌜*e$^?$-tim$^?$*⌝ *e-pe-ša*

H (obv. 6)   x x [...] ⌜a$_2$$^?$⌝ aĝ$_2$-⌜ra$^?$⌝
M (obv. 6)   [...] x x ki-bi-a a$_2$ aĝ$_2$-e
              [...] *šu-a-tu$_4$ wu*-⌜'*u$_5$*(ḪU)$^?$⌝-*ra$^?$*⌝

H (obv. 7)   ⌜nam⌝ x en [...] x x
M (obv. 8)   [...] x ⌜MU⌝ ⌜mu-un⌝-[x]
              [...]

(*unknown number of lines missin*g)

H (rev. 21) ^{d}iš-me-^{d}da-gan-me-en du-ri$_2$-še$_3$ ka-ga$_{14}$ mu-ni-ĝar
M (rev. 1´)   [x]⌜iš$^?$-me$^?$-$^{d?}$da$^?$⌝-[...]

H (rev. 22)   ki-sikil ^{d}inana dumu ^{d}suen-na-ka
M (rev. 2´)   [ki-sikil] ^{d}inana dumu ^{d}suen-na-⌜ka⌝

M (rev. 3´)   [dub x]-⌜kam⌝-ma iri me-lem$_4$$^!$-zu

M (rev. 4´)   [...] mu-bi-im

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[11] In his description of the tablet Langdon (BE 31 78) hinted at some connection between Ni 1138 and Ash 1911.235 without indicating its exact nature.

Due to the fragmentary state of mss. H and M, the relationship between the two tablets cannot be clarified conclusively. Some remarks, however, can be made. The obverse of Ni 1138 does not contain the name of Ninisina; obv. 1, however, ends with the idiom 'daughter/son of An', and Ninisina was considered to be the daughter of An. Note that if one restores the first line of the composition as 'Ninisina, the daughter of An', then it is included within the 'DN dumu DN' type of incipit labelled as 'a standard opening for this group of hymns' by Tinney (1996: 72). The expression 'to heal the numerous people' at the end of obv. 3 also suits the healing-goddess Ninisina. Obv. 3, 4, and 6 may end similarly. In obv. 5, the two manuscripts use different verbs but, as manuscripts may occasionally differ in the verb they use, this divergence alone is not enough to conclude that the tablets preserved different compositions. As regards the very end of obv. 6, the phenomenon that the case-marker -/ra/ may vary with -/e/ is well attested in the Old Babylonian period.[12]

The general structure of the text on the obverse of Ni 1138 also seems to be similar to that of the composition on the obverse of Ash 1911.235. The composition on the Ashmolean tablet probably describes the various capacities bestowed on Ninisina by Enlil and Ninlil. The infinitives in the accusative on Ni 1138 may well represent the corresponding Akkadian translation.

On the reverse of Ni 1138, after the deep ruling, there is a catchline whose beginning is broken off. One may reconstruct this line as [ki-sikil] ᵈinana dumu ᵈsuen-na-⌜ka⌝ which is the first line of the KM composition to Inana. As regards the traces above the ruling on the reverse, they might well be harmonised with the last line of the KM compositions.

The reverse ends with a two-line colophon. On the basis of similar colophons, the first line should state that this tablet is one of the tablets belonging to a composition which starts with the line iri me-lem₄ⁱ-zu.[13] I would like to emend the fifth preserved sign of rev. 3′ on M to NE. As far as I know the only composition attested with this incipit is Segment A of Išme-Dagan W.[14] The second line of the colophon originally gave the number of lines on the tablet.

It also seems likely that the composition referred to in the catchline—that is, the KM composition to Inana—should be understood as the following tablet of the same composition. In other words according to this colophon the KM composition to Inana was taken to be part of a composition or series of compositions which started with Segment A of Išme-Dagan W. The colophon of Ni 1138 therefore suggests the existence of a composition or a series of compositions whose first part was Segment A of Išme-Dagan W and included the KM composition to Inana (Išme-Dagan K).

The fact that the Akkadian text on ms. M does not use mimation, but does employ the value tu₄ of the sign TUM, suggests that it might be dated to the late Old Babylonian or the Middle Babylonian period.

The text on Ni 1138 offers a new perspective on the Ninisina composition preserved on Ash 1911.235 and Ni 9672. It was mentioned above that the latter originally might have contained a version up to 5–6 lines longer than the one on the Ashmolean tablet. The short type of KM stanza is 3 lines long, which would have been easily accommodated in this space.

One cannot rule out the possibility that the reverse of ms. M contained the Nergal composition. It seems more likely, however, that it contained only the Ninisina composition. Given the fact that the reverse of ms. M contained a catchline to the KM composition to Inana; and that the colophon identifies the text on ms. M as part of a composition starting with the first line of Išme-Dagan W; and finally that the traces of rev. 1′ may be harmonised with the last line of the KM compositions, I

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[12] See Attinger 1993: 240 (§152a R1).

[13] Compare, for example, the colophon of CT 46 1: dub 1-kam-ma ⌜i⌝-nu-ma a-wi-⌜lum⌝, mu šid-bi 416, šu kug-ᵈa-⌜a⌝ dub-sar ⌜tur⌝.

[14] Note, however, that Flückiger-Hawker 1996 questions the reading of the first sign as IRI in l. 59 of the Louvre catalogue (ETCSL 0.2.02); and consequently the beginning of l. 1 of Seg. A is not absolutely certain.

think it is plausible to assume that there also existed a KM composition to Ninisina. The version on Ash 1911.235 would then be an abbreviated one without the refrain.

SUMMARY AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the stanza length one can thus distinguish two types of KM compositions: the KM compositions to Enki, Ninurta, and Nuska end with a stanza of seven lines, while the compositions to Inana and Nergal end with a stanza of three lines. The connections among manuscripts arrange the KM compositions into the same two groups: the study of mss. C, D, F, and G renders it likely that there existed a standardized sequence of the KM compositions to Enki, Ninurta, and Nuska, while the catchline on Ash 1911.235 after the KM composition to Nergal refers to the KM composition to Inana.

Ni 1138 (= ms. M) might have preserved a bilingual version of the same Ninisina composition as Ash 1911.235 and Ni 9672. If so, then the catchline and the colophon on Ni 1138 make it probable that, at the time when ms. M was written, both the Ninisina composition and the KM composition to Inana were considered to be parts of a composition whose first line was the same as that of Išme-Dagan W Segment A. The Ninisina composition may have also been a KM composition, but its KM refrain is missing on Ash 1911.235 (= ms. H), and is not preserved on Ni 9672 (= ms. I) or Ni 1138 (= ms. M).

Without being able to date the mss. containing KM compositions more precisely, one cannot be more specific about their relationship. Nevertheless, the mss. at our disposal seem to suggest that not every Sumerian literary composition had a fixed form and content. Another such example is the *Temple Hymns* (ETCSL 4.80.1), which is known to have been supplemented with more hymns during its transmission. Išme-Dagan W represents a similar type from a structural point of view, as it contains smaller self-contained passages, namely the KM compositions. It is therefore not unlikely that the conflicting evidence concerning the literary history of Išme-Dagan W and the KM compositions presented in this paper reflects an editorial process similar to that of the *Temple Hymns*. The number of KM compositions attached to the introductory part of the composition (Išme-Dagan W Segment A) might have changed during the time, and different locations might have had different traditions.

AFTERWORD

Peter Mitchell—British Virgin Islands

My brother's colleague and friend Eleanor Robson asked me if I would write the afterword for this book. Being a total neophyte in my brother's chosen field there is nothing that I can say or for that matter would be worth me saying on the subject of Assyriology, archaeology, music or languages— or on reflection on many things that, as I came to know over a few short years, were matters of great passion for Jeremy. Therefore this is devoted to the man I came to admire, cherish, and love.

At the funeral service in Oxford Jeremy's best friend and undergraduate college partner Stephen Roe spoke of the secrecy with which our father surrounded himself and things close to him. I think that is an apt starting point for this story. My mother many years ago had told me that she thought I might have a brother who taught oriental languages at the University of Chicago. I paid scant heed to that story and it was not until many years later that I even remembered it. Come to think of it, I did not appreciate what oriental languages meant, at least in the context of my brother, until he contacted me.

Our father, it would appear, was even more reluctant to share my existence with Jeremy, having told him only shortly before his death in 1997. How he actually found me I do not know, because by the time he did I had moved 12,000 miles away and changed my name. In the many discussions we had, sitting on the back of a boat taking in the sun or enjoying the odd gin and tonic, I never actually pinned Jeremy down on how he performed that particular feat. But given his field I suppose if you can read things written in a language out of use for thousands of years, turn pictures into words and understand with great clarity what happened so long ago, then finding the odd missing brother would not present much of a problem.

Anyway, find me he did. One day I received a letter in a plain brown envelope that started in a most apologetic tone one that I later came to recognize as part of Jeremy's infinite good manners. He was concerned that I may not in fact be his brother but if I was then he had some rather bad news: our father had passed away. One would not be human if that news did not come as a shock— although in my case Dad had put me on a train for boarding school when I was five years old and, except for a brief luncheon more than forty years later, I had not seen or spoken to him since.

Anyone who has read anything Jeremy has written professionally or personally knows that he had a certain style that quickly conveyed that nothing should be taken for granted or assumed— precision was the order of the day. I suppose to some extent that comes from a classical education and also from a great love for music. In any event, although it was the first of many written exchanges over the next few years (mostly email, I must admit), I wanted to respond in a manner that would echo my thanks and condolences, for although for reasons the reader will have gathered it was not a great shock for me, I assumed (correctly) that it was for Jeremy. I have another brother whom I have known all his life and we are very close—his passion is for wine and rather large waves that he can surf. In any event, as I considered my response it made me focus on the family I had and had grown up with.

Days went by as I tried to think through the way to respond to this new family member, and I cannot now remember how many drafts found their way into the bin. It is strange as I think about it now: it was probably one of the last handwritten letters I have been responsible for, as atrocious handwriting and the ubiquitous email have put paid to that. One thing I wanted to do was actually get to meet Jeremy, so in our first mail exchange I set about working out how to do that and at the same time related my mother's story that I had not paid any attention to, having of course acknowledged that I was in fact whom he thought I probably was. As it happened I was in

Australia at the time and Jeremy told me he had commitments in the US that summer so it looked initially as if our meeting would be delayed for a while. He also mentioned that he was either presenting a paper or meeting with some colleagues at Harvard that summer. Since our youngest son Zachary was to attend summer school at Harvard, I suggested that they get together instead. Zachary was delighted at the prospect, although somewhat daunted by the concept of an uncle from nowhere. He pestered his mother with, 'How will I know Jeremy?', 'Should I take family pictures?', etc. She reassured him on every count and by all accounts the meeting was for Zachary one of the most memorable of his life. To this day in his office Zac keeps a treasured picture of the uncle he also came to love so much and on the frame is a quote that reads, 'a dreamer lives forever'.

All of our family misses Jeremy enormously but to some extent his passing affected Zac the most. After graduating with a double major in maths and psychology he went to work as a researcher at the University of Chicago in the psychology department. When told of Jeremy's passing he set about making contact with the Oriental Institute where Jeremy had worked for two years. As a result he made friends with a lot of Jeremy's friends and even some distant family members. On a visit to Chicago not long after Jeremy's death Zac introduced us to the staff at the Oriental Institute, one of whom told us they had tried (and failed) to persuade Jeremy to come back by offering him the post of director. That reinforced to me just how much Oxford meant to my brother. Zac has maintained those contacts and as a result we have also met a few distant family members.

It was another year or so until we actually met and it was a truly wonderful and moving experience. Here was a man with an amazing intellect, the tallest of spirits and short in stature, who just wanted to be part of our family. My wife Gloria said afterwards that he was her teddy bear and to her he remained that for the rest of his life. He wanted to know everything about his new family and seemed to consume everything with great joy. It was the first indication for us how he really wanted to be part of a family unit. It was impossible not to feel the need and reciprocate so we set about planning a family reunion.

We arranged for Jeremy to visit us at home in the Caribbean for the first time. He was able to visit a couple of times afterwards too. He found it relaxing and we came to know a different man from the one we met that first time. We were in the process of building a new yacht and some of the best times we had together were sailing on it. Jeremy was not that much into sports—his love for his work, music and singing seemed to consume him. But he did enjoy our time on the sea. Endless time was spent talking about our extended family; I had been luckier than he, with three children and a brother and sister. He got on extraordinarily well with all our children, all of whom were of course at first fascinated and subsequently smitten with this wonderful man who was their uncle.

Before the first trip to visit us overseas Gloria and I decided he needed to meet the rest of the family so we arranged for our daughter Samantha, her husband Damon, and our oldest son Gary to come to the UK. Jeremy invited us to visit in Oxford and he took us on a tour of Worcester College, his alma mater, as well as Wolfson and many of the colleges that are household names. He loved Oxford University: to Jeremy it was home and provided the calm and conducive work place for all that was important in his field. To talk to Jeremy about it was a pleasure. There was electricity in the air as he responded to any sort of question regarding the college, but Jeremy was not stuffy, nor did he awe people with his knowledge; in fact in my view he was very down to earth and practical. Education as a classicist and a lifetime of work in a field most people cannot spell had still left Jeremy with the touch of the ordinary man, which given his background is extraordinary in itself. I remember once being in his office with Damon our son-in-law, who in his own right is passionate about just about anything connected with art. He peppered Jeremy with questions about the cuneiform tablets that seemed to occupy a vast amount of his office space. During this dialogue Jeremy casually tossed one of the tablets whose inscription he was translating to Damon and asked him not to drop it as it was after all three thousand years old.

Just before the start of the Iraq war we were talking on the phone and in his normal way he told me he was about to take part in a protest march, apparently for the first time in his life. Not, he hastened to assure me, because of any sympathy for the tyrannical regime of Saddam Hussein but because of his grave concern for the damage that would inevitably be inflicted on the antiquities of the country. Sadly he was proved correct, as we have seen from the destruction and looting that followed the invasion. I do think it shows again his passion for his chosen field.

At Jeremy's funeral Stephen Roe in his eulogy explained how our father was a secretive man, and that to some extent Jeremy also kept his life compartmentalized. At his 50th birthday party we met a cross-section of people in those compartments and of course we were one. I do not think at the time we realized how unusual this was for Jeremy to intermingle us so. We quickly discovered that amongst everyone there was a love and warmth that any of us would be lucky to experience. I know some of the contributors to this book were present and I would like to thank all of those and any that were not there for their participation in this venture. It is a true memorial to a man who asked little and gave everything.

Jeremy was a different man: skilled, quiet, introspective, and proud to be part of a family that I know he cherished enormously. On evaluating his background one would be forgiven for thinking he was a product of a different age, but that was definitely not so. To me he embraced the technological rush that is today's world with relish as it presented new tools to pursue what to Jeremy was all-consuming, as I believe his work on the electronic Sumerian corpus testifies. I would like to end this with the words of Henry Thoreau, which I feel capture what Jeremy was to us and I feel sure to many others:

If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS
Bibliographical abbreviations follow those listed in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, with the following additions and exceptions:

AAICAB	see Grégoire 1996–2001
Adab	see Yang 1989
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
CST	see Fish 1932
GARES	Archivi Reali di Ebla: Studi
ARI	see Grayson 1972–6
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica* (Japan)
ATU	see Englund and Nissen 1993
AUWE	Ausgrabungen aus Uruk-Warka, Endberichte
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BAM	see Köcher 1964; 1980
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BSA	*Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture*
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
DB	see Kent 1953 (edition of DB, pp. 116–A35)
DP	see Allotte de la Fuÿe 1908–20
ECTJ	see Westenholz 1975b
Emar	see Arnaud 1985–7
ETCSL	see Black et al. 1998–2006
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
Fö	see Förtsch 1916
GAG	see Von Soden 1969
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
ISET	see Çığ et al. 1969 (ISET 1); Çığ, Kızılyay and Kramer 1976 (ISET 2)
KAR	see Ebeling 1919–20
LKA	see Ebeling 1953
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MSVO	see Englund and Grégoire 1991
MVS	Münchner Vorderasiatische Studien
Nik	see Nikol'skij 1908
NYPL	New York Public Library
OBC	Orientalia Biblica et Christiana
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
OSP 1	see Westenholz 1975a
PDT	see Çığ et al. 1956
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PNA 2/I	see Baker 2000
RCU	P. Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur* (diss., Yale Univ.)
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts
SANE	Sources from the Ancient Near East
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SCIAMVS	Sources and Commentaries in Exact Sciences, Kyoto, Japan
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico
SF	see Deimel 1923
SpTU 3	see Von Weiher 1988
StAT	Studien zu den Assur-Texten; see Radner 1999 (StAT 1), Donbaz and Parpola 2001 (StAT 2)
STH	see Hussey 1912
TCTI 2	see Lafont and Yildiz 1996

TLB 3   see Hallo 1973
TSA   see de Genouillac 1909
UAVA   Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archaologie

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